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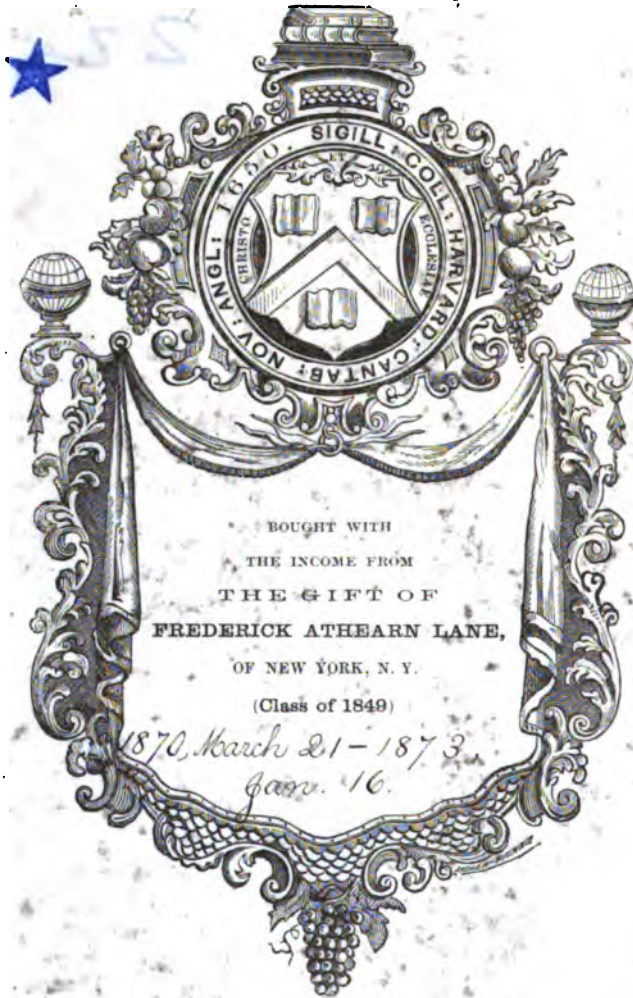
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THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE,
AND
NOTES AND QUERIES,
CONCERNING THE
ANTIQUITIES, HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY
OF
AMERICA.

VOL. VII. SECOND SERIES.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.
HENRY B. DAWSON.
1870.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

The close of the seventh volume of the New Series of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE—the seventeenth of the work—affords another opportunity to extend our thanks to our friends, the country over, for their continued courtesies and kindness, and to solicit, from each and every of those friends, a continuation of their kind offices.

The arrearages in our publication, distressing and discouraging as they have been to us, and still are, have been overcome less speedily than we have had reason to hope for, notwithstanding our own most earnest efforts to bring them up; but we are not without hope that we shall soon have the pleasure of seeing this gap filled, without disturbing the regular monthly issue of the work to those who are our subscribers for the year 1871.

Our own and our sons' best efforts are directed to secure that desirable end.

MORRISANIA, N. Y., January, 1871.

HENRY B. DAWSON.

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AND

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CONCERNING

The Antiquities, History, and Biography

OF

AMERICA.

January, 1870.

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HENRY B. DAWSON.

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George H. Moore

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HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

JAN. 1, 1870.

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THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. VII. SECOND SERIES.]

JANUARY, 1870.

[No. 1.

I.—OUR HISTORICAL WRITERS.—CON-
TINUED.

GEORGE H. MOORE, LL.D.

By HOWARD CROSBY, D.D.

Men of worth shrink from notoriety. They live for their work; not for themselves. Their ambition is to do; not to appear. Idlers and adventurers will climb up dizzy heights, to carve their names in the rock; but the true man cuts down the forest, builds the house, and tills the soil, leaving something better than an empty name for the generations to come. The heroes of the world have never been mustered by History; it is only the Divine roll-call, at the great consummation, that can select those modest souls. Where one great man escapes into fame, a hundred enclose themselves in their cocoons of industry, fond of concealment and all unconscious of their coming colors. If one wishes to see the good, the useful, and the true, among men, he must look beneath the surface, or he will make a defective estimate. Some good grows up into visibility; but a vast amount lies as gold in the mine; and when the wealth of virtue that the world possesses, is to be reckoned, the jewels that hide from the public gaze are to be remembered as forming the largest portion of the whole amount.

It is a very refreshing experience to the healthy mind to turn from the crowded highway, where merit is disfigured with dust and tinsel, and clamorous applause marks alike the good and evil, and find, in calmer scenes, the contented spirit, a reward to itself, achieving its progress, not by the guidance of popular impulse, but by the inward promptings of the truth. It is principally through such laborers that the world moves; and it is around such that true happiness gathers.

For many years, it has been our good fortune to watch the busy life of a toiler of this sort; and, if we regarded only his personal peace, we should not now mention his name; but, for the encouragement of others

and a protest against the noise, and bluster, and sensation of the day, we must wound his feelings for this once.

GEORGE HENRY MOORE was born in Concord, New Hampshire, on the twentieth of April, 1828.

His father was well known in his native State, for his high political and literary abilities; and, toward the close of his life, filled the onerous and responsible position of Postmaster at San Francisco, where he lent his energies to the growth of that Pacific metropolis. Mr. Moore's uncle, Governor Isaac Hill, had a national fame.

George, the oldest of four sons, came to New York, in 1839, at the age of sixteen; and, by a course of resolute self-denial, made an honorable way for himself and his three brothers, through a collegiate education, at the New York University, his youngest brother being graduated from that institution in 1851. George himself was graduated in 1848. His fellow-students of that day love to testify to his untiring perseverance and genial disposition, throughout his college course, in which he mingled the devotion of the scholar with the instincts of generous friendship.

In 1841, while a Sophomore in College, he entered the service of the New York Historical Society, as Assistant Librarian, George Folsom being the Librarian.

The Historical Society, at that time, was a quiet potentiality, a respectable egg, over which the influences of Washington Irving, George Bancroft, and other such were brooding with faint hopes of a hatch. It was stowed away in a corner of the University Building; and led a very dingy life. From the start, Mr. Moore, as Assistant Librarian, became the chief workman in the concern,—George Folsom, and afterwards, George Gibbs, and then Mr. Moore's venerable father, who were Librarians, wisely acting as figure-heads to the office; and allowing the genius and industry of the Assistant to be untrammelled. A new life entered the old bones. Growth, order, thrift, were the magical results of

young Moore's energy. In 1849, the Historical Society did not know itself. It had become a power in the community. The best men of the City thronged its *saloncs*, (where portly Janitor Smith dealt out the chocolate); papers of highest interest were read in its rooms; its patronage was sought by the historical explorers of the land; and rich men were honored by contributing to its resources. While all this was done, the cunning workman who had wrought the change remained in obscurity as the Assistant Librarian.

When Mr. Moore's father resigned his post as Librarian, Doctor Edward Robinson, who always had an eye to the fitness of things, proposed the son as the rightful successor.

From that day to this, a period of twenty years, Mr. Moore, if we may be classical and not jocose, has been the Atlas of the Historical Society. To change the figure and conform the better to modern science, Mr. Moore has been the central Sun of the Historical Society's system, around which President, Vice-president, and all the other officers and members, have most becomingly pursued their orbits. Whenever any one thinks of the Historical Society, GEORGE H. MOORE appears at once to his imagination. He is the Historical Society, in its walking, talking avatar. While the Society has taken the first rank among kindred institutions in this country, and appropriately moved itself out of the University garret into a neat and beautiful house of its own, it would foil a cynic to seek the first error of management in design or execution on the part of the ruling spirit of the noble enterprise.

In that fine edifice, on Second Avenue, within the classic purlieu of St. Mark's, is gathered the richest material for our country's history; while Nineveh and Egypt are represented to the undoubted satisfaction of the bust of Herodotus, over the main door. No visitor in New York is guiltless who has failed to enter this shrine of Olio and lulled his spirit in its quiet, historic atmosphere. No man can say that he knows the institutions of New York, if he does not know GEORGE H. MOORE. The hearty welcome, the kindness of soul, overflowing in voice and manner, the genial greeting of eye and hand, which Olio's high-priest accords to devout worshippers, are worth a long journey of themselves.

Off the main Library hall is Mr. Moore's laboratory. Here, his untrifling industry has accomplished its successes. When he had completed the years of detail that were necessary to systematize the literary property of the Society and had reduced a very dismal chaos to cosmical order, he turned his attention to utilizing his large information and mature

judgment, for the benefit of the historic world.

In 1860, Mr. Moore published an octavo of one hundred and fifteen pages, on the *Treason of Charles Lee*,* a work which excited deserved interest and showed the accurate analysis and scholarly abilities of its author. In 1862, he published his *Historical Notes on the employment of Negroes in the American Army of the Revolution*,† a most opportune and influential publication, when the negro-soldier-question was pressing itself on the Nation, in the fearful scenes of civil strife; and, in 1866, he aroused (rather than excited) public attention by his *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts*,‡ an octavo of two hundred and fifty-six pages. This work fairly startled the Pharisees, who had smoothed their paunches with a comfortable feeling of their own immaculateness, and put a valuable foot-note to some loose pages of history.

This was followed by a tract, entitled *Additional Notes on Slavery in Massachusetts*,§ a clincher to the former. Mr. Moore has also been a frequent contributor to *The Evening Post*, *Commercial Advertiser*, *Journal of Commerce*, and the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, where his signature of E. Y. E. is widely-known throughout the historical world.

A more valuable work than these, and one on which Mr. Moore's fame will chiefly rest, as an accurate, laborious, and scholarly writer and historian, is the *History of the Jurisprudence of New York*; still incomplete and unpublished; but which is, and has been, for a long time, engaging his faithful energies.

In 1860, Mr. Moore was called to the Chair of Legal History, in the New York University; but he declined this fitting tribute to his worth. From the same institution, he subsequently received the degree of LL.D.

We wish that we felt at liberty to introduce

* "Mr. Lee's Plan—March 29, 1777." | *The Treason of Charles Lee* | Major General | second in command in the American Army | of the Revolution. | By George H. Moore, Librarian of the New York Historical Society. | [Read before the Society, on Tuesday evening, June 22, 1862.] "The evil that men do lives after them." | New York: Charles Scribner, 124 Grand Street. | M.DCCC.LX | Octavo. pp. xii, 115. Portraits and fac-similes.

† *Historical Notes on the Employment of Negroes in the American Army of the Revolution.* | By George H. Moore, Librarian of the New York Historical Society. | New York: Charles T. Evans, 583 Broadway. | 1862. Octavo. pp. 24.

‡ *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts* | By George H. Moore | Librarian of the New York Historical Society and Corresponding Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. | [Quis nescit, primam esse historice legem, ne quid falsi | dicere audeat? deinde ne quid falsi | dicere audeat? deinde ne quid veri non audeat?] — *Cic. de Orat.*, II., 15. | New York: D. Appleton & Co. 448 & 445 Broadway | M.DCCC.LXVI. | Octavo. pp. iv, 266.

§ *Additional Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts.* | G. H. M. | Small quarto, pp. 16.

our readers within the sacred circle of Mr. Moore's home. Of course we cannot. We can only say that the home is all that could be expected from such a man. Mr. Moore was married, on the twenty-first of October, 1850; and with a wife who appreciates him and children of peculiar promise, his lot is to be envied, furnishing a fair model of the unostentatious, literary, useful, upright, and contented life—the life to which "*fides et ingent benigna vena*" are of higher value than the "*ebur*" and "*aureum*" and "*trabes Hymettias*."

NEW YORK CITY.

H. C.

II.—WASHINGTON'S BIRTH-DAY ORATION, AT SALEM, MASS., FEBRUARY 22, 1798.

BY REV. WILLIAM BENTLEY, D. D.*

NOW FIRST PRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, BELONGING TO MISS MARY R. CROWNINGSHIELD, CHARLESTOWN, MASS.

GENTLEMEN, FRIENDS, AND FELLOW CITIZENS.

With the ardor which the love of our country inspires, and in compliance with your patriotic wishes, I rise, on this joyful anniversary, to celebrate the nativity of the Saviour, under God, of my Country.

To ask candor from citizens equally interested with myself, in the important consequences of this event, would offend their virtue. While

the speaker treats his subject with the enthusiasm it inspires at the first moment of reflection, he claims the tribute due to a compliance with the public wishes.

The celebration of great events is adapted to preserve the just remembrance of the causes which have originated the invaluable blessings we possess. We neither attribute too much to an individual, nor forget the concurrence of other means for our happiness. Nothing is more obvious than the coöperation of causes to produce the events, in which a principal agent has been most distinguished. We can hardly discern nature from education, at the points in which they meet; and we feel greatness to depend on the concurrence of circumstances, out of human power. Nativities cannot have frequent and just occasions, because they refer the ultimate merit to the individual. In the glorious scenes of life, such men are seldom found. But, if ever an exception was admitted, it might be on the present occasion. Behold the man, great in battle and at the head of armies! Behold him, surrounded with glory, in the chair of State! Behold him in the offices of humanity, and the familiar duties of life: in each he is great; nor has yet the admiring world decided in what character he is greatest. Recount the actions of his life, and see how heaven has marked him for distinguished honor! Famed conquerors of the earth! pay him the first honors; and raise your merit, while ye bow to him.

What local greatness is to be found in the

*REV. WILLIAM BENTLEY, D.D., the author of this *Oration*, was born in Boston, on the twenty-second of June, 1759; graduated at Harvard College, in 1777; settled over the First-church, (Unitarian) in Salem, on the twenty-fourth of September, 1788; and died, suddenly, on the twenty-ninth of December, 1819, aged sixty years.

He published a *Collection of Psalms and Hymns*, which was introduced into his Church, in Salem, and continued in use, in that Society, from November, 1778, until 1848, when it was superseded by that of Doctor Flint. He wrote a *History of Salem*, which was published in the sixth volume of the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*; and he was the Editor of *The Essex Register*, a Democratic newspaper, for twenty years. Several of his Sermons also, were published, during his life.

He was a diligent collector of books and curiosities, leaving behind him, at his death, a large and valuable library and cabinet; and he bequeathed the theological portion of them to the College at Meadville, Pennsylvania, and another portion, probably the historical works, to the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester, Massachusetts.

He was eminent for his learning and varied attainments; and he was an honored member of several scientific and historical Societies.

The following *Oration*, from the original manuscript, has never been published; and at the request of our unwearied friend, Captain GEORGE H. FRENCH, U.S.N., Miss MARY R. CROWNINGSHIELD, of Charlestown, Massachusetts, has kindly permitted us to print it, the first time, in the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, whose readers will thus be favored with an item of *Washingtoniana*, which the most diligent collector has hitherto failed to secure.

Captain French never does by halves; and the same mail which brought the manuscript of the *Oration* to our table, brought also a sketch of Dr. Bentley's life, which we have

incorporated into this Note, and the following description of the Celebration which called forth the *Oration*; which he found in *Felt's Annals of Salem*, II, 50:

"BIRTH OF WASHINGTON.

"This event was celebrated, Feb. 22, 1798. At break of day, salutes were fired from the old and new forts and, by an artillery company, from the heights above the town; bells rang; and musicians played. At sunrise, fifteen flags were displayed from the Court-house cupola; and like insignia were shown from Washington Hall, among which was a royal standard, reversed, as an emblem of the downfall of earthly crowns.

"In the forenoon, the inhabitants were generally abroad, to enjoy the occasion. At noon, a procession moved under a military escort, with the usual music and a band, to the North Meeting-house, already graced with a large assemblage of ladies. *Rev. William Bentley pronounced the Oration*. The procession came back to Washington Hall, where two hundred persons dined. Another dinner party were provided for at the Sun Tavern. There was a good collection taken at the doors of the Meeting-house, to gladden the hearts of the poor. The tenants of the Alms-house had a plentiful dinner. It was truly a day of great political union, whereon each endeavored to be happy by contributing to each others' enjoyment. Such demonstrations of our better feelings have a far different effect on communities than the bitter spirit of party, which withholds all beneficence, except to its own members."

Miss Crowningshield is entitled to the thanks of every student of the history of those times, for thus kindly placing beyond possibility of destruction, this interesting relic of the last century; and our friend, for the part which he has taken in the matter, is entitled to the earnest thanks of every reader of *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*.

heroes of past ages? The voice of a few generations pronounced them great; and the feeble report in allegory and fable confounded them with the most ancient traditions. But with Washington, the most important history of our world begins. His happy Revolution has robbed Tyranny of its spell, and taught mankind that, could they find an hero like him, as great in virtue as in arms, they might, by one generous effort, ensure the highest ends of Government, and trample oppression in the dust. And what alarms are heard! What mighty revolutions have begun! Where are the Washingtons to conduct the great work? Heroes and Patriots! arise. Nor can my boldest imagination draw them into competition. The force of millions, the aids of literature, and all the schools of ambition have not shown the rival of his fame! He has given that motion to the ball of empire, which, like a mighty Providence, aids it as it rolls, till its greatest revolutions are accomplished. Forbid it, heaven, that he should have the honors of a Jupiter, the fame of Numa, or the veneration of Moses. The place in the records of fame is yet left open for his name—WASHINGTON, the immortal, who taught man virtue, and made him MAN!

The history of his birth and his first scene of greatness have been often repeated with rapturous emotion. An American RAMSEY has given the great events of his life, which are read with eagerness by every American. And who can be fatigued with the repetition? Like some sacred page, the more it is perused the more the fire burns within us. What modesty triumphs in his first acceptance of our American world, on his shoulders! What horror assails him from the sound of Civil War! What factions surround him! In what bands can he unite Provinces, whose geography was unknown to each other and who had been rivals in interest! The impossibility of the union was declared everywhere. Great Washington arose! Faction uttered her first feeble accents, but swallowed and confounded them as they rose in silence. She beheld this rising luminary, and, disarmed of her rage, bowed down to worship him. What consolation to this Province was his arrival? The destitute Army seemed to transform itself into order, by invisible means; and the God of heaven sent it supplies from the enemy. The countenance of despondency disappeared; and, from invectives, to arm the rage of the people, every pulpit resounded the more divine language of Washington, the deliverer. A retreating enemy soon verified the prediction; and we were again free from the alarms of War.

A new scene and more active, opened, and, that no insinuation might be possible, as diversified as offensive and defensive War could make

it. And, least the success should be attributed to his troops, which held up to him the greatest advantages, he was often in circumstances the most discouraging. Nothing was in order but his own mind, which, after the utmost adversity, was exalted by the most glorious success. With pleasure, might we recite his whole military history and the successive events which, by the concurrence of our French allies, terminated in the Peace and Independance of these States. But, as this military history is yet a desideratum, it may be left for military genius to do it justice.

What solemn testimony did his affectionate officers give him, at disbanding the Army; and what glorious victory, more noble than any he ever gained for his Country, did he obtain, when he made them abandon themselves to every injury, and submit in silence for the good of their Country! But, to disband an Army without pay, to be the national Treasury, without finance and without appointment, is a service left only for the greatest merit to perform. He then descends into private life. Can any Roman Emperor, or modern Charles compare with them? Can a grateful people be content with the offering? Will they not unite in the common prayer, that he should be a Father to the People? Already he had been their defence, while untutored in war, and had led them on to battle. The last, best office remained, to ensure to them the blessings for which they had so eagerly contended.

Is it not enough for human greatness to excel, without such repeated experiments of its strength? Behold him! yet mounting on the car of glory. His Country is happy. The Government has its success; and we are in the possession of the greatest national tranquility. If heaven ever sent its gifts to man and a guardian of his peace, it is in the man we celebrate. Our highest joy and our fondest praise have the applause of virtue and of heaven.

Before we indulge a more intimate view of our situation and country, let us enquire into the effects of this interesting scene, upon its numerous spectators. It can be no pleasure to a generous patriot, to insult the political errors of any country. The extensive views upon which he examines national character, prevent the uncandid insinuations of vulgar minds. While he celebrates a Washington, who has established his influence in the hearts of the people, it would be an ill compliment to utter any invectives. If any are great by their vices, public justice will be the speedy avenger. Empty names will cease in an enlightened world; and the more exalted Tyranny may be, it is only that in its destruction, Liberty may have a more sure victory. It is impossible, that as good men, we should not enjoy the prospect opening to the world. The future benefits are deserving of the zeal expen-

ded to secure them; but the spectator beholds with regret, the painful scenes which may introduce them. And, although he looks to the blessings with transport, yet, with silent grief, he beholds the means which will be employed.

Political convulsions are capable of very different effects, either as anticipated, felt, or enjoyed in the future peace. In the expectation, genius and virtue dare to be great. But, alarmed passion, unrestrained violence, and mad opinion, institutions forgotten and the world in tumult, leave no image in nature for the imagination. The hurricane is but a faint image of the apprehension and the danger. In the busy scene, action may withdraw our mind from their painful reflections, but it is like the violent rains, which in some part of their confluence have a clear channel, but rage more violently at every obstruction. It is only when we can look back, and see ourselves safe, we can be happy.

It was a popular observation of *Common Sense*, that the Scriptures had given a very unfavorable representation of kingly power. Though the force of the remark may be in prejudice, it is happy when the weakest prejudice finds no support from even the history of religion. The increase of Republics and the modern notions of representation are opposed to what Mr. Paine has called the compact of Governors and Governed. Revolutions bend new force against power and, particularly, Royalty. Royalty originated in a state of War; and this was the savage state of man. It began when he was ignorant of his necessary subordination; when he was the slave of heroism; and when no written laws defined his obligation. It is in War, that Kings have their highest claims, even in the present age. The patriarchal wisdom and the claims of Senators are felt in Peace. It is only from the projections of a perpetual Peace, that the dissolution of kingly power can be expected. A state of War and Peace has been the origin of that mixed Government accommodated to them both. With this provision, the love of conquests and extended empires has been continued. Safety in small societies will disarm them; and then only will Commerce and the Arts rest on the natural foundations of industry.

O! blessed days, that are to unfold to the impartial understanding, the happiness of man, from a comparative view of the history of ages. On such occasions, we recur to Rome and Greece, for illustrations of the defence of Liberty. The appeal to them, for the general sentiment, was just. The self-originated Governments of Greece, unmeliorated by generous Commerce, and productive of more Science than Arts, in their endless multiplicity, have shown struggling, but not well-directed, virtue. Rome, which produced

greater men, retained its martial spirit, till its glory was lost in Tyranny. We are better instructed by the lessons they have left than by the actions they have performed. The other ancient Nations deserve not our recollection. But the present Revolutions, begun on bolder principles, are lessons of sublime instruction, and are accompanied with circumstances which admit no comparison. Let the old dispute revive between the ancients and the moderns, who in this point will hold the competition? Is Political Economy already in its perfection, that we may check the spirit for Revolutions? The English Constitution, as it was called, has been justly celebrated. But is it a model for the world? It owes its spirit of liberty to its early commercial advantages. It went before other nations, in its political privileges and writings. These advantages have long since been taken out of their hands. To talk, at this day, of the superior blessings of this Constitution, otherwise than as a debt of gratitude for the past, is to maintain prejudices after the causes have ceased, which produced them—an employment by no means becoming an enlightened understanding. Opposition to a law which did not originate in the Nation, was a standing mark of the genius of the Nation; but its Revolutions do not indicate Liberty in its Laws. The death of Charles was opposite to the spirit of the Government, but not to the Rights of Man. And it is confessed by many, that the most valuable blessings of the present establishment are not independent of this event. Alas! that Government should attach to names such prejudices, as the want of merit cannot destroy. Reason teaches, to prevent the horror of such a catastrophe, we should prevent the folly which occasioned it. The influence of great characters, upon political society, have been illustrated in the powers of Prussia and Russia; but, in the distant consequences, have mankind gained more than in the humble Republics? And have the Dutch owed any of their glory, since their establishment, to the house of Orange? Testify, ye Grotiuses. No man can take away the advantages of industry but to what have the Dutch owed their greatest calamities. But the alarm is sounded through the earth; and France has determined to be free! It is not to be conceived that, in America, we can easily form just ideas of the progress of the French. Their situation is quite dissimilar.

Accustomed, from great antiquity, to the government of Kings; disused to a representation of the People; witnesses of the excesses of power, the pomp of royalty, and the thirst of dominion; governed by national prejudices, rather than national interest; and having a different standard of respect for characters, their difficulties must have increased. Retaliation, in its horrid

scenes, finds excuses where it cannot find reasons. Their success is more owing to the enchanting voice of Liberty, than to their brave Generals. Consequences, we cannot foresee.

The restoration of Monarchy, as in England, will probably be prevented; and changes more durable than these in the little Kingdoms of the North. The commemorations of these great events, in the United States and in our Capital, bid us anticipate much from the political information. A religion which excited our aversion, cannot now prevent our cordial affection; and, as we approach to embrace each other, we consent in the substantial truths of our interest and happiness. We are not to imagine that the measures of this enlightened Nation are the impulse of the moment. There have been many struggles in its bosom, many sighs for Liberty; but, encircled by the magic power of forms, it suffered violence; and the violent have taken it by force. An enthusiastic love of Liberty carries the soul, over all the outrages of passion and tumult, to the happy scenes in which this great and glorious People shall illustrate the most interesting truths to mankind. Heaven teaches it in the past history of the People; and in the greatness of their danger forms their salvation.

Nor can we forget, on this subject, the darling Frenchman of America who, by his amiable manners and deserved military reputation, secured more hearts for France than all the measures of that Court; who kindled into a flame, the love of liberty, which philosophy, in the writings of the age, had excited. If he loved his King, because his heart had not fully achieved the Revolution; if he offended the majesty of the People by a bold remonstrance; he wanted respect neither for liberty nor for virtue. Our hearts beat quick for the man we love; and the affection of our own General warrants our warmest wishes, both for his liberty and his future happiness.

But, while we pay this tribute of gratitude to a stranger, shall we forget the men who have nobly dared to present to us the undisturbed blessings of Peace? The writings of Mr. Paine were useful in our Revolution; and can we doubt that, formed on the same plan, they will in some future ages receive the gratitude of Europe? We cannot refuse to confess, that men who have opposed the prevalent theories of the human mind, have contributed an essential part to the progress of the human understanding. If ever our prejudices would have proclaimed danger, it would be from the writings of such men. Yet they have, contrary to our first apprehensions, emancipated us from the tyranny of established systems and left an important era in the history of mankind. Perhaps no man has exceeded a partisan, in the French Revolution; and yet

who will pronounce that he lived in vain. From the great Doctor Price, whose calculations have been so useful in Political Economy, we may pass to the worthy Neckar, who will be gratefully remembered when all prejudices against him are lost and his own unworthy complaints are forgotten. Their worthy pupil in the finances of America, Secretary Hamilton, will rise high in the minds of grateful posterity. The fate of Neckar and Fayette might have been realized in America, had not the deserved confidence in General Washington been a balance to all the ungenerous designs of party. Too ready to obliterate the past, the shafts of envy would not otherwise have been discharged in vain. Who regards not, with gratitude, the early services of an Adams, his negotiations, and his attention to the Fisheries? Who has not followed his pen, while he places the whole political world before us? And shall he not draw his own candid conclusions? Shall he not deserve the unanimity of our elections? Can Liberty make enquiry safe, when it teaches an administration ever open to a reform? Shall they who gave their property and their lives, and were marked out for vengeance, as our Governor, be obliterated from the list of heroes? And shall not every man, entitled to the privileges of the Laws, claim encouragement for his abilities? Shall a Priestley have no credit for his politics or his philosophy, because of his religion? Would a Newton or the American Franklin stand a test so partial?

While we are thus grateful to the benefactors of mankind, let us recollect our own enjoyments from their benevolence. We search not the causes of the American Revolution in Acts of the British Parliament. The pretences were specious; and, as a fine writer on their Constitution, they granted Independance to preserve the unity of Parliament, so we desired it because we thought ourselves able to maintain it. The apprehensions of parties originated the evils of which we complained.

No part of British America was more happy in its settlement than this ancient town of Salem. Priestly power was annihilated in the appointment of the first Teacher; and they asserted, afterwards, their right, in defiance of the Government. The neighboring Provinces profited from their zeal; and they never fell into disgrace, till fanaticism was established by Law. The Town behaved with a generosity which did them honor at the commencement of the War. Their Militia was well regulated, by a gentleman, called afterwards to some important military and civil appointments. With the character of industry, it sustained the reputation of moderation and firmness. 'On yonder Bridge, was the first dispute with the British troops; and, on this occas-

ion, was displayed the eminent prudence of that gentleman who has long been the ornament of this desk. Every man recollects the success of our naval armaments; and what is a more pleasurable emotion, we all behold that an industrious people may not be injured by the greatest influx of wealth. When Peace visited us, the lovely Fayette partook of our general joy, and beheld, united, splendor, order, and conviviality. The youth of Salem recollect his gratitude. We all remember the glorious twenty-ninth of October, 1789, when our illustrious President diffused the highest pleasure by his presence, and confirmed our love.

Happiness has attended upon Peace. Our military parade has done honor to the generous heart which rendered it so respectable. May the worthy Gentlemen who have followed him in military promotion, inherit his ambition and success. The member of our Legislature is an example of that industry, manly freedom, and sober understanding which form our best reputation.

Our Ships have followed not only the track of the merchant, but the adventurer. We have seen our children start from our embraces, and perform successful voyages in the most distant seas. Our Streets exhibit the neatness of industry, the convenience of wealth, and the quiet of virtue. Every day is adding to our building, for private elegance and public utility; and we are thus sharers in the public prosperity. To what more happy country can we turn with envy? What sails can waft us to the abodes of greater liberty? Will proud Asia, in her despotism, afford a shelter from the incroachments of power? Or the dark African, sweltering in the heat and turning his thoughts upon, not the savage, but the crafty and bloody European, that haunts his path—will he console us, in a debased understanding? Will subjected Greece, with the tale of its former glory, and amid the rich ruins it has preserved, give protection, among its impoverished inhabitants, from rapacity? Will Rome, once mistress of the world, instruct us to be happy, when we behold a rough mountain sheltering Liberty, while the rich fields of Campania are waste? Will the ambition of a Northern Empress satisfy us, as slaves of the War and the soil? Will Roman borrowed titles content us, when sold for foreign War, at a Prince's discretion? Or defying rocks and tremendous glaciers, the defence of an aristocracy, formed for past generations? Can we prefer, at this age, a small Republic, whose privileges foreign power may guarantee, and abolish by military violence? Or shall we look, with ardent hope, to rival the commercial powers which nurse the Arts and Sciences and give Laws to mankind? Too well acquainted with a Nation that struggles for a Revolution and lets loose its dogs of War, its

mobs on the enquirer after truth, would we conflict with distracted times? No, the American returns contented to his country. My God, I thank thee that I am thus born! Let Greece boast its heroes, and Rome its patriots! We have raised the standard of freedom: it is boldly displayed. It is for liberty we possess and will maintain! But when heaven gave us the boon, he gave us Washington.

Permit me to congratulate the amiable part of our creation upon the blessings they will derive, in domestic life, from the liberties of mankind. The cruel restraints of eastern manners will be removed, and the absurd laws of ceremony, so odious to Love. Confidence and choice will fasten the bands: and all the justice of the world be engaged for innocence. Man will find his partner, and not his slave; and the great law of love will be never to abandon a choice once freely made. No longer deprived of the most ingenious education, they may fondly hope to be our rivals, if not our teachers, in all the works of imagination and sympathy. The same shelves shall bear the labors of the active and the tender mind; and man shall learn his duty from the most lovely friend of his heart. This has, as yet, been the progress: it is reserved for future ages to show all the glory.

Nor will the man of religion tremble for the ark of his God. If revealed religion supports his hopes, a wheel within a wheel may be an emblem of Providence. The man of natural religion, however he defines it, believes that nature has bound eternal truth by indissoluble bands. The scheme which makes man most happy makes the being of a God a more delightful contemplation, and his Providence more glorious. The law of life becomes more simple as it is more pure; and conscience then has its best support from example. Moral sentiment begets the purest hope; and the purest hope most boldly aspires to immortality. The triumph of Liberty is gained by virtue: the contending passions, like the captives in chains, first adorn the procession and then become subjects; while the greatness of their strength is the glory of victory.

This age, instructed by the past generous efforts against oppression, has begun the great work of destroying that subordination which reduces man to slavery. While a War with savages yet impends over our country, it is happy to observe the exertions for amicable adjustments. And, while the abolition of Slavery is the object, it is happy to see the rigor of slavery abated. The great work is begun; and important causes cooperate to accomplish it, in the happiness of mankind.

Thrice happy country, which first obeyed the voice of freedom. What class of citizens may we not hail on this auspicious day! What

countenance does not show all nature's lines improved in the general content? It is not Liberty without laws and without subordination, it is not a finished structure, but it is upon everlasting foundations. Science gives her aid in the unnumbered institutions that she everywhere places among us; but particularly in that ardor she enkindles for the best institution of man, the Free School. Do we not behold the generous idea, in the late establishments of this Town, which we believe to be the commencement of its laudable designs. Glory to the patrons of so useful an institution.

What do we possess or hope, that reminds us not of Washington? Such the tribute to this great man. But can this liberal tribute be paid to living virtue? It can. No future event can forbid an American to say, he owes all his hopes to this benefactor; and he sees his virtue prompting all the great designs of Liberty, in Europe. It is the testimony of a whole people, amid the envies, the passions, and the strife of life. Posterity will discover from this gratitude, the greatness of their obligations. The life of our benefactor is the security of our Peace. May he live long. But we remember humanity. When the shouts of approving mortals, are heard no no longer, may a reward from the Almighty distinguish him in a happy immortality.

While report brings to us the liberal testimonies of joy in our Capital, is there nothing to urge our ambition. Should the immortal friend we celebrate this day, be present, would his generous heart be more touched with our praises, more enlivened by our music, more raised by our sumptuous entertainment, or more moved by the generous joy of our countenances, than in finding the day of his birth celebrated by the most distinguished charities ever obtained among the citizens?

We might then eat the bread of joy and drink wine with a merry heart, believing that God accepted our gift.

Hail, hail, the day, ye heavenly choir!
Let earth, with all her sons conspire;
Great Washington demands your song:
Let heaven and earth their notes prolong.

Our Winthrops nursed our infant days:
Our fathers did rehearse their praise,
From proud oppression sought retreat,
And Salem was their happy seat.

When proud oppression urged to arms,
And slaughter spread its dire alarms,
Great Washington, with glory, rose,
Repelled and vanquished all our foes.

Sweet Peace returned, glad Plenty smiled,
The Arts and Commerce are revived;
Our children hear their Savior's fame,
And lip with gratitude his name.

Fair Liberty! behold thy son,
Who nations for thine empire won,
Who lives to teach, in every clime,
Thy sacred laws to all mankind.

III.—THE JOURNAL OF RALPH CROSS, OF NEWBURYPORT, WHO COMMANDED THE ESSEX REGIMENT, AT THE SURRENDER OF BURGOYNE, IN 1777.*

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

COMMUNICATED BY JOSEPH WILLIAMSON, Esq., BELFAST, MAINE.

NEWBURY PORT, August 29. 1777. This day 7 o'clock in morning Took my Journey to Manchester upon the Grants to joine the Army at

* STEPHEN AND RALPH CROSS were among the most active and influential citizens of Newburyport. The former was born in 1781, the latter in 1788. They were both brought up shipwrights, in the building yard of their father, Ralph Cross, opposite the bottom of Lime-street. Stephen was one of a number of his trade who went from Newburyport to construct a flotilla on the Lakes, in 1766. He and his associates were made prisoners at the fall of Fort Oswego, and carried to Quebec, and thence to France. On his return, he formed a copartnership with his brother Ralph. The business of the firm was extensive. In addition to their ship-building, the partners were engaged in trade, at home and abroad; and, at the commencement of the Revolution, were fast becoming affluent. From the number of men in their employment, few citizens had better opportunities of conciliating general confidence. And the Records of the Town, which show the active part which they took in its concerns, prove that these opportunities were not neglected. Stephen was the first Selectman chosen by the Town, after its separation from Newbury. Both brothers entered into the cause of the Revolution with spirit and determination. Both were members of the Committee of Safety and Correspondence. Many of their letters show an intensity of interest in public concerns almost inconceivable at the present day. They speak of the Commonwealth as men now speak of the affairs of their own household. Stephen was one of the Delegates of the Town to the first Provincial Congress. Several were elected; but he and the well-known Jonathan Greenleaf, whose friend and coadjutor he was, during his whole life, were the only two who accepted their appointments. He was a member of this body during most of the War, and of the General Court which succeeded, for many years afterward. At the commencement of the Revolution, Ralph was a Captain in the Militia, commissioned by the Royal Governor. His Commission is dated in 1772. He afterwards accepted one from the Provincial Congress, and signalized himself by his zeal and assiduity in training his men. In 1777, he joined the Northern Army, as Lieutenant-colonel of the Regiment raised in this quarter, commanded by Colonel Johnson, of Andover. His Battalion formed parts of two Regiments ordered, in September, to advance against the garrison at Ticonderoga, with the intent of taking possession of it. The enemy being reinforced, the Regiments were compelled to retreat, and joined the Camp at Stillwater, on the fourth of October. The fourth day following, occurred the memorable Battle which occasioned Burgoyne's surrender. This was one of the first detachments of Militia engaged in the action. The brothers, with others, contracted with the State for, and built, the frigates *Hancock*, *Boston*, and *Protector*, and several other vessels of war.

At the close of the War, Stephen was appointed Superintendent of the Excise and, afterwards, Collector of Customs for the Port of Newburyport. He soon after received the appointment of Postmaster. In the last office he continued until he died, in 1809.

Ralph also filled various honorable offices. He was for six years, from 1790 to 1796, Brigadier-general of the Brigade to which the Corps of Newburyport was attached. He was a Commissioner of Bankruptcy under the Bankrupt Law; and, in 1802, was appointed Collector of Customs. He continued in this office, performing its duties at a period of unusual difficulty, with faithfulness and resolution, until his decease, in 1816.—*Cushing's History of Newburyport.*

the above Place Accompanied by my Brother Stephen Cross & my Sone William & Dined att Coll Samuel Johnsons who was not Ready to March. After Diner I Proceeded Alone & Reached Pollards Tavern at Billerica where I Lodged Butt Poorly

30. Came 2 mile short of Wor'ter & Lodg'd at again butt Poorly. Sunday morning Rode to Spencer & Breakfasted

31. Sunday night. Lodg'd at Belcher at a Private House Monday Rode to Worthington & Lodg'd. Tuesday Sept'r 2 Lodg'd at Worthington & had Exceeding Bad Rode for 20 miles Overtook Capt Jenkins & Lodg'd at Providence & Lodg'd at Col Spofford's in a Good Bed and house.

Wednesday. Rode to Pownall & Lodg'd Exceeding Bad in a Logg House Tavern Plenty of fleas and Buggs Rose Early Thursday morn, 4 Sept'r & Rode to Benington & Breakfasted then Waited Upon Gen. Lincoln who Received me Verry Gentely. Then Gave me orders to March all the Regiment that Should arive to Manchester with one day's Provisions Ready Dress'd, & to Leave behind all our heavy Baggage & to Take one Shift of Cloaths only. Rote a Letter to Wife & one to Stephen. Sent home pr Capt Kent one Shirt fine one pair Cotton Stockins one Jackett one Neck Left with Mrs. Safford att Benington Wife of Col Safford one Shirt one pair mix'd Wosted Stockins to Work & mend one Coat and one Weakett Boath Grey. Also a Chest with 2 Shirts & other Necessaries.

5th day. March'd for Manchester & Lodg'd in Arlington Woods Towards day Rained hard & was wett but a little Sleep.

6 day. Gen. Gates with the Continental Troops Layd halfe moon or Niew City 9 miles from Albany Enemy Lay'd Still Water Saratoga & fort Miller.

Gen Stark Rendezvos'd the New Hampshire Troops at Ramsley's Mills on Waloomsack River or S' Cock Dist from Still Water 17 Miles W. Gen Lincoln Rendezvose the Bay Militia at Manchester Dist from Fort Miller 30 miles Diew West.

Att night Reachd Manchester much Fatigued Lodgd in a open Barn on Straw. Slept well untill Midnight was awaked by a Violent Thunder Storm & wind Something wett Slept well Latter part of night Capt. Dodge of Ipswich and the Rowley Company Arived Eat an Early Breakfast & Gott a Supper at night. although much spent

7 day. Sunday. Prepared the Barn & Took the Stabel for my Quarters Rote a Letter to Col Titcomb

8 day. Received orders to March to Pollett with one days Provisions Ready Cook'd Att Night the orders were Counter manded on act of

the Ipswich and Rowley Company's not having Cartridges & Guarded the Town. To day Coll Johnson arived & the Andover Salem and Niewbury Company

9 day. March'd for Pollett & Lodgd in Ruepert 11 miles dist. from Manchester, att which Town their is a Rode over the Mountain to fort Edward.

10 day. Arived att Pollett 4 Miles from Ruepert & Encamp'd the Whole Regiment in a Wood by the Side of the Rode facing West. Coll Johnson in a Barn on Right and Myselfe in a Logg-house on Left. The Upper End of this Town their is a Rode which Leads to fort Edward between Two Large Mountains Skeen-Burrough Dist. 22 Miles Cours W. Northerly; fort Ann dist. 18 Miles Cours W. Southerly

11 day.

12 day. Received orders to Bake 4 days allowance of Bread After Diner 3 Detachments of 500 men Each was ordered to Gett Ready to March Coll Woodbridge Commands one to march to fort Edward to Divert the Enemy Coll Brown to march Direct to Ty. Col Johnson to mount Independance & both to operate att one Time. By the Failure of one officer I was ordered to marc with Col. Johnson Upon one hour's Notice only March in Afternoon & Encamp'd in Wells 6 miles from Powlett

13. Arriv'd att Castleton 12 miles N. from Skeen & 22 miles N. W from Tye 8 miles W from Otter Creek This Town is 20 miles from Powlett.

14.

15. March'd from Castleton for Laweys Camp so Call'd 16 miles from Tye or the Mount & 10 miles from Castleton itt is about 3 Acres of Land & a Small indifferent Logg House. Divided our men in Three Parties 150 Each, the first Division Coll Safford Commands Consisting of Continental Troops, & the Salem Company 2 Division Coll Barrell Commands Consisting of Militia, Coll Bullard's Regiment &c Brought up the Rear. 3 Division Consisting of Essex men in the Center Command'd by My Selfe.

16. March'd from Lawey's Camp & 9 o'clock in Evening Encamp'd 2 miles from the Mount 2 o'clock att Night Gen Warner arrived in Camp & Call'd a Councill when itt was agreed to make no attack Untill a Reing forcement should arive.

17. March'd all day by Divisions to the Enemies advanced Centuries A Small Spattering fire began Coll Safford Took post on Right & my Division on the Left. Coll Barrell in the Rear & Continued our posts for 2 days. Att Night Took Cap' Dodge & 6 Privates & went up side of the Lake within the Enemies Centuries & Took 4 Batteaus The Centuries fired upon us but Sustained no Damage the Enemy Kept upon us a Heavy fire all day to no purpos.

18. Continued a fire all day by a Scattering fire

19. Received Newes by Express from Coll Brown of his Taking the Lines att Ty & Requesting a Reing forcement from us which we did Consent to of 200 men.

20. Continued a Scattering fire which the enemy Continued by heavy Canons

21. found the Enemy was Reinforced by 180 men & expected 600 the Next day. Att Night Received Express from Coll Brown Requesting a Retreat without Loss of Time Returned him for answer we Should

22. Agreed to Retreat att Night Rained hard 6 o'clock att Night began our Retreat in heavy Rain by Two Divisions one by Land Command by Gen. Warner the other by Water in a Rout to Skeensburrough Coll Safford Took the front & by order of the General I Brought up the Rear Niews being brought to the Generall att Dark that the Enemy was all on motion the Guard Boats falling Up Toward Skeen made our men Verry Uneasy Att 8 o'clock Call of all our Guards & att about Tenn Left our [illegible] of 200 men. the Enemy having then about 1000 & in part with Cannon &c

About 8 o'clock Reached what is Calld the Narrows, & There Encampd where a Party of about 60 of Coll Woodbridge's Regiment was Posted to Support us or Coll Brown as occasion should call. This Place is about 15 miles from Ty & 15 miles from Skeensburrough on Lake Champlain & So Narrow that a man Threw a stone within about 2 Rods Across the Shore, both Sides being almost Perpendicular & about 60 or 70 high Cleard of Cool with Wind at N.W.

23. Continued our Post att the Narrows to Preserve the Retreat of Coll Brown.

24. 10 oclock Took our Rout to Skeens, & Arrived their att 4 o'clock & had a View of the Destruction of our Guard Boats Vessells Batteaus &c the Destruction began att the Mouth of South Bay about 3 miles from Skeen & Continued to Skeen both Sides of the Lake being Covered with Wreck of the Above Vessells, &c

At Skeen Takes the Rise of Wood Creek & after a Carriage of $\frac{1}{2}$ mile over a fall, the Passage is Good Up to fort ann^d 14 miles.

25. Lay att Skeen waiting for Coll Brown Rote a Letter to Wyfe. paid 2 dollars to Shoe Horse.

26. Coll Brown Arrived from Dimond Island with all his Party Except 2 men Kill'd & 2 so bad Wounded that they was obliged to Leave them Each Lost one Legg. the Enemy being aprised of their Coming & was Well Prepared Att 10 o'clock was ordered to march to make better Room for Coll. Brown & att Night Arrived Att Powlett 24 miles in Verry Bad Road.

27. All our men that went with Coll Johnson to the Mount arrived & not one man was wanting. the Preservation was Worthy of Notice.

28. Remained att Powlett.

29. Att Noon Took a Journey for Bennington for the Regimental Stores.

30. Arriv^d at Coll Saffords att Bennington, & Rote a Letter home.

31. Still att Bennington Nothing Niew.

October 1. Returned for Powlett & Lodged in Arlington.

2. Att 12 oclock mett our Troops from Powlett & march^d Back to Manchester.

3. March^d & Lodg^d in Cambrig & Supp^d & Breakfasted on a fatt Bear.

4. Arrived att Saratoga mills.

5. Arrived att our Camp att Still Water.

6.

7. Att Noon all the Whol Camp was ordered to Arms att 3 o'clock a Spattering firing of Cannon began 4 o'clock Some Small Arms Coll Johnson with one halfe the Regiment was ordered to march & my selfe with Major Crofts with the Rest halfe, after 4 o'clock a Heavy fire of Small arms began, & a heavy Action Came on which Terminated in our favour A Memorable Day indeed We Lost in our Regiment 10 Killd & 84 Wounded Samuel Fowler & Benj^a [illegible] was of the former & Gen Arnold had his Legg Broke by fall of his Horse

8. A Cannonade all Day we Lost a few men killd & a few Wounded. Gen Lincoln had his Legg Brok by Grape Shott.

9. the Enemy Retreated in the Night & Left all their Sick & Wounded behind. Upwards 800 in Number Rote a Letter to Brother Stephen

10. Our Army Followed the Enemy & Viewd the Enemy's Camp. Sent our Wounded to Niew City Recommended them to Capt. Greenleaf & Coll. Wiglesworth

11. Was putt on Command with Rank of Lieut Coll to break Up the Enemies Bridge of Boats & Apply them in Carrying Up Baggage to our Army att Saratoga.

12. Sunday Still on Command in forwarding Stores from Camp & Still Water to Saratoga, & had Two Deserters Come & Delivered Up to me.

13. March^d from Behmas Heights to Saratoga $\frac{1}{2}$ miles Short of the Meting Housc & Encamp^d & one mile from the Enemies Lines.

14. Att Saratoga & a Spattering fire att & from the Enemy.

15. A Cessation of Arms & a Truce held all Day between Gen. Burgoin & Gen. Gates.

16. A Cessation of Arms Still Continued.

17. The Grand Army of Gen Burgoin Cappittelated & agreed to bee all Prisoners of Warr, a Grand Sight as ever was Beheld by Eye of man in America Supposed to bee 7000 men & Armes

Their Extent three deep as Upon Their March was Supposed to be Seven miles in Length with Baggage &c Grand in Deed.

18. Viewd the Enemies Camp &c att Niewn Receivd orders to march Direct for Albany with all Dispatch & Reach Behman Heights.

19. Marchd early & Crossd the Sprouts of Mowhawk River in the Evining & wett our Selves much Butt was kindly Entertained at Capt Outhouts'. a Verry Warm Evining.

20. Reachd Albany att Noon & Encampd our Brigade on the Heights above the City in a Corn field. Cool Winds at N.E. Quartered my Self & Majr Crofts & Capt Jenkins at Mr. Thomas Hunns. was kindly Entertaind.

21. Still at Mr. Hunns. Exchangd the White Horse for a Large Bay with a White face & Gave 190 dollars.

22. Still att Mr Hunns.

23. Paid 4 Dollars to Shew Horse & 5 dollars to Mr. Hunn for use of House, &c

24. Marchd Early for to Join Gen Clinton & putt up at [illegible] over Slow 12½ miles from Albany had the Expense for the first time paid for horse one Night

25. Marchd 12½ miles & Lodgd at Clintonburgh at Mr Hollenkecks. was Taken with a Violent Cold paid 16s for 4 dinners.

26. Remaind all Day for Want of Provisions & was Still Un Well

27. Regiment & Whole Brigade Marched for Catts Kill 8 miles Dist. butt Tarryd my Selfe & man Timothy behind being still Un Well had my Horse paid 2 Nights & one day.

28. Still Un able to march itt being Verry Wett & my Selfe Unwell.

29. fair Weather & about 11 o'clock Marchd on 4 miles & began Rain again, & was much Wett & Reachd Catts Kill att one o'clock 9 miles the Great Rain for 3 days makes the Freshetts Very high Was Genteelly entrained att the Widow Duers House where I found the Whole Brigade with Gen. Warner the mountains on our Right hand Covered with Snow.

30. Marchd for Skoratee 12 miles, the Mountains Still Covered with Snow. After Noon Passd a number of Buildings Burnt by the Enemy the North Side of the River also a Large Brigg was Burnt att this Place by Enemy 8 days past. Saugerties is the Right Name.

31. Marchd 12 miles to Esopus Landing Crossed the Stroud & Quartered att Mr. Crows.

November 1. Layd Still this day to Give our men Time to Wash &c went & Viewd the once Beautyfull Town of Esopus butt now in Rueins 150 Houses with a Large Meeting House All the Houses are Stone & Consumed in a few Hours by the Enemy with many Vessels Lying at the Stroud &c or out River

2. Marchd 20 miles & Quarterd att Niew Marlborough.

3. Marchd 12 Miles & Encampd att Niew-burrough 2 miles above the high Lands being in Plain View of the Same & 1 mile Short of Niew Windsor, Close by the ferry Leading to fish Kill.

4. Still att Niew Burrough Quarterd with an old Acquaintance Capt Coleman Was Kindly Entertaind

5. Still at Niew Burrough & part of our Brigade with our General Embarkd for Tarry Town.

6. Still at Capt Colemans & Verry Wett Day.

7. Nothing Niew

8. Embarkd our men on board Small Sloops & Schooners & they sett saile for Tarry Town att 9 oclock Marchd Selfe & Major Croes 2 oclock for Tarry Town Crossd the River Passd Through fish Kill & Lodgd in the Highlands 12 miles

9. Marchd Through the High Lands Passd Peaks Kill, Kings Bridge & Lodgd on Courtland Mannor in the Mannor House Had a Supper of Water Pottage with a Glass of Good Wine mixd in the Same Sent me by Alderman Blake who came & Spent the Evening with me, &

10. Arrived att Tarry Town & found our Brigade Encampd 1½ miles from the Town in a Wood Dined in Cap. Jenkins tent Took Quarters att Mr. Stormes 2 miles from Tarry Town.

11. our Brigade had orders to move for White Planes butt Tarried behind My Selfe being Unwell.

12. my Disorder increasd & Continued to Increase untill the 18th when was Alarmd att midnight by the Enemy's Burning Two Dwelling Houses with Two Barnes & Carried away the men Prisoners was obliged my Selfe to go into the field & Tarry 1½ Hours in the Cold being Verry Sick

22. the fever abated

23. was Remoov'd by Coll Bullard & Majr Crofts in a Carrage to King's Street in the Rear of the Army Between Horse Neck & White Plains.

24. Still att King's Street

25. Began my Journey for home After being helpd Upon my Horse. Rode 12 miles.

Dec. 5. after a Tedious Journey & Suffering much by the Cold I arrived Home.

IV.—SELECTIONS FROM OLD PERIODICALS.

I. THE APOLLO. BOSTON: 1792.

COMMUNICATED BY WILLIAM KELBY, Esq.

[The following interesting items are from "The American Apollo, Containing the Publications of the Hieroglyphic Society; Essays, Moral, Political, and Poetical; and the daily Occurrences in the Natural, Civil, and Commercial World." Vol. I. 8vo. Boston: January to September, 1792. W. K.]

Boston, Jan. 6. We are happy in presenting the public with the APOLLO, from the first complete Printing Press ever made in this town—the wood work was made by Mr. Berry, and the iron work by Mr. McClench, it is well executed in every part, and does honor to the ingenious constructors. p. 7.

The subscription for lighting the streets, has been very generous; the lamps are now preparing, and after the next full moon we hope to see our streets much better illuminated than ever. p. 8.

PHIL. Jan. 4. On Friday morning was presented to the President of the U. S., a Box, elegantly mounted with silver, and made of the celebrated Oak Tree that sheltered the Washington of Scotland, the brave and patriotic Sir William Wallace, after his defeat at the battle of Falkirk, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, by Edward the I. This magnificent and truly characteristic present, is from the Earl of Buchan, by the hands of Mr. Archibald Robertson, a Scots gentleman, and portrait painter, who arrived in America some months ago. The box was presented to Lord Buchan by the Goldsmith's company of Edinburgh; from whom his lordship requested, and obtained leave to make it over to a man whom he deemed more deserving of it than himself, and the only man in the world to whom he thought it justly due. We hear further, that Lord Buchan has by letter requested of the President, that, on the event of his decease, he will consign the box to that man, in this country, who shall appear, in his judgement, to merit best, upon the same considerations that induced him to send it to the present possessor.

The inscription, upon a silver plate, on the inside of the lid is as follows:

"Presented by the Goldsmiths of Edinburgh, to David Stuart Erskine, Earl of Buchan, with the freedom of their corporation, by their deacon. —A. D. 1782." p. 23.

We cannot omit the singular petition [to the Legislature of Mass.] of a Mrs. Gaunet; who stated that before her marriage, she had served her country in the character of a soldier under the name of Robert Shurtliff for eighteen months, and requested her pay, as allowed to soldiers of the other sex. The Committee on her petition reported a resolve for granting her wages, in the terms usual on common occasions. But the House after inquiring into her case, and finding that she not only served faithfully as a soldier, but that she had been wounded, and had preserved her chastity by the most scrupulous concealment of her sex, ordered the report to be recommitted, in order that it might be prefaced with a recital of these singular and

honourable facts. The report so amended, was brought in yesterday, and a grant made to her of the customary wages, and interest from the year 1788. p. 31.

ALBANY, Jan. 12. The Presbytery of Albany ordained, at East Ballston, on Tuesday last, Mr. William B. Ripley, to the gospel ministry, and enstalled him Pastor of the Presbyterian church in that place. The Rev. John Warford, of Salem, preached the ordination sermon, from *I. Tim.* vi. 20; the Rev. William Schenck, of Ballston presided at the ordination: the Rev. John M'Donald, of Albany, delivered a pastoral charge to the newly ordained minister; and the Rev. Simon Hosack, of Johnstown, gave an exhortation to the congregation.

The Rev. Eliphalet Ball, the founder of this settlement, and from whom it receives the name, was present, and seemed to witness the pleasing transactions with peculiar satisfaction. About twenty five years ago, with a single companion, he visited the spot, and was the first who lifted the planter's axe in this flourishing settlement, at that time a cottageless and pathless wilderness. With a swelling tear of gratitude in his eye, he now stood with his children and grand children, surrounded by several hundreds, and beheld one minister of Ballston engaged in setting another apart to the ministry for a different part of the same town. "I have seen," cried the venerable patriarch, "the promise fulfilled. The wilderness truly blossoms as the rose." p. 51.

POUGHKEEPSIE, Nov. 3. A few weeks ago, as some persons were digging for marle, in a swamp on the Wall-kill, in Ulster County, they came across a bed of large Rib Bones. They were found six feet under ground, and at the bottom of the Strata of marle. Some of the largest of the Ribs were accidentally broke with the spade, on the first discovery of them. One of the entire rib bones is now in the possession of a gentleman in this town, and is four feet four inches in length, by measuring on the outside of the curve—It must have been one of the first rib bones of the animal, because the same gentleman, who has been on the spot, says, that one of the other ribs which was broken by the spade, was one foot longer than this. This information we communicate as of unquestionable authenticity. Bones of the same marvelous size have been frequently found in various parts of North America, and of Siberia in Asia, and are usually ascribed the Mammoth, a stupendous animal, whose race must have perished in some remote period of the world, and who has left only those relics of his existence, buried deep in the earth, to excite our surprise and admiration. p. 53.

Extract of a letter from Marietta, Sept. 11. 1791.
—Nigh Belle Ville, where the Ohio has worn away the bank, there dropped out a stone of hard black marble of about 5 or 6 pounds weight, having twelve equal surfaces, being each equilateral and equiangular, five sided figures. I do not readily conceive of any rule to make such a figure but think it must be formed from a globe; it may be a lesson to some more versed in the sciences. I think it a demonstration that this country, has once been settled by a people much more civilized than the present inhabitants. p. 99.

Married at Pepperell, Capt. Jeremiah Shattuck, aged 90 to Mrs. Ruth Bixby, aged 75; from him have descended 10 children, 60 grand children, about 70 great grand children and one of the next generation; from her have descended 13 children, 39 grand children, &c. p. 112.

Died Sambo Jackson aged 44, a Black of an upright character; we need not add the epithet "free," since there are no slaves in Massachusetts. p. 112.

Married at Springfield, Mr. John Chaloner, to Miss Experience Bliss. This is the same Mr. Chaloner who lost both his arms by the discharge of a field-piece on Federal-hill, during the insurrection. p. 112.

HALIFAX, Jan. 18. On Sunday last sailed, with a favourable wind, the *Sierra Leona Fleet*, consisting of fifteen sail under the charge of Lieut. John Clarkson, of the Royal Navy, having on board 1200 free Blacks; that have chosen to emigrate from this country to Africa, in the hope of its being more congenial to their habits and constitution, under the protection of the Company, lately incorporated by Charter in Great Britain, for the establishment of a free Colony there. p. 131.

PHILADELPHIA, March 1. On Sunday the 19th, inst., left this city for the Cherokee country, the six Indian Chiefs who arrived here on the 29th Dec. last; together with the squaw, who came with them. They were attended with six waggons, containing their baggage, provisions, &c., and accompanied by a white girl, who had smitten the heart of one of the Chiefs, during his residence in this city; and, it is said, has consented to become his wife.—p. 132.

ALLEN'S MARINE LIST, Brig *Felicity*, Dotey, from this port, bound to Jamaica, sailed 14th, Dec. touched at Turks Island 8th Jan. lost two horses, some hay and small stock, in the race of Fishers Island, the day they sailed.—Independent of ballast—Strike home Britons!—New England stones very good to keep British bottoms down. p. 135.

Attention Brethren, I announce to you, that the frozen Gates of Hell, are once more thawed and open, for reception—Take heed to your ways and keep a good look out. p. 136.

On the 28th of February, it snowed steadily for eight hours (from ten in the morning till six in the evening) in Charleston, S. C.—This phenomenon, it is observed, is becoming more and more common on the coast of the Carolinas; it belongs to the philosophical societies to investigate the cause. p. 153.

Died at Philadelphia, March 20th 1792, Peter Otsiquete, a Sachem of the Oneida nation. He arrived there but a few days before, on business with the General Government; and the next day he was buried with the honours of war. Some years since he was taken to France, and educated at the expense of the Marquis De La Fayette. He returned about three years ago, and landed in this town—from whence he revisited his native woods. He was about 26 years of age, of an active genius, and very friendly to the United States. p. 156.

Lines written out of temper, on a Pannel in one of the Pews of S—m Church.

Could poor King David but for once,
To S—m Church repair;
And hear his Psalms thus warbled out,
Good Lord, how he would swear.

But could St. Paul but just pop in,
From higher scenes abstracted
And hear his gospel now explain'd
By —, he'd run distracted.

p. 173.

MIDDLETOWN, March 17. An Assembly for dancing having been kept up for these many winters in this place, by the gentlemen and ladies, the black servants, who are fond of imitation, have set up one. The time of their meeting was generally notified to the white folks by the loss of turkeys, fowls, ducks, &c. of which no notice having been taken, the principal Manager (who it is supposed intended to give the Ball himself) thought proper to take from his master, in the same clandestine manner between 4 and 5 pounds in cash, and upon being found out, has postponed the Assembly, which was to have been on Thursday Evening, and danced off, alone, to the tune of the thief's march. It is supposed he is a pupil (or follower of the rules) of a negro schoolmaster, as he pretends to be, who it is said teaches his scholars that they may take (not steal) anything they want or have a mind to, from their masters or mistresses, but not from anybody else.

Query, Is it best such Assemblies should be kept up any longer, without the white people's knowing how much each of them has to pay towards it beforehand. p. 177.

PHILADELPHIA, April 6. The Statue of Dr.

Franklin, lately sent for by William Bingham, Esq. by him presented to the Library Company of Phil., and intended to ornament the principal front of their new building in Fifth street, is arrived from Italy via New York. p. 191.

PHILADELPHIA, April 23, 1792. On Thursday last died at his lodgings in this city BIGTREE, one of the Indian Chiefs of the Five Nations, that arrived here about six weeks since. His illness was not of more than 20 hours continuance. His corpse was interred on Saturday. p. 200.

A New York paper informs that the Barbers of that city have raised the price of shaving from six to eight pence, on account of the extraordinary and universal addition to the length of the chin, that has taken place there since the late failure. p. 201.

The exhibition of legs in Mrs. Cowley's comedy, reminds us of a bon mot of George Selwyn's who, on being asked how he liked the then rage for short petticoats, observed, "he liked it very well, and did not care to what height the fashion was carried." p. 202.

Boston, May 11, 1792. The subject of the *mint*, has occupied the attention of the citizens considerably; and the majority dislike the figure of *Liberty* being struck on the coins, in preference to the head of the President of the United States.

The first words in the constitution of the U. S. are, "*We the people, &c.*" Now, who, say they, is the *representative* of the *sovereignty of the people*? The *President* chosen by them, most assuredly is the answer. If, therefore, the coinage is to bear the impression of the sovereignty of the people, his figure ought to be adopted.

Silver and gold cannot be signed like a *bank bill*, therefore the stamp of public authority ought to be made on the coin, as a warranty of the weight and purity of the pieces, otherwise they will not pass freely from hand to hand, without weighing or assaying, which will be very troublesome. Whose stamp so proper to attest this, as the *chief magistrate* of that nation whose coin it is? p. 215.

In the debate in Congress, on the *Mint bill*, the motion for striking the President's head upon the coin, was warmly opposed by a certain gentleman, in a very lengthy speech, as favouring monarchical principles. A gentleman from this State rose and said, he perceived the same objection might be made to the Eagle on the reverse of the coin, he thought it would be best to substitute a more harmless and less monarchical bird, and begged leave to recommend a *Goose*. p. 216.

TO CORRESPONDENTS. The death of PONE, who died of the *Botts*—is so well written that we

dare not publish it, lest it should discourage our other poetical correspondents, p. 216.

On Friday, May 11th. the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania laid the corner stone of the *President's House* in Ninth street. The following inscription is on the stone:—"The Corner Stone was laid on the 10th. of May 1792. The State of Pennsylvania out of debt. THOMAS MIFFLIN, Governor." The building will be about 100 feet square. p. 228.

Died at Plymouth, Mrs. Hannah Sampson, aged 72: She has been a successful practitioner of the obstetric art about 30 years, and has, during that time officiated at near 2000 births. p. 238.

At the commencement of the late American war, a body of four score old men, formed themselves into a military company in Pennsylvania. They were chiefly German emigrants, and had served with reputation in Europe. The commander was nearly 100 years of age, and had been in 17 pitched battles. The drummer was 84, and nearly the whole corps had passed the limits of three score years and ten. In room of a cockade, they wore a black crape round their arms. p. 263.

Commodore Manly (well known for his bold exertions on the watry element during the late war) has obtained an half pay pension of 30 dollars per month, from the United States, for life. p. 276.

Boston, May 26. On the 23d inst., died a very worthy woman of this place, Mrs. Ann Bright. About a year and an half before her decease she had been converted to the Catholic faith by the Rev. Mr. Thayer. Two days before her death, Mr. Thayer arrived from a part of the country, six hundred miles distant, and at the woman's request, administered to her the sacrament, according to the Roman Ritual; but notwithstanding these unequivocal proofs of her belonging to the Catholic church, the poor woman had scarcely breathed her last, before in steps a protestant parson, and, right or wrong, insisted upon burying her, although the woman had refused seeing him in her last sickness. Mr. T. has made his appeal to the candid public, whether such conduct is not a violation of the will of the dead; and whether it ought to be tolerated in a country that professes so much respect to the rights of conscience as the State of Massachusetts. However, that he may not appear wanting in his duty, he this day celebrates a mass for the repose of her soul, at which all persons indiscriminately are invited to attend. p. 285.

Extract of a letter dated Trenton, June 8, 1792.

A coroner's inquest was held on Wednesday last, on the body of a young negro woman (late

the property of Mr. Samuel Hunt) at the Presbyterian church in Maidenhead (where it had been sent the evening preceding, for interment.) The Coroner's inquest reports, that her death was occasioned by a most barbarous and inhuman whipping which she survived but a few hours, inflicted by her said master—To his shame be it spoken, he is seventy years of age. The murder was committed by him and a connexion of his, by the name of Elias Hunt, under the direction and superintendence of Mrs. Hunt, wife of the former. Such of the Jurors as I have had an opportunity of conversing with on the subject say, that from the appearance of the mangled remains of the poor wretch, they are of opinion that a more painful death than she must have suffered can scarcely be possible; refused by her mistress even a drink of water, which she supplicated with her last words; and yet these monsters are not even committed to prison. p. 296.

NEW YORK, June 20. On Monday last arrived in this city from his settlement at Grand River, on the north side of Lake Erie, on a visit to some of his friends in this quarter, Captain JOSEPH BRANDT, of the British army, the famous Mohawk chief, who so eminently distinguished himself during the late war, as the military leader of the Six Nations. We are informed that he intends to visit the city of Philadelphia and pay his respects to the President of the United States. p. 297.

Extract of a letter from an American gentleman at Niagara, dated May 17, 1792. I have seen the celebrated fall of Niagara. It is situate 18 miles above Lake Ontario and as many below Lake Erie. There all the water which the Lake, and Rivers collect for upwards of 1500 miles falls down a perpendicular descent of 142 feet. Below, for the space of 100 yards, one cannot see the water, by reason of a thick fog which rises and forms a continual cloud; in which, in a clear day, one may see a rainbow morning and evening.

The cavern which the Messisaugas call *Manitoah Wigwam* or *house of the devil* is a curiosity of which I never remember to have seen a description. It is situate about eight miles from the west end of Lake Ontario. The mountains which surround the lake, at this place, break off and form a precipice of 200 feet perpendicular descent; at the bottom of which the cavern begins. The first opening is large enough for three men to walk abreast without interfering. It continues in this manner for 70 yards horizontally. Then it falls perpendicular 50 yards, of which I gained the bottom by steps of one, two, three, and four feet. Then it continues 40 yards horizontally; at the end of which I dis-

covered another perpendicular descent; but, as there were no stone steps, and the air of the cavern was intensely cold, I proceeded no farther.

The explosions which it sends out, about once a week in the spring and autumn, shake the ground for 16 miles round, to such a degree, that the furniture is often jarred from the shelves in the houses.

The Province of Niagara on the N. E. side of the river St. Lawrence between the Lake Ontario and Erie, is settled chiefly by the noted Col. Butler's rangers; a corps, which in the time of the war infested the frontiers of New-York and Pennsylvania; and likewise by the loyalists from the above States, who came here to get recompence from the King for their losses; and by vagabonds who made their escape from different gaols in the country. Among the last is the noted Doctor Clark, who brought with him to the amount of 4000 dollars, for which he exchanged counterfeit public securities. £100 has been offered for him at Newark, and he has been once taken by Capt. Hendrick, the Chief of the Stockbridge Indians, and carried over the river, but rescued and brought back by the inhabitants.

No subject of the United States is permitted to pass the river.

Fourteen warriors belonging to the Six Nations have gone from Buffalo Creek, which lies opposite Fort Erie on the American side, to join the Shawanoes at the Miami country. — p. 321.

The celebrated Col. Brandt, now on a visit at the seat of Government, has paid his respects to the *President*—and was well received. This *Warrior of the Wilderness*, is endeavouring, at the instance of our rulers, to effect a peace with the hostile tribe of Indians. p. 321.

Died at Stamford, Connecticut, Mrs. Stevens, aged 79, who lived with the husband of her youth 59 years; left surviving her, 12 sons and daughters, 62 sons and daughters-in-law, 86 grand-children, 24 added by marriage in that generation, 56 great-grand children, and 30 deceased out of the family—Of survivors the total is 190—Of descendants total 220.—The family has been famous for longevity; Mr. Stevens is now in his 83d year: his father lived until 97, and hers to nearly the same age, and several other ancestors have out-lived fourscore. A sermon was delivered at the funeral by the Rev. Shephard adapted to the occasion, from *Genesis* xlviii. 8 and 9—In the course of the late war the old gentleman was out in the service and his 12 sons. p. 361.

ALBANY, July 30. On Saturday last, arrived in this city, directly from Scotland, — Nesbit, Esq. a gentleman who comes warmly re-

commended by the celebrated Doct. Robertson, and several other literary characters of eminence in that country, as a Master of the Science of Canaling, from several years experience both in Holland and Scotland.

The President of the northern inland L. N. Company attended by Mr. Nesbit, and a committee of Directors, left this city, this morning, on a tour, to explore the river from Troy upwards, for the purpose of prosecuting the canals with spirit the remaining part of the season, and making preparations for its more active prosecution in the ensuing year. p. 367.

The Editors of the *Apollo* beg leave to inform their country customers that there will not be the smallest danger of the Small Pox being conveyed to any person in their papers. They have a supply of paper now on hand sufficient to last till the town is entirely cleansed of the disorder: And all the persons employed in printing the *Apollo* have had the disorder several years ago. In addition to this, it will be the particular care of the Editors to have every paper smooched before it is taken out of the office; therefore they hope their country friends will not think there can be any danger. p. 388.

LONDON, June 18. Gen. Benedict Arnold, (better known during the American War by the name of *one* Arnold) was admitted to a conference with the minister on Tuesday last. This gentleman, if we mistake not, went over to the continent two or three years ago, with a number of American Loyalists, to form the settlement of New Brunswick, from which he has lately returned.

Gen. Arnold is about to petition government for a compensation for his losses, or to promote his rank, and give him active employment in any situation befitting his abilities. p. 392.

BOSTON, Sept. 28, 1792. We learn from Albany, that the Glass Works, erected several years ago within a few miles of that city, and which has been deserted ever since for want of Cash, is now owned by Messrs. McCallen, Mc Gregor, and Co. who have completely repaired it, supplied it with every material, and are now manufacturing, and advertising for sale, *Window Glass* of every dimension. They want a good *Flint-Glass Maker*. As this manufactory must be of great public utility, it is to be presumed they will receive the greatest encouragement from all (American) glass dealers. p. 416.

John Taylor Gilman, was Governor of New Hampshire, fourteen years, eleven of which were Consecutive, commencing in 1794. His last year of service was 1815. Since that date no man has been Governor more than four years in succession.

V.—JOURNAL OF A TOURIST THROUGH THE EASTERN STATES, 1796.

BY THOMAS CHAPMAN, ESQ.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, IN THE POSSESSION OF HIS GRANDSON, GEORGE TEMPLE CHAPMAN, ESQ., OF NEW YORK.

JOURNEY FROM THROGG'S NECK, THROUGH THE WESTERN PART OF THE STATE OF VERMONT.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 7th. Left Mr Heaton's this Morning Accompy^d by his Son Robert and rode through East Chester to Major Pophams, at Scarsdale, 10 Miles from Frogs Neck, where we dined and Staid. We Walked over the Majors Farm, 140 Acres of poor Land, wch he is trying to improve by Swamp Earth of wch there is a large Quantity upon his Premises.

THURSDAY, JUNE 8th. Rob^t Heaton rode with me to Mr Hatfields, where I left him and then Journey'd on 14 Miles through y^e White Plains, to North Castle, where I dined with W^m Bouran, a Quaker, who tooke charge a Stallion Colt for me. At 5 o'Clock in the Even^g after viewing the Colt I proceeded 6 Miles to Bedford and Slept at Major Holley's Tavern. The Country from East Chester to Bedford is handsomely varigated with Hills & Dales, all the Land Cultivated except Wood Lotts left here & there for Firewood & fencing Timber. The Land is indifferent but not very Stoney.

FRIDAY. Left Major Holleys at 5 in the Morning and rode 12 Miles to North Salem, and Breakfasted at Mr Lockwood Tavern, a Civil, Intelligent Man, from thence rode 8 Miles to South East and dined at Mr Weeds Tavern, and then proceed 6 Miles further to Franklin, when I stop'd all Night at a Taven kept by Mr Havelin, one of the Proprietors of a Stallion called Victory, bred on long Island. Mr Achin, the other Proprietor, who keeps a Taven half a Mile from Havelin's shew me the Horse. I Examind him very minutely and think him a very grand Horse without any diffects except is Neck wch is rather coarse.

SATURDAY, JUNE 10th. Mounted my Horse early and rode 10 Miles to Doctor Badcocks Taven at Dover, where Pay Master another Sallion, is kept; this, though a fine Horse is inferior to Victory. From that place I rode 8 Miles to Vandousahs Taven, on the Edge of the Nine Partners Township, here I baited my Horse untill 5 o'Clock in the Aftirnoon when I departed and rode 12 miles to Sharon, the first Town in this rode in the State of Connecticut, where I tooke up my abode at Mr Patchens Taven, where I staid untill Monday Morn^g. The Country from Bedford to this Town is beautifully diversied with Woods, Medows &

Arable Land, the rode wch is very good, lays chiefly along the Intervalls, which in general is good Land. Staying at Shairing on Sunday, gave me an Opportunity of seeing the place. It consists of 50 well Built Frame Houses, a handsome Meeting House, and Academy. The Street is wide and the Houses at such a distance as to admit a large Garden on one side with Outhouses & an Orchard on other, with Lotts of Land on the Rear of each Dwelling.

MONDAY, JUNE 12th. Left Mr Pachon, who is a very civil Land lord, early in the Morning. I rode 14 Miles and Breakfasted at Stanton's Tavern in the Township of Saulsbury in this Town. Iron Ore is got and I passed by the Furnace and Forge where it is Manufactured. from Stanton's I proceeded 12 Miles through Township of Sheffield when I entered into the State of Massachusetts, and bated my Horse at Coopers Tavern in Great Barrington, from whence I continued my Journey to 8 Miles, wch brought me to Stockbridge, A Still Handsomer Village than Shairing, and Stopped all Night an Excellent Tavern kept by Mr. Seymore, who is extremely Attentive to his Customers, nor his Wife less Attentive. The Country from Shairing to Stockbridge is delightfull, for exclusive of the Hills that are all beautifully coverd with there is a wide Intervale of good Land, all along the Banks of Stratford River, through wch the Road chiefly lies, in some places 2 in other Miles one Mile wide.

TUESDAY, 18th of JUNE. Departed from Seymors at 6 o'Clock and rode 6 Miles to Lenox, from thence 6 Miles further to Pittsfield, where I breakfast at Mr Ritsels Tavern where are kept Jehu & Badger, two Stallions, from thence I went on 8 Miles to Halls Tavern in Ashford, dined, & then proceeded 5 Miles to Rossetters Tavern in Williamstown, where I slept.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 14th. Sett of in Company with a Student in Williamstown Colleige, and rode 5 Miles to the thick Settled part of the Town where the Colleige is built. I understand from this Young Man that his Uncle, Mr Williams, at this Decease, about 4-Years agoe, bequeathed large Tracts of land for Building and support of a Free Academy in this Town, and these Tracts in Value and being Sold by the Trustees for a large Sum of Money, the Academy is not only compleated and Indwed, but a great surplus remaining the Legislature have Incorporated a Colleige and granted a Lottery, by the produce of wch the Buildings are already so extensive as to Admit 100 Students. At Present the Academy & Colleige are under one Roof, but they are now at Work upon another Brick Building 100 foot by 40, so that it bids fair to be an extensive Seminary of Learning. There is a President & two Tutors

belonging to the Colleige, but no Professors as yet. There are two large Taverns in this Town, at each of wch several of the Students board, and pay 10 Sh^s p^r Week. The Town lays low and is surrounded by high hills. From Williams Town I went three Miles & past the Line into the State of Vermont and breakfasted at Blins Tavern, 2 Miles further, in the Town of Poonal, from thence to Bennington is 9 Miles, where I arrived at 1 o'Clock & put up at Mr Douies Tavern Opposite to the Meeting House. The Country from Stockbridge to this Town is Hilly but the Land in general good, Well Wooded and Waterd and the Roads as good as can be expected. Bennington is a small Town but is beautifully Situated upon an Eminence, the Ground gradually descending from each side of the main Street as well as from the Entrance at each end. This and the Surrounding Mountains, wch nearly encompass the Town at a Miles dist^{ce}, makes a complete Amphitheatre of the whole. The few House that are in Bennington are large handsome Frame Buildings, amongst the firmest o wch is Mr Deuca, who is an excellent Landlord, keeps a good House, but charges high. there are two other good Taverns in Bennington, beside Dueys. The Public Buildings here, viz^t Meeting House, Court House and Academy, are very Indifferent Buildings, and shew the Citizens of this Town have no Inclination to Ornament their Towns with Public Buildings.

FRIDAY, JUNE 16th. I Tooke my departure from Bennington early in the Morning, and rode through Shaftsbury, a fine Township of Land, well Cultivated, into Arlington, 14 Miles, where I breakfast at an Indifferent Tavern kept by one Heard, after wch I proceeded 5 Miles, was over-tooke by the Rain wch obliged me to halt at Lockwoods Tavern in Sunderland Township. Here I fed my Horse, talked a little with the Landlady who I found a very Intelligent Woman, & then went on 10 Miles through Manchester, a capital Township to Demmans Tavern in Dorset, where I slept all Night. From this House to Rutland, for wch I bound my course the Next Morning, is 29 Miles, and rode through Harviche, Wallingsford, Danby and Clarendon, all wch, except the latter, are new Towns bordering on the Green Mountains, at the foot of wch runs the Otter Creek, and the Interval between the Green Mountains & those to the Westrd of the Creek, is very narrow untill you get to Clarendon, when it gradually opens all the way to Rutland, where I arrived in the Evening and put up at Mr Reeds, who keeps a good Inn. The Situation of Rutland is similar to that of Bennington, standing on an Eminence but the Mountains on the East & West are at a greater distance, wch gives a more dignified

appearance to the Town. It Contains double the number of Houses that are in Bennington; the greater of wch are large two Storey high, and seemingly very Commodious, but with regard to the Public Buildings I can say no more in favor of them than I have done of those in Bennington. The usual Terms of Boarding in Rutland are 1½ Dollars per Week, except when the Assembly sits, & then the Tavern keepers & private Houses Charges the Assembly Men three Dollars. Mr. Reed told me that a Twelve-month agoe they only charged their Yearly Borders at the rate of one Dollar per Week. Rutland being with Windsor the Alternate seat of Government, it is rapidly Increasing in size. The Merchts & Traders get all their Imported Goods from Boston & New York. I remained at Rutland untill Monday the 19th of June, when I bend my course a cross the Green Mountains for Windsor. I stop'd at Finny's Tavern, 9 Miles from Rutland, bat' my Horse, and 6 Miles further brought me to the Top of the Mountains where one Bent has a large Farm of 500 Acres & keeps a Tavern. Here I dined upon Gammon Eggs, wch Mr. Bent got for me very expeditiously. This Man & his family, consist of himself, Wife & 11 Children, moved to this Wild Spot from Worster County in Massachusetts, 5 Years agoe. He has more than 100 Acres of cleared Lands part of wch is as fine natural Grass Pasture as ever I saw. from this to Duttons Tavern is 11 Miles, where I slep'd, the Roads been Hilly & Moody in many places made this a tiresome Days Journey for myself & Horse. The Inhabitants are but thinly scatter'd upon these Mountains. all the Land in general is good & well Waterd. Sugar Trees every were abound in these Mountains. There is also Pine, Cedar, Hemloc and Chesnut, but very few Oak Trees. from Duttons to Windsor, through Weathersfield, a fine Township of Land, is 16 Miles, where I arrivd at 1 o'Clock in the Afternoon, & put up at Mr. Allens Taven close to the Court House.

Windsor is pleasantly Situated upon a fine Interval of Land that extends up & down the Connecticut River about 3 Miles, but is very narrow, no where exceeding a quarter of a Mile in Breadth, the Soil being of a light Loomy Nature. There are upwards 30 good Dwelling House, several Stores, an Indiff Court House wch Serves for the Legislature when they sit, as also for the Courts of Justice, and on Sundays Divine Service is perf'd in it. On the 21st I left Windsor and rode up the Vermont side to Water Quitchey River, a dist^{ce} of nine Miles, and then cross'd a Ferry to Plainfield, New Hampshire, from thence to Dartmouth Colleige is 9 Miles, where I arrivd in the Even^g & tooke up my Abode at Genl Brewsters.

THURSDAY, JUNE 23d. Directed my route from the Colliege through Hanover Lyme, & Oxford to Haverhill, 32 Miles up the River. I got to Bliss's Tavern early in the Even^g, found a most comfortable kept by an active Land lord and a very genteel well bred Land lady. The next day Col Hurd, a Boston Gentleman Accompany^d me to the New fallen bridge that was Erected over the Connecticut River opposite to Newberry Meeting House. the Arch was 270 feet in Length, but owing to some defect in the Construction and Workmanship, a fel down in a few Days after the Stantions were Knocked away. We crossed the ffery 1 Mile above the Bridge and went to Col Johnston's to Dinner where we had a fine View of the celebrated Ox Bow Meadow, 200 Acres of wch belongs to Johnstone, who came to this Country 25 Years agoe, with only his Axe on his Shoulder, and who has now Accumulated a very handsome Property, Consist^g of a good House, Barns, Stabling, a Handsome Store, &c. from this we recross'd the River, returned to Bliss's in the Even^g. Havrhill is handsome Elivated Township of Land wch comm^{ds} a beautifull Prospect of the River & Country on the Vermont side—From Bliss's I departed on Saturday Morn^g, and returned to Genl Brewsters in the Even^g, and leaving this next Morn^g I got to Doctor Judds about 2 o'Clock, where I dined Viewed his ffarm and Slept there all Night. From Mr. Judds I returned to Windsor the next dined, and the Even^g Crossed Cornish Bridge into New Hampshire and stop'd all Night at Capⁿ Cooks, in Clearmont 4 Miles from the Bridge.

TUESDAY, JUNE 27th. In the Morn^g mount^d my stead and rode 11 Miles to Breakfast at a single House in Charleston Town. from there proceeded through Charleston Street to Belasses Falls, & from thence to Walpole, and Dined at Johnston's, the Stage House. Walpole is a small Handsome Village upon the Connecticut River. there are three grand Taverns and some Handsome Dwel^ls Houses. After Dinner & taking a 3 Hours Knap, I went down 1 Mile to the Ferry, Crossed the River and rode 2½ Miles to my friend Squire Spooners, where I slept all Night. WEDNESDAY I got to Brattleborough, staid all Night & the greatest part of next, and in the Even^g rode 10 Miles to Browns. Here I tarry'd all Night and the next proceed on towards Greenfield but not intend^g to proceed further this Day, I turned out of the road 4 Miles dist^{ce} from Greenfield and went a Northerly course of 8 Miles to Colerain, wch lays over the Shelborne Mountains, and is a very uneven, Hilly Township of Land, but on Acco^t of the richness of the Soil, the Whole except a few spots of Wood Land is under Cultivation, Even on the

very Tops of the Mountains, there is fine Orchards Meadows and Arable Land. After dining at a Public House half a Mile beyond the New Meeting House, kept by Mr Lyon, & Stops untill 5 o'clock in the Even^g, I recrossed the Shelborne Mountains, from the foot of wch to Greenfield is 8 Miles of a very fine Level Country of good Land, the Crops of Grain upon wch looked well. The Grass was chiefly Mowed & got in. I staid all Night at my friend Mori's and in the Morn^g, being Saturday the 1st of July, I proceeded on & Arrived at Northampton in the Even^g. I noticed more part^{ly} the face of the Country between Greenfield & Northampton then I did in my Journey through it last fall. the Land from Greenfield to Deerfield is fine and so it is with a very few exceptions all the way being extensive Level, & the Deerfield River Winding course all through it. * * *

VI.—REMINISCENCES OF THE CAMPAIGN ON THE RIO GRANDE.

BY MAJOR GEORGE DEAS, U. S. A.

The origin of the War with Mexico was the annexation of Texas to the United States, as a component part of the Federal Union. Texas had, some years previously, revolted from the other Mexican States; declared herself an independent Republic; and, as such, had been recognized by the Government of the United States, as well as by Great Britain and other European powers. But her independence was never acknowledged by the Government of Mexico. Against the rebellious Province a war was carried on for many years; never, however, with any good result to the Mexican arms.

Texas, from the scarcity of population over such a vast surface, found it extremely difficult to raise revenue sufficient to maintain herself. Hence the minds of her statesmen, who were nearly all Americans by birth and many of them of a high order of ability, were turned towards the project of annexing their adopted country to the Republic of the United States. For some years, this idea was entertained, not, however, without warm opposition, until, at last, in 1844, it became the leading political feature of the day. Upon this great question the people of the United States were divided in the Presidential election which took place in November of that year—Mr. Clay, the opponent of annexation, being defeated, and Mr. Polk, its advocate, elected, by majorities sufficient to command confidence in all quarters.

It now became necessary to carry into effect the terms of annexation. This was done by Act

of Congress, on the first day of March, 1845. In the meantime, Mexico had watched the course of events, with the deepest chagrin. She repeatedly declared, through her Minister at Washington, that the consummation of the Act of annexation would be, by her, accounted as a War declared. With these menaces before it, it was incumbent on the Government, having in view the ultimate success of the plan of annexation, to take some steps for the protection of the Southwestern frontier. Accordingly, a small force, consisting of a Regiment of Dragoons and two Regiments of Infantry, was, in the Spring of 1844, dispatched to the frontier of Louisiana, and there held as a Corps of Observation, under the command of Brigadier-general Taylor. It there remained until the following year, when, in the month of August, it moved to the Southern border of Texas, and, in conjunction with other forces, was constituted "The Army of Occupation," at Corpus Christi.

This place is situated at the head of a shallow bay, or inlet, of that name, on the Gulf of Mexico; and is distant about one hundred and sixty miles from Matamoros, the principal city of Northern Mexico. It is a good strategic point, looking to the roads coming to that city, as well as those through the country above. The force assembled consisted of six Regiments of Infantry, one Regiment of Dragoons, and three Batteries of Light Artillery—in all, between three and four thousand men. They had been drawn from very great distances—some from New York and the Atlantic sea-board, some from Florida, while others came from garrisons on the Great Lakes of the North. The camp was established directly upon the bay-shore, and formed a continuous line of about two miles. The soil was formed of powdered oyster-shells—an excellent foundation, in every respect. To the front, the ground was smooth and level, affording a fine field for the exercise of the troops. The water was slightly brackish—being the percolations of the sea—and wood it was necessary to cut at considerable distances from the camp.

The most extraordinary ignorance existed, on the part of the Government, concerning the country which the troops were ordered to occupy—not only in respect to its topography and resources, but also in regard to its relations to the northern frontiers of Mexico and the capabilities of the Mexicans to resist an invading force. No previous examination had been made. General Taylor landed at Corpus Christi, entirely in the dark, as respects the movements and designs of the enemy. Rumors abounded that a Mexican Army was moving to attack him. It was believed in New Orleans, that he had met with disaster. But, fortunately, no resistance was offered; no enemy appeared; and the two

Infantry Regiments comprising the advance,* took up their position without molestation.

The attention of the General was, from the first, directed towards the Mexican frontier, with the view to select the most favorable military point, in the event of the advance of the Mexican Army. Being entirely uninformed of the country in his front, his determination could only be arrived at by extended reconnoissances. No dependence could be placed upon the information he received from the inhabitants of the country. The result of his observations tended rather to the selection of a point at Lando, a frontier town of Texas, on the Rio Grande, about two hundred and fifty miles from its mouth, and one hundred and fifty from the camp, in a direction a little South of West. This was a good point, bearing in consideration the command of the several roads leading from Northern Mexico into Upper Texas. But, upon further consideration, the General determined to occupy the lower country, opposite Matamoras, having the sea nearer to him, with depot for his supplies at Point Isabel. The question was, would the Mexican Army approach in that direction rather than by the more Northern roads. It turned out that the concentration of the Americans, near Matamoras, induced the Mexican General to advance to the attack, and thus the War was begun.

But, previous to breaking up at Corpus Christi and marching to the Rio Grande, it came to be understood in camp that a disposition on the part of the Mexican Government existed, to treat with the United States on the question of boundary. A Minister had been sent to the Mexican Capital; negotiations had begun; and it was believed, for a time, that military operations were to cease, and the Army of Occupation to be dissolved. General Taylor even thought of asking for a leave of absence to attend to his private affairs. But, suddenly, came the intelligence that all negotiations were ended. A revolutionary party, headed by Paredes, General of Division, had taken possession of the Government; driven Herrera, the existing President, from power; and declared War against the United States of the North.

Immediate orders were sent to General Taylor to move to the Rio Grande, and occupy its left bank. The road to Matamoras had been thoroughly examined, both by the sea beach and the interior. Copious rains had fallen, giving water in sufficient quantities, in ponds; and upon this the troops had to depend, for no living water there exists.

Before breaking up his camp, the General made a most minute personal inspection of the troops. The invalids and heavy baggage were sent by water to Point Isabel—the marching

force taking nothing with it but its equipage and subsistence for a two days march.

The uniform of the American Army then consisted of a light blue jacket and trousers, and blue cloth fatigue-cap—the officers wearing blue frock-coats and light blue trousers. This was the ordinary undress uniform of the Army. The full dress was not worn by the troops during any of the campaigns in Mexico. The old flint lock was still in use—detonators not having, at that time, been generally adopted.

The Mexican Army was equipped in a very handsome manner—many of their uniforms being of a superb description. The prevailing color was light blue; and the soldiers wore a leather shako of a French pattern. They were armed with the British musket, having the Tower stamp.

But little music accompanied the American Army, on its campaigns, over and above the necessary drums, fifes, and bugles; while the Mexicans had an enormous band with each Regiment, beside a horde of trumpeters and buglers.

The Army at Corpus Christi was divided into four Brigades. But, before going farther in my narrative, I will, for the benefit of those who are not familiar with military subjects, endeavor to explain the various formation of an Army.*

The country lying between the immediate valley of the Nueces-river, which empties into Corpus Christi-bay, and the Rio Grande is, with the exception of here and there a small green spot, a howling wilderness; entirely incapable of supporting a population. Over this dreary region, the Army took its way; depending for water upon the ponds formed by rain. No springs or running streams were to be found. The surface of the country is level; and the distance marched was about one hundred and sixty miles to Matamoras.

Nothing, whatever, occurred, worthy of notice, until the advance had reached an *arroyo*, or creek, called the Colorado. This is an arm of the sea running a considerable distance inland. It is quite narrow and fordable, at the point which was crossed—about breast high to the men. Here it was, that General Taylor first met the Mexican authorities, sent out from the city of Matamoras (about thirty miles

* This portion of the MSS., having been useless to me, when the Major's *Reminiscences* were copied into my Note Book, it was omitted. The original has been lost, since I returned it to the author; and, this portion cannot, therefore, now be employed.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

distant) to protest against the advance of the Army. He was informed by these dignitaries that they would certainly resist the crossing of the arroyo; that there was, on the other side, a force sufficient to oppose such a movement; and that the consequence of War must be on his head. To all this, the General had but a very simple reply to make, which was that his Government had ordered him to go to the Rio Grande, and that he intended to go; that his Second Brigade would soon be up with him; and that fifteen minutes after its arrival, he intended to cross. The General moreover added that, after his first soldier had entered the water, if they dared to show themselves, he would fire upon them. With this assurance, the Mexican authorities returned to the other side.

The arroyo is lined, on both banks, for some distance back, with a thick growth of trees and underbrush. It was impossible, therefore, to discover whether the assertions of the Mexicans, as to their having a force there, were correct or not; but, from the trumpeting and blowing of bugles, which they kept up from among the bushes, it was safe to suppose that they had men enough to carry their threats into execution.

The Artillery were therefore placed in Battery, to cover the crossing; and the Second Brigade, which soon arrived, took ground to the right. This was the first speck of war, and, consequently, it was an interesting moment of expectation. Of course, every one was anxious to see what would follow. A few straggling Rancheros were observed, moving about on the opposite bank; but, no sooner did they see our men begin to move towards the water than off they went, and no more was seen of them or their imaginary Army in the woods. The whole Army, with the trains, were crossed on this and the day following, and rested one day in Camp. About ten miles further on, the General encamped the main body; while, with an escort, he proceeded to Point Isabel, to make arrangements for establishing the Depôt, where, subsequently, the supplies from Corpus Christi and elsewhere arrived. A small field-work was thrown up there. On the twenty-seventh, the General returned; and, on the twenty-eighth, at about mid-day, the Army marched, and encamped directly on the banks of the Rio Grande, opposite the City of Matamoros.

This is a place of considerable importance; and is the commercial port of Northern Mexico. It contained, at that time, a population of about five thousand. A large portion is very well built of brick and stone; and the streets, as is the case with all Mexican towns, are laid at right angles. It was refreshing to see, once more, the evidences of civilization, after so many months of camp

life in the wilderness. The left bank of the river was lined by a succession of farms, thinly scattered, the entire population being composed of Mexicans. Upon one of these, the camp was established.

Of course the General desired to hold immediate intercourse with the Mexican commander, opposite; and for this purpose, General Worth, accompanied by several officers and an interpreter, was directed to cross the river. General Mejia, the commander of the Mexican garrison at Matamoros, would not permit the American officers to enter, or approach the city; and, therefore, General Worth was received by General La Vega, the second in command, on the bank of the river, with this intelligence. A conversation now ensued, between these Generals, of a very interesting nature—the substance of which was the continued protest of the Government of Mexico, against the march of the American Army into Mexican Territory, and the occupation of the left bank of the Rio del Norte. After an interview of about an hour, General Worth returned to Head-quarters with its result, for the information of the General-in-Chief.

Our position toward the Mexicans was now clearly defined. As yet, War had not been declared by Congress; nevertheless, the Mexican Government having, by their military agents at Matamoros, assumed a hostile attitude, it was left for General Taylor to report the fact to the President, and stand on the defensive. The question was, how to act in such an emergency. The idea of falling back to Corpus Christi, at the dictation of Mexico, could not be entertained for a moment; still less could the position be abandoned by retreating in any other direction. At last, the General resolved to carry into effect his instructions in the most literal manner; and to establish and maintain himself on the left bank of the Rio Grande, there to await further advice from Washington.

With this view, a large field-work—subsequently called Fort Brown—was immediately begun; and the camp was intrenched. The construction of the work occupied the Army incessantly for about three weeks. During this time, large reinforcements to the Mexican Army, opposite, continued to arrive—first under Ampudia, and subsequently under Arista, one of the most accomplished of the Mexican Generals, who assumed the chief command. Exact information as to their numbers and the composition of their force it was difficult to obtain; but enough could be seen to show that many thousands, splendidly equipped, were assembling at Matamoros.

The demands of the several Mexican Commanders were to the same effect as before, to all of which the General had but his former

reply to make. At last, towards the end of April, it came to be known that the Mexican Army was gradually crossing the Rio Grande and occupying the country between the Camp and Point Isabel. The vigilance of the Army was, therefore, increased; and every precaution taken to avoid a surprise. Pickets and patrols surrounded the camp; and, for many nights, the men slept on their arms. General Taylor could arrive at no definite information in regard to the numbers of the enemy, nor his exact location. There was no one to be depended upon.

To solve the doubt, he determined upon a strong reconnoissance of Cavalry, in two bodies—one to examine the country below, the other above, the camp. The former returned without material information. Far different was it with the other, under Captain Thornton. This body, consisting of a Squadron of Dragoons, left the camp at dusk, on the evening of the twenty fourth of April. Marching all night, they found themselves, early in the morning, near a large field, on the bank of the river, surrounded by a high picket fence. Some houses were to be seen within the enclosure. To visit these houses and, probably, to confer with any person who might be there, Captain Thornton entered the field, with his whole command. The only entrance was by a draw-bar gate-way. Having reached the houses, and after some little delay, during which time a large portion of the men had dismounted, the attention of the Commander was drawn to his rear, when, to his astonishment, he found himself completely cut off by a large Mexican force of Infantry. The gate-way was blocked up by them; and overwhelming numbers were around him. There was but a moment for reflection. "*To Horse*" was sounded; and, the charge was ordered; but it was impossible to cut their way through. Large masses of Mexicans completely enveloped the small force; and shut off its retreat by the gate. The fence was too high to be leaped. Some desperate fighting took place; but all of no avail. The Dragoons were forced to turn towards the river (which formed one side of the field, as it were) but escape in this direction was impossible; and a surrender of the whole command was the consequence, as prisoners-of-war. In this affair, a valuable officer, Lieutenant Mason, and several men lost their lives. It was the first blood shed in the Mexican War; and it created an immense sensation in the United States. Poor Thornton! He was afterwards killed, again on reconnoissance, by the first shot fired in the valley of Mexico.

The first intimation of this unfortunate encounter was conveyed to General Taylor by the Mexican Commander himself; who sent an ambulance to the camp with some of Thornton's wounded soldiers. There could be no doubt

now. The matter was very plain. A fight must follow; but *where* and *when* was the question. Had we strength enough to combat the large Mexican Army that we knew was around us? There was every confidence; still we could have wished for a few more Regiments. So closely were we approached, that an attack might be looked for at any moment; still none was made. This open act of War and the threatening position assumed by the Mexican Army left no doubt on the mind of General Taylor, if any had previously existed, that hostilities of a serious nature must be looked for immediately. Accordingly, the construction of the field-work was pushed forward with increased activity. Expresses were sent off to the Government, and also to the Governors of the neighboring States of Texas and Louisiana, with requisitions for troops to the number of five thousand. It may be asked, perhaps, why was not this done before, when the Mexican Army was seen to be assembling at Matamoros? To this it can only be said, in reply, that the General was placed by the Government in an ambiguous position. His instructions were to occupy the left bank of the Rio Grande; but he had no power to initiate a state of open War. He was to defend himself, of course, if attacked; but that was all. War had not been declared by the United States, in a formal manner; nor was it done, until the thirteenth of May, 1846, induced by the fact that Captain Thornton's party had been attacked. It is a singular thing that the Declaration set forth that War existed by the act of Mexico. No consideration was given to the fact that the march of the American Army to the banks of the Rio Grande was, of itself, an act of hostility. To be sure, that boundary had been claimed by the United States, by sustaining the pretensions of Texas to the same effect. But how unjust! No Americans nor Texans lived there. All were Mexicans, acknowledging none but Mexican laws. Yet we went there with an Army; drove these poor people away from their farms; and seized their custom-house, at Point Isabel; and yet our Government, in the most solemn manner, threw upon the Mexicans the odium of beginning the War!

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VII.—AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER FROM SILAS DEANE TO PATRICK HENRY.

COMMUNICATED BY WILLIAM WIRT HENRY,
ESQ., OF CHARLOTTE C. H., VA.

WETHERSFIELD IN CONNECTICUT
January 2d, 1775.

DEAR SIR:

I have for some time waited, as

well for a Subject worth sending you from this distance, as for a certain Opportunity of conveying a Letter to your hands. Though near the great Scene of Action, or rather oppression, yet nothing, can be as yet collected, by which to determine, with the least degree of certainty, what the Fate of Boston will be. The return of the *Scarborough*, gave us hopes of learning something of the disposition, of the Ministry, but nothing transpires. The men of War, in the Harbor which had taken down their Topmasts, yards, etc. to be in a snug winter rig, instantly on her arrival, went to running them up again, and getting into readiness for Sailing. The town of Boston continues firmly to pursue the measures, they, at first set out upon, and Town Meetings, instead of being suppressed by the late sovereign edict, are held more frequent than ever—donations are constantly making, to their poor, by the Neighboring Colonies, but I fear inadequate to their real Sufferings which are immensely severe, and great.—I really question, whether History, can produce an instance, parallel, to the present Stand which Boston is making for their Liberties, for firmness, in resolving, patience in enduring, and forbearance under insults, added to the Oppression. The Militia of that, & indeed of all the New England provinces will be on a very respectable footing, before next Spring. The method taken in that province, is nearly this. All the Officers have resigned their Commissions to the Governor, in Consequence of which the people within the Limits of each respective Regiment meet and make choice of others in their Room, where the Officer resigned is a person agreeable to the people, & of a Military turn, he is chose by them, afresh, after this, they make a draught of one Third of The whole, who are to hold themselves in readiness, with Arms, Amunition, a good Horse, and Ten days provision, and to march at a Minutes Warning—their Militia as well ours consists of Farmers, and Farmers Sons, & are perhaps to a man owners of Horses so that this is no expensive article & is very essential as well for easy transportation of their provisions &c as for expedition, for by this means the whole body which will consist of between Twenty and Thirty Thousand of these in that province, may be assembled in Two Days time, at Boston.—The Governor has rec^d a letter from Lord Dartmouth directing him to make seizure, of any Arms or Amunition that may be imported, into this Colony, and I conclude it is Circular if so you will doubtless by this Time have rec^d one of the same Tenor. We have received an acc^t of a severe Battle fought on the Banks of y^e Ohio between your people and the Indians, and that is decisive the Indians having made their peace by ceding all the Lands

East of s^d River if so it is a vast addition of Territory, to people which you will doubtless be willing to receive Inhabitants from your Neighbours or from abroad. Reflecting on the conversations pass'd between us at Philadelphia I am inclined to think that a Number of Inhabitants from this Colony would adventure on a Settlement on the Ohio if properly informed, and encouraged, and for this purpose, wish to know the particular Situation of the Lands you told me you had purchased there, and the Terms on which you would agree with them to settle.—The Character of Our people is imminent for adventures of this kind, and it is computed that not less than One Thousand Families or Four Thousand persons, annually emigrate to Neighbouring provinces.—They long since, took up, all the Lands formerly possessed by the Neutral French in Nova Scotia, since the last warr they have taken up the Lands in New York & New Hampshire as far North as those provinces extend, and have made a very large Settlement on the Delaware and Susquehannah Rivers under the Connecticut claim of a Western extent to the South Sea, on which subject I gave you a book wrote by Mr Trumbull—were these Western Lands out of dispute, & the Title clear in the Colony to every one's Satisfaction and certainly they would afford ample Room for our Surplus of Inhabitants, and We should in a few years, break the Boundaries of the Quebeck empire, but the uncertainty of the Title discourages Men whose first principle, is, to possess, a disencumbered Freehold be it ever so small, in preference to the largest, under quit rents, & Landlords.—The Terms on which Our People would prefer settling are chiefly these. To transport themselves, on to the Land, at their own expense, To have a certain part or share of the Land free, & clear to them, on condition of their doing certain services upon it, such as Clearing, planting, building &c, the performing which, will render the other part of which of so much higher Value, as richly to repay, the original proprietor for the Share of Land which he assigned to them, this Share in New Hampshire, &c, has generally been the one half.—Thus supposing you own a Ten Miles Square which continuing uninhabited, & in a State of Nature can be of no Value, and the settling it at your Own expense must be a Vast Affair. Now by giving one half of it to a number of young industrious Farmers on condition of their sitting down, with their Families upon it, will immediately give a Value to the other half increasing, in proportion, to the settlement by the side of it, as these first Settlers would soon be desirous of purchasing, or if you choose to settle it with Tenants, such a neighbourhood, would be of the last consequence, for supplies, and assistance—

on such a plan the Lands given should be divided into Lots, of about Two or three Hundred Acres to each Family, and not more, for a Connecticut Farmer with Two Hundred & Fifty, or three Hundred Acres of good Land, is a rich man, that is as rich as he wishes to be, for this Colony is now so full of Inhabitants, that there is not more, than Twelve Acres to a person—it will be necessary should any such Scheme, take place, to know, how great the Land Carraige, will be, from your nearest Seaport, and what the Roads, and probably the expense, of getting on to the Lands, for if practicable, without too heavy disbursements, and the Soil agreeable, I would engage a Number, to go on, the next season, and make a Beginning. We sometimes have vessels from this to Alaxandria, and should be glad to know how distant the Water Carraige of this River may be from the Lands you mentioned. I could procure a Number, Sufficient for one Town, who would incline to settle a little, (or rather as much as possible), on the New England plan—which would be to have a reserve of Land for a Minister, & for a School, and if consistant with your Constitution, to have such orders & regulations with respect to the domestic concerns, of their Settlement, as they should find most convenient—Our Trade, bad even in the best of times, must be totally ruined, in the present and coming, and We have no employ so natural, for increasing Youth, as the forming of New Settlements. We are already extended to 45° of Latitude in the provinces of New Hampshire and New York, and the Country, though under the disadvantages of a Winter about as severe as as the Europeans feel in 55°, yet it is in a manner all patented out, and settled—if We extend Westward in our own Latitude Our Title will be disputed, and the Winters are severe, even in this parrallel, though the soil is inviting, and though strongly invited to go on to the River Mississippi in the provinces of West Florida yet, the distance discourages most of our young men, though several Hundreds are already gone there with their families—public, as well as private Interest, urge to extend Settlements of true, and well principled protestants Westward, in order to defeat the designed Operation of that most execrable Quebec Act of which you have a proper sense. Returning to Politics, you will see that the Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut have reappointed their Delegates for May with the addition of some others to their Number—I send you with this for your entertainment the following papers—the Charter of Connecticut the same which all the New England Charters originally were, & Rhode Island now is,—it is in a word an Epitome of the Patent granted by James the first

to the Plymouth Company in 1620 by which he granted to them all the Lands from 40° to 48° from one sea to the other, from which Plymouth Company We derive Our Title first by purchase, and then confirmed by this Charter. The original Plymouth Patent I have by me, but it is too lengthy to transcribe—I send you also some extracts from a Manuscript History or Diary wrote by the first Governor Winthrop, styled by Historians the Father of New England,—a letter from King Charles the Second to the Governor & Co of Connecticut, desiring that an act should be passed against Piracy.—The Number of our Inhabitants, taken by order of Our Assembly, & also those of Rhode Island, these may be relied on as exact—The confederation, or agreement of the people first settling this colony in 1688 under which they subsisted, untill the granting of the charter in 1661, without a single Reference to, or Notice taken, of King, Lords, Commons, or any other power on Earth, save that of the *United Colonies*, the Articles of whose Confederation, bearing date 1643, I also send you there with, which was never dissolved untill the year 1685, as nearly as I recollect, their Records, at Present being out of my hands.—I need not mention to you what would have been the Consequences, had this Confederation, have continued, untill now, and the other Colonies, early acceded to it—it is not too late to form such an one, that will suit Our present Circumstances, & which being varied as future Contingences arise may last forever,—something of this kind appears most absolutely neccessary, let Us turn which way We will, if a reconciliation, with G Britian takes place, it will be obtained on the best terms, by the Colonies being united, and be the more like to be preserved, on just, and equal Terms, if no reconciliation is to be had, without a Confederation, We are ruined, to all intents, and purposes. United We stand, divided We fall, is our motto, and must be—One general Congress has brought the Colonies to be acquainted with each other, and I am in hopes another may effect a lasting Confederation which will need nothing, perhaps but time, to mature it, into a complete & perfect American Constitution, the only proper one for Us whether connected with Great Britain, or Not—a Sketch of this, I likewise send you with the papers mentioned before—I mentioned to you a town on the New England plan, if you are not Tired I will describe the method of settling, and governing one of them from which Sample You will be acquainted with the whole.—All Lands in New England, (except in New Hampshire,) are absolutely in the gift, or disposal of the General Assembly—A Number suppose sixty apply for a township, or tract of Land Six, or Eight miles square. The Assembly grants

on the following Conditions. Seventy Families shall be settled within such a time Four or Five Years perhaps,—they being settled, shall support a Minister, or Clergyman, of some of the protestant professions, Dissenters to be prefer'd—also a School Master—when they become more Numerous and are desirous of it, they may send Deputies to the general Assembly, but when they do this, and not before, they are liable to be Taxed by the Assembly for the Support of Government—a Certain Tract or share of Land generally about Five or six Hundred Acres is reserved for the Use of a Clergyman & as much more for a School Master.

All their domestic police is under their own regulation, they meet at least once in each year & make choice of a number of the more steady of their number for Select-Men as they are called. These are officers not under Oath, but act in a judicial manner in conducting all the public affairs of the town, in which they are accountable to no one but to the Inhabitants in full meeting—their power is almost unlimited over the Poor, the idle, the dissolute, over Highways, Bridges, Public Nusances, &c—in all which cases they hear & determine absolutely, and without fee or reward, their power expires with the year, when New ones, or they are re-chosen, they are in short a sort of Censors on the manners of the people—they summon the people together as they judge proper, and when convened the Inhabitants have a right of taxing themselves, for such purposes as the time presents—in particular for all the expences of the Town, Civil, as well as Ecclesiastical for the supporting their school, their Clergy, their Poor, &c. &c. They choose other Officers under these such as Constables, Grand Jurors, Surveyors of Roads, Collector of the taxes they levy, a Clerk, a Treasurer, &c., all of whom are accountable to and removeable by the people in Town Meeting assembled—Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs & Judges of the Court are independent of the voice of the particular Towns.—Thus each Town is in some degree, a distinct republic with power even of passing what they call by Laws not repugnant to those of the colony pass'd in General Assembly, where all are united by a Representation chosen by each Annually, (or Twice each Year as is the case with Us in Connecticut.) All ecclesiastical matters, such as the choice of a minister, his mode of settlement, his support, his removal in case of dissatisfaction, is in the power of the Inhabitants, and yet disputes between the Clergy, and people, and their parting seldom happen, indeed I conceive a Capital Reason why they are not more frequent, is the entire Liberty at which they mutually are to leave each other on being dissatisfied.—Such a kind of

Domestic Government I conclude could not be expected with you, but should be glad to know, whither the Inhabitants will be obliged to pay to the support of an Episcopal Clergy, whither they are of that persuasion or not? and also whither the quit rents will be immediately and rigorously exacted, and how large the Sum.—I say immediately for the Day is not distant when these Quit rents will be little more than a Sound, for the Crown never having any constitutional Right, to exactions of the kind, and introducing them at first at a trifling sum & not being rigorous in the exactions they have been continued and tolerated to this Time, but will be shook off when America comes to the enjoyment of that perfect Liberty to which she is intitled.—I have wrote you a most Tedious Letter & will not go on to add one transgression to another by still lengthening it with Apologies, so will only add that I hope it will cost you Nothing More than the reading which you will do at your Leisure—if you are near *Col. Bland*, I pray you the favor, to obtain of him, and send me, The date of the first Virginia patent & its Boundaries—The protest of The House of Burgesses, signed by them & their Governor & ratified by Charles y^e 1st against the dismembering of the Dominion of Virginia, this was I think in 1642—The Second patent, or Charter of Virginia, was If I remember rightly, in James the 1st's Reign, I wish to see the date and Boundaries—*Col. Bland* was kind enough to offer Me, such Charts from his Valuable Collection as I should send to him for, and I will Trouble him for No More at present, unless he has any Acc^t of Any Grant of North Virginia, so called at that day, afterwards New England, antecedent to the Year 1620, if he has I wish to see the date & Boundaries, if he has not, the Plymouth, or New England patent of 1620, & is desirous of it, I will forward him a Copy, as also of any other paper to be procured in these parts. There is No such thing as procuring a good History of Virginia in this Colony, I shall be greatly obliged to You to send Me the most Authentic extant, and in return will favor you with the History of New England in general but of *Connecticut* in particular, which will be soon sent to the press, and from the ingenuity of the Author, and the Attention he has for several years paid to it, will I trust be the best ever yet published.—I shall forward this packet to Mr. Mifflin, to whom I have wrote, to send it, by some private, but Trusty hand, to Virginia, To his Care, please to direct your Answer, unless some more direct conveyance offer.—I ought perhaps to mention, that We returned during the sitting of our General Assembly, who most Unanimously approved of the doings of y^e Congress and

recommended the Association, to the strict observance of the Inhabitants, who universally and without hesitation have determined to abide thereby—Please to present my compliments, to the Gentlemen with whom I had the happiness of being acquainted in Congress, if you see them. I am with great Truth & regard

Dear Sir your most obd^t
& very Hum^l Serv^t
SILAS DEANE.

PATRICK HENRY, Ju^r ESQR.

VIII.—GRANT'S CAMPAIGN FROM THE SOUTH, THROUGH RAYMOND, JACKSON, AND BY CHAMPION HILLS, AGAINST VICKSBURG.

BY GENERAL J. WATTS DE PEYSTER.

Badeau, in his elegant work, the *Military History of Grant*, (p. 298,) compares his hero's Vicksburg Campaign, *from the South*, with the first fifteen days of Bonaparte in Italy, in 1796; and mentions that Halleck, on the other hand, institutes a parallel between the same and Napoleon's Campaign of 1805, ending with the capitulation of Ulm.

As no siege followed the operations in the field, in either case alluded to, great similarities may be found, but no parallel can be drawn. Badeau, of the two, however, is much the most correct in his views; because just as Grant drove his Army in, like a wedge, between Pemberton and Johnston, and then fell with crushing weight upon the former in Vicksburg, just so Bonaparte, in 1796, pierced the allied center; threw Beaulieu aside; paralyzed with the concussion; and then fell upon the Sardinians, and frightened them into an Armistice, which saved him from a worse position than the Allies themselves supposed that they were in. Nothing could have been farther from the actual condition of our Army, than this precarious situation of the French, at the time that Grant had disposed of his Beaulieu, (Johnston) and stood ready to close the nippers on his Colli, (Pemberton) in the strong position of the *Stura*, representing the Vicksburg of the Rebels. Had Pemberton capitulated at once, as the Sardinians effectively did, by their Armistice, the parallel indeed would have been complete. But the Rebel did not thus "cave in;" and so the parallel fails, exactly at the same point as that drawn from the circumstances of 1805. Still all this shows that Badeau was able to apply what he had read, better than Halleck could.

No doubt, a very brilliant impression can always be produced by comparing the operations of any of our Generals with the most eminent

and highly-successful ones in the past, especially such an over-estimated commander as Napoleon; and every body flies to the histories of Napoleon's Wars for similes and analogies.

In 1796, Bonaparte, doubtless, displayed the greatest audacity, and fought his Army right well; but, after all, his success was owing to the moral exhaustion of one member of a coalition, at the very moment when a suspension of hostilities was much more of a saving necessity to himself than to his enemies. The most reliable historians admit that the Armistice of Cherasco relieved him from a most critical position. If any one doubts this, let him examine disinterested historians as well as his own admissions. The latter furnish as strong testimony of the fact of the desperate condition of his affairs, as those most inimical to the writer of them (Bonaparte) could desire.

In 1805, Napoleon had the finest Army which ever fought under the French tri-color. Veterans, fresh from their practice-grounds of nine years,—using the term as the Romans did, in speaking of Sicily, where they fought the Carthaginians and the French of Algeria—their exercise-ground of over fifteen months, [ALISON, ii, 280, (2,)] acclimated to suffering, acclimated to battle, acclimated to marches, and acclimated to labors. They were commanded by the best of Generals, old in experience and glory, young in years and in ambition. Indeed, Massena had anticipated Bonaparte's "tactics by four months; and, "through manœuvres, identical with those of "April, 1796, he had decided the decisive "victory" of Loano (23rd November, 1795,) without which the new General could not have inserted the wedge which drove his foes asunder.

In 1805, Napoleon's grand Army, over one hundred and eighty thousand combatants—Cust (I. i. 220) says one hundred and ninety-six thousand, four hundred and seventy-one—present with their colors, mobility itself, was precipitated upon a slow Austrian force, not over,—if, in reality, equal to—two-fifths or one-third the effective strength of the enveloping French. The Austrian Army, thus confounded—stunned, would almost be an allowable expression—had at its head one of the most obtusely, and even blindly, inefficient men who ever bore the title of General—one who had never shown himself worthy of commanding men; one whose antecedents were presages of the misfortunes that followed; one whose very name, MACK, (*Hebrew*) signified "an utter defeat"—NIEDALAGE (*German*) "a complete overthrow, "accompanied with ignominious rout or surrender." "er."

Again, in this Ulm Campaign, there was no splitting asunder in the Campaign; no counter-maneuvring to be met; no hard fighting, in

fact, except at Echlingen, on the road left open to escape by the incapacity of Murat—an avenue by which the Austrians could have *escaped*, had Mack been susceptible of a truly military idea.

There is much probability, indeed, that he could not only have got off at the last, to the Northeast, (through Nordlingen, as Kray did, in 1800,) towards Bohemia, through the blunder of the "dashing swordsman,"—which, in fact, was all Murat ever was—but he could, previously, have stolen away to the South, into the Tyrol, by which last course he would have traversed all Napoleon's grand plans. Impartially considered, this Campaign of Napoleon was a mere turning movement, like that of Moreau, in May and June, 1800, when the French advanced through Augsburg, turning the left flank, i. e. from the South (Napoleon, in 1805, turned their right flank from the North) menacing the communications of Kray, who had (THIERIA, *i.* 368, Hochstedt) shut himself up, like Mack, in Ulm. In this case, the Austrians, Bavarians, and Wurtembergers numbered, on paper, seventy-six thousand men—Mack, in 1800, had eighty-two thousand under his control. Moreau crossed the Rhine with over, or about, one hundred and thirty thousand men. Finding his position too hot for him, Kray, a bold, brave, and comparatively able man, totally unlike Mack, in every particular, bolted; checked the French pursuit; and came back upon the French right flank, at Neuburg, on the Danube. Napoleon's operations, turning Ulm, likewise resembled those which culminated at Marengo, in 1800; and Jackson's flank march and crushing of the Eleventh Corps, at Chancellorsville, was a repetition of them, in miniature—simply this, and nothing more.

There was no relieving Army, in 1805, like that of Johnston, in 1863, to be taken into account by Napoleon; for the whole business was closed, on the twentieth of October; and it was not until the fifth of November, two hundred and fifty miles distant to the eastward, that the French encountered the Russians, the nearest approach to any force representing that of Johnston.

The writer rejects both these Napoleonic comparisons, of 1796 and 1805, as inapplicable and, in some respects, as even unjust to Grant; and now proposes one, himself—the Campaign of Frederic the Great, in July, 1762, against Schweidnitz, a fortress relatively as important to Prussia, as Vicksburg was to the Rebel Confederacy; which was held by a picked garrison of twelve thousand men, under a Captain particularly designated for his fitness. The commander, subordinates, and men, alike, were chosen for qualities and qualifications appropriate to the service required of them; just as Pemberton was an especial selection of the Rebel President, who, until he began to fail,

was regarded as possessing unusual powers of discrimination in the choice of instruments. The Austrian Army which covered or protected the fortress, was stronger than that of the Prussian King; and both comprised about the numbers, at the climax, under Grant. It was commanded by a General whom Austrian critics rank very high; whom his Government—or rather his Imperial mistress—styled "the Saviour of his Country," "the "Restorer of Discipline by Precept and Example;" and a glorious emulator—antitype of the heroes of antiquity—a first-rate organizer; a capital tactician; a very brave man, personally; and the only one of the Austrian Generals who ever defeated Frederic, in the field. His great fault was overcaution; and, in many respects, the character of Field-marshal Daun answers to that of Lieutenant-general Joseph E. Johnston. Moreover, Daun had by his side, one of the best Generals of the era, Laudohn, (afterwards, in 1788-9, the Austrian Generalissimo) a man equal to anything entrusted to him; a soldier who, on his own responsibility, stepped into Schweidnitz, one night, (30th September, 1761,) in a way which made Europe stare as much at the conception of such a plan, as at the audacity of its execution.

The chief marvel of Grant's success, in May, 1863, was his promptness, his utilization of time, his employment of his men's legs, his practical strategy, his demonstrations—converted upon occasion into diversions—his flanking, and then, when the time came, his telling, crushing, blows.

All this applies, to the letter, to Frederic, whose celerity won him, among the Russians, so long his antagonists in the field, a title signifying something like "Son of Lightning"—a title which investigation will discover has been rarely applied by soldiers, even to the greatest commanders. The Turkish Janizaries, at their zenith, as a conquering power, conferred it on their Sultan, Bajazet; the Swedes, on the smartest of their uncrowned Generalissimos, who of all that ever wore it, deserved it most. The fighting Turks or Mamelukes, saluted Bonaparte with something akin to it in Egypt: Grant justly earned the same designation, by his celerity and force, in May, 1863.

Follow on the parallel: Grant had a thorn in his side; an antagonistic and, at first, powerful subordinate, forced upon him by political influence; a rival, placed in inferior command by circumstances, who, it is said, did not yield him a hearty or willing, a sufficient or efficient, support.

Although Frederic would not have tolerated such a condition of things, for a moment; he had, nevertheless, a serious difficulty to contend against, within his own lines, viz., the anomalously situated Marshal Chernichef. This commander, with his corps of twenty thousand Rus-

sians, had been lent to Frederic, by the Czar, Peter. He had scarcely joined the King, when Peter was assassinated and Chernichef recalled by the Czarina, Catharine, who succeeded her murdered husband. Thenceforward, the Marshal, however willing, could only add *moral* force to Frederic, and bolster his real fighting-power by the display of an apparent strength which could not be exerted, either aggressively or defensively, at the crisis. Indeed, at the *very* crisis, the Russian Marshal was compelled to leave the Prussian King to his own resources, while the decisive fighting was going on; but he accomplished his withdrawal so deftly, that the Austrians had not the slightest idea of what was thus transpiring to their advantage, although the Prussian lines were thus weakened under their noses.

It is true, that Grant fought several small battles, at divers distinct points, which Frederic did not; but the former won ten times more by outmaneuvering his adversaries than by actually beating them in the field.

Still, although Frederic did fight one battle as desperate, comparatively, as Champion Hill; and, although his Lieutenants had several sharp engagements, equivalent to those of Port Gibson, Raymond, and the Big Black; nevertheless, the great King accomplished his work, like Grant, by practical strategy; and it is very questionable if his principal action, the storming of the Heights of Burkersdorf, "one of Frederic's prettiest 'feats,'" did not amount to as much as Grant's whole series of fights, considering losses, gains, the qualities of his adversaries, and the difficulties, internal and external, which he overcame.

Just as Pemberton and his subordinates tried to make a diversion from the menaced fortress—the objective of the Campaign—Guasco and O'Kelly, on whom Frederic leaned, tried the same game with equal ill-success.

Grierson's raid from La Grange, fifty miles East of Memphis, to Baton Rouge, through six hundred to eight hundred miles of hostile territory, exercised a very favorable influence, at this time, on the fortunes of the main operations, South of Vicksburg. It made the South howl. In like manner, Wied, a Prussian officer, with a small force of regular Cavalry and a Pulk—i. e., a Regiment of five hundred Lances, or so—of Cossacks, carried devastation to the gates of Prague, two hundred to two hundred and twenty-five miles South-westward of Schweidnitz; and made Austria shriek, very like the Rebels did—who could see no horrors in such raids as those of Van Dorn, or of Forrest, or of Morgan, or of McCausland, which sent Chambersburg up in flames; but could appreciate the agony, when the steel, on hoof and in hand, was trampling on and slashing amid her own bowels.

Meanwhile, just as Rosecrans was occupying

the attention of another grand rebel Army, two hundred miles away, and clinging to Bragg and keeping him from reinforcing Johnston or interfering with Grant, Prince Henry, in Saxony, or Ferdinand of Brunswick, in Westphalia, was giving full occupation around Freiberg and Cassel, to Armies, respectively, two hundred and fifty and three hundred and fifty miles away—either Army corresponding in its action to that which had been beaten at Stone-river—and was occupying the Thermophylæ, so styled, of Tullahoma, and barring the road to Chattanooga.

Finally, the covering Army once disposed of or cleared away, Grant closed in upon Vicksburg, just as Frederic, after his successful practical strategy, enveloped Schweidnitz. And, even as Johnston hovered around, trying to find an occasion to do something, and did try to do something, but could accomplish nothing; just so Daun, with his Austrians, endeavored to bother Frederic, at Reichenbach, with anything but a satisfactory result to himself.

In the next place, Grant thought to carry Vicksburg by storm, by a *coup d'emblee*, but had to settle down to a regular siege, and was nearly two months at it, (*from the eighteenth of May to the fourth of July*) having reconciled his men to hard work in the trenches and regular approaches, by their own convictions, in dead and wounded, that digging under the works, delving on, day by day, to sure success, was better than dying on the works in vain attempts to carry them. Frederic, in like manner, expected at first to take Schweidnitz in eight days; but had to wait two months.

Guasco, who defended the place, after two weeks, offered to surrender on terms (*Oeuvres de Frederic. iii. 385*): Pemberton tried the same, after a longer delay.

Finally, the Austrians had to surrender as prisoners-of-war, as Frederic declared they should; even as Pemberton had to subside into accepting the terms of "Unconditional Surrender Grant."

* * * * *

The parity between the operations of Grant against Vicksburg, in March-June, 1863, and those of Frederic against Schweidnitz, in May-August, 1762, is very complete. Grant commenced his game to the North and East of Vicksburg: so did Frederic, in respect to the great Silesian fortress. The first moves were not entirely satisfactory or successful, in either case; but they disposed of pieces. Both then worked round to the Left, or West, until the decisive actions occurred to the South and East. Both drove their victorious columns in, between the Fortress in dispute and the Army covering or seeking to relieve it; threw the latter off to the Right; settled down to the siege; and consummated the capture of the strong-hold on whose

possession that of the region in contest depended. The acquisition of neither of Napoleon's objectives, in 1796 or 1805, was a necessity to cause or country; whereas Vicksburg and Schweidnitz were absolute necessities to the North and to Prussia. Daun (*Johnston*), meanwhile, so far from attacking or even disquieting the King (*Grant*), was so afraid of being attacked himself, that he actually fortified himself. Just so, Johnston concentrated but *reposed*, blinking, like a puma, at him from (*B. 355*) Jackson and Canton. It is true that Johnston only made feints of again advancing against Grant, while engaged in his siege, whereas Daun did actually attack Frederic, and was severely repulsed, at Reichenbach and Peile. Finally, both Austrian and Rebel rolled away without doing anything but making a show; the former, from forty to fifty miles away, to the South-west, abandoning the field and Province in contest, Silesia, to Frederic; the latter, driven fifty miles to the Southeast, (*Badeau, 397*) relinquishing to Grant, the Valley of the Mississippi and "the Father of Waters," liberated by the capture of Vicksburg.

The fact of the matter is, prejudice blinds the eyes as much as absolute ignorance; and glaring success dazes them as completely as a flash of lightning. Were this not the case, those who write military criticisms—this does not refer to Badeau, who presents his case most clearly, but to the majority of those who have discoursed in print, on our great War—would not restrict themselves to the meteoric career of Napoleon, and strain facts to create parallels, when they could find so much more apposite examples in the careers of abler men, who accomplished far greater and more lasting results, with very much less means, by will and brain-work, at other, previous periods.

Napoleon owed his first successes to men produced by a Revolution which emancipated mind: his subsequent triumphs were due to the weight of numbers, by rolling confederated nations upon single ones. In 1812, he actually made war upon Russia with subjected Europe under his eagles and satraps; and he fell, when Europe, tearing off her fetters, coalesced against him. On the other hand, Frederic fought Europe, banded against him; and, from first to last, Frederick was the brain and spinal-marrow of the comparatively scanty band which made little Prussia the match for two vast Empires, a Kingdom equal to either in population and resources, a Realm once the arbiter of Europe, and a Bund, or Confederacy, of Kinglings. He was all in all to his Army. When "disease, want, and despair were creeping"—the Winter prior to this very Campaign—"into his camp, "the sound of his voice, the glance of his eye, "inspired his soldiers always with confidence and

"kept up their drooping spirits. They were frequently heard to say among themselves, "Fritz "is still with us: he is better than fifty thousand men."

In this connection, it is impossible to refrain from quoting Jomini (the great authority at West Point.) According to Sainte Beuve, he paid a compliment (*83 Text and Note 1.*) to Frederic which in a few words, presents the difference between the two great modern Captains, in the clearest light; and demonstrates Frederic's superiority to Napoleon: "Eylau" says he "for a [*truly*] wise man "or for capable of [*true*] wisdom;" [*i. e. common sense, judgment,*] "and if Napoleon had been a "Frederic, would have been one of those lessons "which are [*or can be*] never forgotten.

Rogniat in his *Considerations on the Art of War*, (xi, 386-7) thus alludes to Frederic's Campaign of 1761; but his remarks apply as well to that of 1762. The French General takes that as an example of what a General can accomplish by what Decker styles "Practical-strategy." Frederic II. paid great attention to positions. The obstacles, which nature offered to him as aids, he used to the best advantage to fortify and protect his feeble Armies against the enterprizes of his numerous enemies. He is to be seen in one of his Silesian Campaigns, moving from one position to another, almost without losing ground, yet bringing to nothing all the projects of Marshal Daun, who had an Army three times as numerous as his own. The King occupied a strong position; the Marshal arrived at the head of his eighty thousand men; and, with his habitual slowness, employed the day in developing them, in making reconnaissances, putting off the attack until to-morrow. But the King decamped during the night, with his little Army, mobility itself, of thirty thousand men, and assumed another position, a little distance off, on the flanks of the Austrians. Thereupon the Marshal marched, and again prepared to attack the following day. Meanwhile, the King eluded him in the same manner. This game went on for several months, until the Austrians having concluded to divide their forces into two Corps, experienced a check [*Liegnitz 1860? Barksdorf 1762?*] which put an end to the maneuvers. The same practical-strategy, applied to the aggressive, makes Grant's Campaign of May, 1862, worthy of comparison with Frederic's. It was, indeed, very much so, as to his moral influence with our Grant, in his May Campaign of 1863; and, therefore, to compare our Grant, in his operations, on the South of Vicksburg, with Frederic, the "Nonpareil," in his maneuvering and fighting around Schweidnitz, is to give to the former the highest credit that his warmest admirer could demand.

Thus, it must be conceded that *this* comparison of Grant with Frederic holds good throughout;

whereas it completely fails with the termination of the field-operations, in the two cases mentioned in Badeau's work.

In 1796, the Sardinians, representing Pemberton, and the Austrians, Johnston, had directly opposite motives and objects, after they were sundered—the one, to cover their own capital, Turin; the other, their Vice-roy, the Milanese—whereas, in 1863, Johnston, to the East, had interests in common with Pemberton, and was ever watching an opportunity to succor the latter, even as Daun, in regard to Guasco.

In 1805, there was no sundering of a relieving Army and an Army serving as a garrison. The operation was simple as to objective; and Mack (*Pemberton*) having become enveloped in Ulm, (*Vicksburg*) surrender followed at once. In this second consideration, in the Campaign of October, 1805, as compared with that of May, 1863, there was entire antagonism of season. In 1805, snow fell in great quantities; and the weather generally was atrocious. On the other hand, in 1863, the time of the year was favorable: the wet season was over, and the intense heat of Summer yet to come.

In 1762, however, Frederic, like Grant, operated at the best season of the year, and, like him, had a double objective; and the solution of the double problem remained unsettled, exactly as it did one hundred and one years subsequently, until a fortress had been actually delivered up—Daun (*Johnston*) hovering about, watching an opportunity to relieve Guasco, (*Pemberton*) as long as there was the slightest hope of assisting the latter. Even in the relations of the preliminary field-operations, as well as of the siege, there was a constant resemblance, although, in the case of Frederic, they were more crowded together. Thus, in Lottum, close examination would discover poor Kinsman's successful flank-movement, followed by a pell-mell flight, exactly as that which occurred at the Big Black.

Moreover, it is very curious that the Battle of Reichembach, or Peile, which settled the question that Daun was not to be allowed to interfere with the Siege of Schweidnitz, was fought just about the distance from that fortress that Grant considered Johnston should be whipped away from Vicksburg—"We want to whip Johnston," said Grant to Parke, "at least fifteen miles off, 'if possible.'"

The same reasons which actuated Frederic, in rejecting Guasco's first offer to capitulate, influenced Grant in refusing to listen to Pemberton's propositions.

The royal historian, as well as commander, states that he would not permit the garrison to go free, because the Austrian Government "held itself under no obligation of keeping its word or

"fulfilling its engagements * * either relative to 'the exchange of prisoners or any other object.'" This moral obliquity, common to the Austrians and Rebels, serves to confirm the appositeness of the writer's parallel; and, even as the Rebels never reformed in this respect, neither did the Austrians, for the reader will find Massena, in Genoa, in June, 1800, refusing to parole his prisoners, to whom he could only dole out starvation-rations of soup made of weeds, because (Thiers' *Consulate and Empire*, I. iv. 307,) those who had been thus liberated appeared in arms in the ranks of the enemy.

Frederic, just like Grant, demanded an "unconditional surrender." The analogy in this particular—paroling—respect, ends with the surrenders. Frederic held the captured garrison strictly as prisoners-of-war: Grant, after requiring an "unconditional surrender," paroled them.

Halleck, at this point alone, was partially correct. The rebel prisoners should have been sent North, and held in captivity until regularly exchanged. It turned out exactly as many Northern men predicted that it would. Many of the rebels broke their pledges; and we very soon found them in arms, confronting the very troops which had captured and paroled them, serving in violation of the most solemn obligations of military honor. Thus, at Chattanooga, Grant had to fight portions of the paroled garrison of Vicksburg; and, as one of our best war-historians relates, "all of Stevenson's Division, on Bragg's right wing, opposed to Sherman, at Chattanooga, in November of the same year, 'including its commander, must have violated 'their parole.'—HARPER, 562.

In this connection, the reader's attention is directed to an error in Badeau's work, in which he says (p. 391) "in each case," [*Ulm and Vicksburg*] "the prisoners were paroled." Napoleon did not parole the Austrian rank and file, captured at Ulm, but only the officers. Savary (ii. 98.) is explicit on this point—"the 'Austrian Army was to march out with the 'honors of war; defile before the French 'Army; and depart for France. Only the 'Generals and officers had permission to return 'home, on condition of not serving until regularly exchanged."

Horne (i. 398) goes more into detail: "The 'men were marched into France; and so great 'was the number of prisoners already made in 'this Campaign, amounting, it is computed, to 'fifty thousand in all, that the Emperor adopted 'the plan of distributing them throughout the 'agricultural districts of France, where their 'work in the fields supplied the place of the 'conscripts required for his Army. The experiment was found to succeed admirably well,

"with the docile habits of the Germans and the good humor of their French employers."

In this disposition of prisoners, Napoleon and Frederic were altogether right and Grant wrong; and, as stated, events within five months proved this to be so.

Finally, there is another consideration worthy of attention, in this connection. When the lay-reader discovers how small a scene suffices for actions which affect nations, he will perceive, if he is a reflecting man, the importance of *key-points* and the necessity of comprehensive views in a General, embracing far vaster objects than the mere winning of a battle or the retention of a blood-wet field.

The extent of the arena of the Ulm Campaign, alluded to by Halleck, depends entirely upon where he considers the operations, comprised within his parallel, commenced. The points considered by Jomini, in his *Atlas portatif, Legendes*. Planche v, 10-14th October, 1805, lie about seventy miles asunder, North and South, and about as many miles apart, East and West. Napoleon's first fifteen days' maneuvering and fighting, in Northern Italy—to which Badeau likens those of Grant—beginning with Montebello, (11th April, 1796), and ending with the taking of Cherasco, occurred upon a stage whose diameter was about forty miles, North and South.

In 1863, Grant's field of active campaigning, South of Vicksburg, constituted a triangle, whose respective angles were, North, at Vicksburg, East, at Jackson, and, South, at Bruinsburg—the former two less than fifty, (Jackson, forty-four miles East of Vicksburg—Greeley, ii, 286,—the latter two less than seventy miles apart.

In 1762, Frederic's *own* operations, proper, were carried on within a circle whose radii, diverging from Schweidnitz, as a centre, scarcely exceeded twenty miles; while subordinate movements struck off on tangents to, or embraced, points hundreds of miles distant.

Reader, after all this, do you not think that Frederic's Campaign of 1762 is a more apposite parallel to Grant's in May, 1863, than that proposed, of Ulm, 1805, by our former Commander-in-chief who could praise Grant very highly after his success, but hampered, thwarted, and bothered him considerably, while obtaining it; or even than that of 1796, so well discussed by the accomplished Badeau?

IX. REMINISCENCE OF THE LAST WAR WITH ENGLAND.

[From *The Evening Post*, New York, Thursday, December 3, 1863.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING POST:

When, in June, 1812, the United States de-

clared War against England, Commodore Hull was placed in command of the frigate *Constitution* and ordered to sea, for the purpose of placing himself alongside of the enemy, wherever he could be found.

July 21, 1812, Hull found himself off Egg-harbor, covered with a thick fog, when, as soon as it broke, he discovered himself almost within reach of an English fleet, composed of one line-of-battle ship, two frigates, a brig, and a schooner, all making chase for him. Hull was considered one of the best practical seamen in the service; and his wonderful escape proves it. From the eighteenth to the twentieth of July, from morning to night and night to morning, Hull watched every breath of wind; and, as he reported, his officers and men stood to their quarters, without a murmur. During these eventful hours, the British Admiral put out all his boats for the purpose of towing up his two frigates, to the *Constitution*; and thus it appeared certain that Hull must be captured.

Under this excitement, the two frigates being almost within shot of the *Constitution*, Mr. Morris, the first officer—the late Commodore Morris—suggested putting out sweeps, in order to gain every movement in keeping out of gunshot, under the hope that some breeze might strike them, all sail being set and kept constantly wet, and thus enable the ship to escape. As Hull said in his official Report, "the suggestion of that valuable officer, Lieutenant Morris," was accepted; all the boats were instantly put in requisition; and they moved the ship a mile an hour out of reach of the frigates. The British officers saw that they had a sailor to contend with; and, for some time, they were puzzled to find what power Hull was using to take his ship out of their grasp—there not being a breath of wind upon either ship. At length, with the aid of their glasses, they discovered Hull's secret, upon which all the boats of the whole squadron were manned, to sweep up the two frigates within gunshot of the *Constitution*. Hull continued improving every moment, until a slight breeze struck his top-sails, which he instantly availed of, and thus made his escape, and ran into Marblehead, on Sunday, under the chase of the squadron.

The Rev. Doctor Bentley, the great oriental scholar, was in the midst of his Sermon, at the South Church, in Salem, when some one, under his pulpit window, called out, "The British fleet is chasing the *Constitution* into Marblehead." Instantly, the Doctor closed his book and remarked to his hearers, "We can serve God no way better than by defending our country;" and, seizing his hat, ran down the pulpit-stairs and followed the cannon towards Marblehead. He being a short, thick-set man,

with the thermometer at eighty-five, soon gave signs of fatigue; when two of his Congregation lifted him upon one of the cannon, on which he rode to the beach where the defence was to be made. This illustrates the feeling of the people, at that time. The fleet seeing the defence making, hauled off; and the *Constitution* seized the moment to run into Boston, where the whole city turned out to do honor to Hull and his officers and crew.

Amid all this excitement, the merchants congregated at the Exchange; and, as Hull came up State-street, they gave him cheer upon cheer. At the rooms of the Exchange, a book was kept, in which were recorded all marine news, arrivals, departure of ships, etc. Towards this book, Hull gradually made his way through the crowd; took a pen; and, in his own hand, wrote the following words:

"Whatever merit may be due for the escape
"of the *Constitution*, from the British fleet,
"belongs to my first officer, Charles Morris, Esq.
"ISAAC HULL."

This noble liberality toward the officers caused all who heard it to cheer him, again and again; and Hull, thus armed with the confidence of his officers and crew, again put to sea; and, on the nineteenth of August, 1812, captured the *Guerriere*, under the following circumstances, to which I was an eye-witness, being then a prisoner on board the *Guerriere*, which had captured me, when in command of a merchant ship, about ten days before the battle.

It was about two in the afternoon, when the *Constitution* was discovered. The *Guerriere* at once hove to, to enable her to come up. In the meantime, there was great excitement and speculation, on the quarter-deck, among Captain Dacres and his officers, as to who the strange sail could be. As the *Constitution* neared us, Captain Dacres handed me his glass, and asked what I thought of her. My answer was: "I think, Sir, she is a frigate." Very soon, she came within reach of the long guns of the *Guerriere*, which gave a broadside, but with no effect, as the sea was high. The *Constitution* made no reply, but continued manœuvring for a position, during which Captain Dacres said to me, "Do you think she will strike without firing?" My reply was, "I think not, Sir."

At that moment, seeing a severe contest was about to commence, I raised my hat to Captain Dacres, and said to him, "With your permission, Sir, I will go below, as I, being only a prisoner, can take no part in this contest." "Oh, certainly," said he, "and, you had better go into the cock-pit; and should any of our officers or men chance to get wounded, I shall feel obliged by any assistance you can render

"the Surgeons or Surgeon's-mates." "Certainly, Sir," said I; and then descended into the cock-pit. There were the Surgeons, and Surgeon's-mates, and attendants, sitting around a long table, covered with instruments and all necessities for dressing the wounded, all as still as a funeral.

Within one moment after my foot left the lower round of the ladder, the *Constitution* gave that double-shotted broadside, which threw all in the cock-pit over in a heap, on the opposite side of the ship. For a moment, it appeared as if heaven and earth had struck together: a more terrific shock cannot be imagined. Before those in the cock-pit had adjusted themselves, the blood ran down from the deck as freely as if a washtub-full had been turned over; and, instantly, the dead, wounded, and dying were handed down, just as fast as men could pass them, till the cock-pit was filled, with hardly room to pass them or to enable the Surgeons to work. Midshipmen were handed down with one leg, some with one arm; and others wounded in almost every shape and condition.

An officer on the table having an arm amputated, would sing out to a comrade coming down, wounded, "Well, shipmate, how goes 'the battle?'" another would utter some joke that would almost make the dying smile; and so constant and free were the playful remarks from the maimed and even dying, that I almost doubted my senses. Indeed, all this was crowded into a space of not over twenty-five or thirty minutes before the firing ceased. I then went on deck; and what a scene was presented, and how changed in so short a time, during which the *Guerriere* had been totally dismantled and otherwise cut to pieces, so as to make her not worth towing into port.

The *Constitution* looked fresh; and, even at this time, those on board the *Guerriere* did not know what ship had fought them. On the other hand, the *Guerriere* was a mere rolling log, almost entirely at the mercy of the sea—her colors all shot away, her main-mast and mizzen-mast both gone by the board, and fore-mast standing by the mere honeycomb the shot had made. Captain Dacres stood with his officers surveying the scene—all, all in perfect astonishment.

At this moment, a boat was seen putting off from the hostile ship for the *Guerriere*. As soon as within speaking distance, a young gentleman (Midshipman Reed, late Commodore Reed), hailed and said, "I wish to see the officer in command of the ship." At this Captain Dacres stepped forward and answered. Midshipman Reed then said, "Commodore Hull's compliments, and wishes to know if you have struck your flag." At this, Captain Dacres appeared amazed; but recovering himself and

looking up and down, he deliberately said: "Well, I don't know: our mizzen-mast is gone; our main-mast is gone; and, upon the whole, you may say we have struck our flag." "Commodore Hull's compliments, and wishes to know if you need the assistance of a Surgeon or Surgeon's-mates." Captain Dacres replied: "Well, I should suppose you had on board your own ship, business enough for all your medical officers." Midshipman Reed replied: "Oh no, we have only seven wounded; and they were dressed half an hour ago." Captain Dacres then turned to me, deeply affected, and said: "How have our situations been suddenly changed! You are now free, and I a prisoner."

As soon as Midshipman Reed could make his report to Commodore Hull, orders were issued for all the boats of both ships to make ready to remove the wounded on board the *Constitution*. So dreadful was the condition of many of them, that two days were nearly consumed in the removal, after which the *Guerriere* was burned, with all her stores, armament, etc., etc. The *Constitution* having recently come out of port, had room to take scarcely an article. Captain Dacres, in his official Report, said: "The *Guerriere* was so cut up, that all attempts to get her in would have been useless. As soon as the wounded could be got out of her, they set her on fire; and I feel it my duty to say that the conduct of Captain Hull and his officers to our men has been that of a brave enemy, the greatest care being taken to prevent our men losing the smallest trifle, and the greatest attention being paid to the wounded."

On Sunday, about noon, the *Constitution* arrived in Boston harbor. The ship and the wharves were soon crowded with boats to learn the news. To the first boat we neared, we hailed: "The *Constitution* has captured the *Guerriere*!" Instantly, the two men in the boat took off their hats and banged them on the side of the boat, and rising, gave cheers upon cheers. They hailed other boats; and thus the air was rent with cheers; and the victory passed along till it reached the shore, and then spread like wild-fire, over the city and country.

In almost every town and village, such was the importance placed upon this victory that, for a long time, the following lines were sung by the boys on the street:

"We raked them so clean they had no colors to strike,
"So a gun on their lee they were forced to let fly,
"To inform us they did not quite all wish to die."

Not only did Commodore Hull and his officers extend to their prisoners every reasonable indulgence and kindness; but Hull's magnanimity to Dacres, as he entered the *Constitution*, secured

his friendship for life. After the War, Hull visited Europe; and Dacres and his friends were among the first who came forward to do him honor. At a subsequent period, Hull was in command of a squadron in the Mediterranean. Dacres had then been promoted, in the English Navy, to a similar position. Their flag-ships were near each other, for weeks; and they often dined together.

—OCTOGENARIAN.

X.—A LIST OF THE STREETS, LANES, AND ALLEYS, IN THE TOWN OF BOSTON, IN 1732.*

I.

THE STREETS FROM THE FORTIFICATION, OVER THE DRAW-BRIDGE, TO HUDSON'S POINT, AT THE NORTH END.

From the Gate to Eliot's-corner, *Orange-street*.
To Bethune's-corner, *Newbury-street*.
To Haugh's-corner, *Marlboro'-street*.
To Colson's stone house, *Cornhill*.
To Sun Tavern, thence to Jackson's and Brooks's-corners, and back to Hutchinson's, *Dock-square*.
From Jackson's-corner, over the Draw-bridge, to the Cross Tavern, *Ann-street*.
Thence to the Swan Tavern, near Scarlet's-wharf, *Fish-street*.
To the North Battery, *Ship-street*.
To the old Ferry Way, at Hudson's Point, *Lynn-street*.

II.

STREETS FROM FROG-LANE, AT THE SOUTH END OF THE COMMON, OVER THE MILL-BRIDGE, TO LYNN-STREET.

From Frog-lane to Clark's-corner, *Common-street*.
Thence, by Jekyl's, to the Orange-tree, *Tremount-street*.
To the Mill-bridge, *Hanover-street*.
To Clark's-corner, *Middle-street*.
Thence, across Lynn-street, to the sea, *North-street*.

III.

THE STREETS, LANES, AND ALLEYS, BRANCHING FROM THE STREETS ABOVE, RECKONING FROM THE SOUTHWARD.

(1.) From Orange-street.

Crossing Orange street, both East and West, *Castle-street*.
Running North-westerly, by the New Church, *Harvard-street*.
Opposite to Harvard-street, to the sea, *Bennet-street*.
The next running East, to the sea, *Hollis-street*.

* The streets are reckoned in order, from the Southward to the Northward.

The next running East, by Loring's, to the sea, *Beach-street*.

From Welles's-corner, West, to the sea, at the bottom of the Common, *Frog-lane*.

Eliot's-corner, East, to Windmill Point, *Essex-street*.

(2.) *Leading from Newbury-street.*

From Barril's-corner, West, to the Common, *Sheaf's-lane*.

Between Blin's and Durant's, North-west, to the Common, *Hogg-alley*.

From Cowel's-corner, West, to the Common, *West-street*.

Wheeler's-corner, East, to Blind-lane, *Pond-street*.

Ellis's-corner, North-west, to the Common, *Winter-street*.

Bethune's-corner, East, to the sea, *Summer-street*.

(3.) *Leading from Marlboro'-street.*

From Brisco's-corner, North-west, to Common-street, *Rawson's-lane*.

South of Church-corner, Eastwardly, to the sea, *Milk-street*.

From Hallowel's-corner, in Milk-street, South-east, by South Battery, to Gibbs's-lane, *Battery March*.

Haugh's-corner, North-west, to Whetcomb's-corner, *School-street*.

Thence, by the North side of the Common, to the sea, *Beacon-street*.

(4.) *Leading from Cornhill.*

From Clark's-corner, East, to Jolliff's-lane, *Spring-lane*.

Phillips's-corner, East, to Mackril-lane, *Water-street*.

Wolsten's Arch, Westward, *Savage's-court*.

Round the Old Church, *Church-square*.

From the West end of the Town-house, East, to Long-wharf, *King-street*.

Deering's-corner, North-west, to the Orange-tree, *Queen-street*.

Thence North, to the end of Cold-lane, by the Mill-pond, *Sudbury-street*.

The way leading from Bill and Smith's-corners, into Cambridge-street, *Hawkins's-street*.

(5.) *Leading from Dock-square.*

From the Sun Tavern, East, to Merchants'-row, *Corn Market*.

Between Hutchinson's and Colson's, to Brattle-street Church, thence South to Queen's-street and North to Wing's Lane, *Brattle-street*.

From Pollard's-corner, in Brattle-street, West, to Green & Walker's-corner, in Queen-street, *Hil-ler's-lane*.

From Brooks's-corner, West, to Hanover-street, *Wing's-lane*.

From the Conduit, at Dock Head, North-west,

crossing Hanover-street, to the Mill-pond, *Union-street*.

(6.) *Leading from Ann-street.*

From Pitts's-corner, round on the Dock, to Pitts's-wharf, *Fish Market*.

Checkley's Entry, North-west, to Creek-lane, *Scottow's-alley*.

Tyler's-corners to the Wharves, *Swing-bridge-lane*.

Simpkin's-corner, East, to the Wharf, *Royal's-alley*.

Tyler's-corner, West, to Middle-street, *Pad-dey's-alley*.

Allen's-corner, East, to the Wood-wharf, *Wentworth's-lane*.

At North end of Ann-street, from the sea, North-west, to the Mill-pond, *Cross-street*.

(7.) *Leading from Fish-street.*

From Doctor Clark's-corner, North-west, to Middle-street, *Gallop's-alley*.

Edwards's-corner, North-west, to Middle-street, *Wood-lane*.

Mountfort's-corner, by the East side of North Church, to Fleet-street, *Moon-street*.

Gardner's-corner, North-west, to the North Church, *Sun-court*.

At the North end of Fish-street, from Scarlet's-wharf, West, to the upper end of Middle-street, *Fleet-street*.

(8.) *Leading from Ship-street.*

From Richards's-corner, West, by New North Church, to North-street, *Foster-street*.

Bill's-corner, West, to North-street, *White-bread-alley*.

Salutation Tavern, West, to North-street, *Salutation-alley*.

Parkman's-corner, West, to North-street, *Battery-alley*.

(9.) *Leading from Lynn-street.*

Through Greenough's Ship-yard, South-west, to Charter-street, *Greenough's-alley*.

From Aves's-corner, South, to Charter-street, *Henchman's-lane*.

By Williams's, South-west, to Charter-street, *Sliding-alley*.

From Atkins's Lime-kiln, South-west, to North Burying-place, *Lime-alley*.

From the West end of Lynn-street, round the beach, to the Ferry-wharf, *Ferry Way*.

(10.) *Leading from Hanover-street.*

From Harris's-corner, North-west, to the Mill-pond, *Cold-lane*.

Ballantine's-corner, South, to Fitch's-corner, in Union-street, *Marshall's-lane*.

The Star Tavern, South, to the Mill, *Link-alley*.

(11.) *Leading from Middle-street.*

From the Mill-bridge, Northerly, to Gee's-corn-

er, in Prince-street, *Back-street*.

Wales's-corner, to Back-street, *Beer-lane*.

Morrill's-corner, North-west, to Charlestown Ferry, *Prince-street*.

Wadsworth's-corner, East, to the North Church, *Bell-alley*.

Clark's-corner, at the North end of Middle-street, North-west, to Salem-street, *Bennet-street*.

(12.) *Leading from North-street.*

From Stephens's-corner, North-west, to Salem-street, *Loce-lane*.

Ransford's-corner, running by North side of the Burying-place, to Ferry Way, *Charter-street*.

From Ruck's-corner, in Charter-street, West, to Harrod's-corner, in Prince-street, *Salem-street*.

IV.

OTHER CROSS-STREETS AND LANES.

(1.) *From the South end to Dock-square.*

Leading from Essex-street, South-west, to Beach-street, *Ransford's-lane*.

The next running North, to Pond-street, *Short-street*.

Crossing the East end of Essex-street, from Hill's-wharf, North, to Summer-street, *South-street*.

Leading from Summer-street, from Clark's-corner, North-west, to Brown's-corner, in Milk-street, *Bishop's-alley*.

From the New South Church, West, to Pond-street, *Blind-lane*.

Morey's-corner, North-east, to Fort-hill, *Cow-lane*.

The Rope-walk, running North-east, out of Summer-street, to Battery March, *Belcher's-lane*.

The bottom of Summer-street, South, to Wind-mill-point, *Sea-street*.

From the bottom of Summer-street, North-east, by the Sea, and running to the Rope-walk, *Flounder-lake*.

Ways leading from Belcher's-lane, North, to Cow Lane: 1. *Crooked-alley*; 2. *Gray's-lane*; 3. *Tilly's-lane*; 4. *Gridley's-lane*; 5. *Gibbs's-lane*.

Ways leading from Cow-lane, North, to Milk-street: 1. *Long-lane*; 2. *Atkinson's-street*; 3. *Hutchinson's-street*; 4. *Oliver-street*.

Ways leading from Long-lane, into Atkinson's-street, Easterly: 1. *Round-lane*; 2. *Bury-street*.

From Round-lane, North, into Bury-street, *Sister-street*.

From North-east side of Fort-hill, to Battery March, *Sconce-lane*.

Ways from Milk-street, North, to Water street: 1. *Jolliff's-lane*; 2. *Tanner's-lane*; 3. *Cooper's-alley*.

From Dummer's-corner, in School-street, South-west, to Rawson's-lane, *Governor's-alley*.

From Beacon-street, North-west, to Allen's Orchard, *David's-lane*.

From Alford's-corner to Century-hill, *Century-street*.

From Beacon-street, Northerly, to Cambridge-street, *George-street*.

Ways from King-street, Southerly, to Water-street: 1. *Pudding-lane*; 2. *Leveret's-lane*; 3. *Mackril-lane*.

From Maccarty's-corner, turning into Pudding-lane, *Half Square-court*.

From Mackril-lane, East, by Hallowel's-wharf, to the sea, *Crab-lane*.

From King-street, Northerly, into Dock-square, 1. *Wilson's-lane*; 2. *Shrimpton's-lane*.

— into Corn Market, *Peirce's-alley*.

From Faneuil's-corner, round to Woodman-sie's-wharf, *Merchants'-row*.

(2.) *From the Orange-tree, in Queen-street, to the Western part of the Town, leading from Sudbury-street, North-west.*

From Bowdoin's-corner, West, *Southack's-court*.

Emmons's-corner, running by the Wind-mill, to the sea, *Cambridge-street*.

Leading out of Cambridge-street, South-west, into Southack's-court, *Stoddard's-lane*.

The new way, leading North-east, from Cambridge-street, by Copelin's, into Sudbury-street, *Alden's-lane*.

From Well's-corner, North-west, to Barton's-point, *Green-street*.

Leading from Cambridge-street, Northerly, into Green-street: 1. *Staniford's-street*; 2. *Lynde-street*; 3. *Chamber's-street*.

From Green-street, North-east, to the Mill-pond, *Gooch-lane*.

(3.) *From Dock-square, to the North end, leading from Union-street.*

From Royal's House, West, *Minot's-court*.

Webb's-corner, East, to Creek-lane, *March-lane*.

Bows's-corner, East, to Creek-lane, *Salt-lane*.

From Jephson's-corner, in Marshal's-lane, East, to Scottow's-alley, *Creek-lane*.

From the North-west end of Cross-street, by the Mill-pond side, North, *Old Way*.

The space on the South side of the New Church, *Clark's-square*.

From Bell-alley-corner, North, to Fleet-street, *Garden-court*.

From Salem-street, North-west, to Snow-street, 1. *Sheafe-street*; 2. *Hull-street*.

From Travis's-corner, in Prince-street, North, to Hudson's-point, *Snow-street*.

The number of Streets, 60; Lanes, 41; and Alleys, 18; besides Squares, Courts, etc.

XL—THE GETTYSBURG CAMPAIGN, 1863.

GENERAL PLEASANTON'S REPORT OF OPERATIONS OF THE CAVALRY CORPS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

NOW FIRST PRINTED, FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.*

HEAD-QUARTERS, CAVALRY CORPS,
ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
August 31, 1863.

To
Brigadier-general S. WILLIAMS,
Adjutant-general, Army of the Potomac.

GENERAL:

I have the honor to submit the following Report of the operations of the Cavalry Corps, in the late Campaign, including the Battle of Gettysburg, with accompanying Reports of subordinate commanders:—

On the twenty-eighth of June, the Army being in the vicinity of Frederick, Maryland, the Cavalry Corps was placed as follows: The First Division (Buford's) was posted near Middletown, covering the left and watching the enemy in the direction of Hagerstown. The Second Division (Gregg's) was stationed at different points, from Frederick City to Ridgeville, on the Baltimore turnpike, covering the right of the Army. The Third Division (Kilpatrick's) was at Frederick City, and was assigned to the Corps on that day.

Orders having been issued for the advance of the Army, towards Pennsylvania, on the twenty-ninth of June, Buford's Division moved as follows, to cover and protect the left flank of the line of march: the Reserve Brigade was detached, under Brigadier-general Merritt, and moved to Mechanicsville, and afterwards to Emmettsburg. The First and Second Brigades passed through Boonboro, Cavetown, and Monterey Springs; and encamped near Fairfield, within a short distance of a considerable force of the enemy's Infantry. On the thirtieth of June, these two Brigades moved towards Gettysburg; met two Regiments of Rebel Infantry, with some artillery: and, after some skirmishing, not wishing to use artillery, they turned off and reached Gettysburg in the afternoon, just in time to meet the enemy entering the town, and to drive him back before he secured a position. The enemy withdrew in the direction of Cashtown, leaving his pickets about four and a half miles from Gettysburg.

By day-light, on the first of July, General Buford had obtained positive information of the enemy's position and movements, and made his dispositions to hold him in check, until the First

Corps, under Major-general Reynolds, could arrive upon the field. Between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, the rebels advanced with superior numbers, on Buford's position, but were gallantly checked in every attempt that was made, for more than two hours; when the troops of the First and Eleventh Corps began to arrive and to relieve the Cavalry from their perilous position. The Division continued in the fight, throughout the day, displaying great obstinacy in holding all their positions and splendid courage and skill in their treatment of the rebels.

On the second of July, Buford's Division held a position on our left, at Gettysburg, until relieved by the Third Corps, when it was directed to take post at Westminster, to assist in guarding the army-trains, at that point.

On the twenty-ninth of June, Gregg's Division moved by the right-flank of the Army, on Westminster, covering the country towards York and Carlisle, by reconnoissances and patrols.

Kilpatrick's Division advanced from Frederick City, on the twenty-ninth of June, direct to the front, on Hanover, by the way of Littlestown. On the morning of the thirtieth, they were attacked by Stuart's Cavalry, in full force. After a gallant fight, the enemy was repulsed, losing one battle-flag, and retreated in the direction of Carlisle. On the first of July, they were pursued as far as Berlin, by the way of Abbotsville, a detachment under Lieutenant-colonel Alexander, Chief of Staff, proceeding as far as Rosstown. Kilpatrick's Division, on the second of July, moved towards Gettysburg, from the direction of Heidlersburg, to prevent the enemy from concentrating his forces by that road and to protect our right flank from being turned. Late in the afternoon; this Division met the rebel Cavalry near Hunterstown; and, after a spirited affair, for two hours, the enemy was driven from his position. The Division was then ordered to the Two Taverns, which it reached at day-light.

It being now apparent that the rebel Army intended making a vigorous attack on the left of the position held by our Army, on the heights of Gettysburg, General Kilpatrick was directed to move to the right of the enemy's line; connect with Merritt's Brigade, ordered up from Emmettsburg; and attack the enemy in flank and rear, as well as prevent our own flank from being turned; Custer's Brigade of this Division remaining on our right flank, in connection with General Gregg. General Kilpatrick did valuable service with the First Brigade, under General Farnsworth, in charging the enemy's Infantry; and, with the assistance of Merritt's Brigade and the good execution of their united Batteries, caused him to detach largely from his main attack, on the left of our line.

It was in one of these brilliant engagements,

* We are indebted to our friend, General J. WARREN FAIRBANKS, for the copy from which this article has been printed. EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

that the noble and gallant Farnsworth fell, heroically leading a charge of his Brigade against the rebel Infantry. Gifted, in a high degree, with a quick perception and a correct judgment; remarkable for his daring and coolness; his comprehensive grasp of the situation, on the field of battle, and the rapidity of his actions had already distinguished General Farnsworth among his comrades in arms. In his death was closed a career that must have won the highest honors of his profession.

On the thirtieth of June, immediately after the fight of Kilpatrick, at Hanover, the enemy hastily withdrew his forces from York and Carlisle, and began to concentrate on Gettysburg. As soon as this was known, Gregg's Division was directed to leave one Brigade, (Huey's), to cover the dépôt at Westminster, and move with the two other Brigades towards Gettysburg; to take up a position on the right of our line-of-battle; and to prevent the enemy from turning the flank and gaining the rear. This position was established, about noon of the second of July; and was at the intersection of the Gettysburg and Hanover-turnpike with the road which ran in rear of our line-of-battle. The enemy attacked this point, late in the evening, with two Regiments deployed, but were compelled to retire.

On the third of July, Custer's Brigade of Kilpatrick's Division having occupied the position of Gregg's Division of the day before, the latter was posted three-quarters of a mile nearer the Baltimore and Gettysburg-turnpike. About noon, the enemy threw a heavy force of Cavalry against this position, with the intention of gaining our rear. This attack was met and handsomely defeated by General Gregg, who reports several fine charges made by the First Michigan Cavalry, of Custer's Brigade, and the First New Jersey and Third Pennsylvania Cavalry, of his own Division. The enemy withdrew from his position, with heavy loss, and evacuated his lines that night. Custer's Brigade then proceeded to join its Division, on our left.

The grand attack of General Lee's Army, on the third of July, on the left of our line at Gettysburg, having been successfully repulsed and defeated, orders were given for the Cavalry to gain his rear and line of communication, and harass and annoy him, as much as possible, in his retreat. Buford's Division started from Westminster; passed through Frederick City, where it was joined by Merritt's Brigade, from Gettysburg; and proceeded to the vicinity of Williamsport, on the sixth of July, where the enemy's pickets were driven in, to within half a mile of his trains, at the town. A small train and some forty mules were captured; but the enemy was in too strong force to permit farther damage, at this point.

From the seventh to the fifteenth of July, this Division had a succession of combats with the enemy, the particulars of which are fully given in General Buford's Report. These actions were always in *our* favor, and showed a decided superiority on the part of our troops.

Kilpatrick's Division passed through Emmettsburg, on the fourth of July, without halting; was joined by Huey's Brigade of Gregg's Division; and moved on, towards Monterey. After a series of fierce engagements with the enemy's Cavalry; in which this command was always successful and distinguished, a very large train was captured and destroyed, and one thousand, three hundred, and sixty prisoners, one battle-flag, and a large number of animals taken.

On the sixth of July, while Buford attacked at Williamsport, Kilpatrick's Division attacked the enemy at Hagerstown: the particulars of this engagement are given in General Kilpatrick's Report. Until the fourteenth of July, this Division was posted on the right of the Army, and was constantly engaged with the enemy, as was Buford's Division, on the left, and Huey's Brigade, of Gregg's Division, in the center.

In the pursuit of the enemy, from Gettysburg, Gregg's Division acted in detachments—Huey's Brigade, as above-mentioned, moved with Kilpatrick; Colonel Gregg's Brigade, of Gregg's Division, followed up the enemy, by the way of Cashtown; came up with him, near Greenwood; found the road filled with broken-down wagons, abandoned caissons, and limbers, filled with ammunition; a large number of prisoners were captured and sent in to Gettysburg; the pursuit was continued to Marion and Chambersburg; from thence this Brigade rejoined its Division, at Boonsboro: McIntosh's Brigade, of Gregg's Division, was placed at Emmettsburg, to prevent any raids on our rear by the enemy's Cavalry: it then formed part of General Neill's command, to follow up the enemy on the Fairfield-road, after which duty this Brigade joined its Division, at Boonsboro.

On the fourteenth of July, General Gregg, with McIntosh's and Gregg's Brigades of his Division, crossed the Potomac, at Harper's Ferry, and quickly drove a force of the enemy's Cavalry back upon Charlestown. The entire rebel Army having effected a crossing of the Potomac, on that day, Gregg was reinforced by Huey's Brigade, and directed to gain the flank and rear of the rebels, and harass them, as much as possible. He marched to Sheppardstown; found the roads to Martinsburg and Winchester strongly picketed; and, Huey's Brigade not having joined him, he awaited until the sixteenth, when the enemy attacked him in force. A spirited contest was maintained until some time after dark, when the enemy withdrew. A large quan-

tity of bacon and flour was captured by our troops, at Sheppardstown. General Gregg speaks of the high soldierly qualities exhibited by his officers and men, on that occasion.

On the fourteenth of July, both Buford's and Kilpatrick's Division pursued the rebels to Falling Waters, capturing many prisoners: a good deal of abandoned property also fell into their hands. The enemy's rear-guard made an obstinate resistance, near Falling Waters, but was dispersed by General Kilpatrick, who took from them, among other trophies, three Infantry battle-flags.

On the fifteenth of July, Buford's and Kilpatrick's Divisions moved to Berlin, to obtain supplies. Here the Campaign of Gettysburg properly ended. The pursuit of the rebel Army, through Loudoun-valley, to the Rappannock-river, was made by the Cavalry, in detachments, of whose movements the Reports of the Division and Brigade Commanders give full details.

In reviewing the conduct of the Cavalry Corps in this Campaign, it becomes a proud gratification to call the attention of the Major-general Commanding, to the devoted spirit and resolution that animated the officers and men throughout all the difficulties, privations, toils, and dangers they had constantly to meet and which they overcame so gloriously. Not a single mishap occurred to mar that recollection of their noble and brilliant deeds.

* * * * *

I am, General,
Very Respectfully,
Your Obedient Servant,
A. PLEASANTON,
Major-general Commanding.

XII.—A SCRAP OF INDIAN HISTORY.

By HON. J. ROMEYN BRODHEAD, LL.D.*

The Marquis of Denonville, then French Governor of Canada, having resolved to attack the Western New York savages, in the Summer of 1687, he went up the Saint Lawrence, with a colonial force, to Catarauqui, or what is now known as Kingston. The French expedition proceeded along the Southern shore of Lake Ontario, to keep the Iroquois doubtful which of their nations was to be attacked. After a week's coasting, it landed at "Gannag-atorontagouat," or what is now called "Irondequoit-bay," in Monroe-county, the literal meaning of which, in English, appears to be "Opening from the Lake."

* At our request, Hon. John Romeyn Brodhead allows us to print, in this number of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, an extract from a Chapter in the forthcoming second volume of his *History of the State of New York*.—Ed. HIST. MAG.

Having palisaded their encampment—which was named "The Fort of the Sands," and garrisoned by four hundred men—the French pushed southward along Irondequoit-bay, through the superb "oak openings" of Monroe and Ontario-counties. After passing two defiles, the expedition reached a third, near the Seneca village of "Kohoseraghe," or Saint James, not far from what is now Victor, in Ontario-county. The Senecas had meanwhile sent away their women, children, and old men, to Cayuga and to a lake "to the Southward of their Castles." About five hundred—among whom were several wives who would not leave their husbands—remained in ambuscade near Gannagaro; and, as the French came on, they received them with a war-whoop and a fire of musketry. The European Regulars, unused to warfare with the American savages, were thrown into disorder. Instead of pushing on, as their Indian allies advised, the French halted on the battle-field. The next day, they marched into the deserted and burned village of Gannagaro. Two old Senecas, who had been left behind, were shrived by the Father Bruyas, and then cooked and eaten by the French savages. All the maize that could be found was destroyed. Gandagaraé, or Saint Michael, was visited in the same manner. The invaders then moved their camp to the great Seneca village of "Theodehacto," or Totiakto, or Conception, on a bend of the Honeyoye-creek, near what is now West Mendon, in Monroe-county. Here a pompous "Act of possession" of all the Seneca's lands, "conquered 'in the name of his Majesty,'" was attested by the chief officers of the French expedition. At the gate of the small village of Gannounata, or Gannondata, near East Avon, in what is now Livingston-county, were found the English arms, which Dongan had caused to be placed there, in 1684. After destroying all the Indian corn they could find, and a "vast quantity" of hogs, the French expedition returned to Irondequoit without meeting any more Iroquois warriors. Thus far Denonville had only irritated the Senecas, but had not humbled the brave red Americans who had fatally disordered his disciplined European troops; whose wooden villages could soon be rebuilt; and whose yellow maize would spring again in quick abundance throughout the fertile valley of the Genesee. If he had been a General, he would have pursued the retreating Senecas, eastward, among the Cayugas and the Onondagas; and might have crushed the Iroquois. Instead of this, he sent back a part of his force to Cataracouy, and went with the rest to the East bank of the Niagara-river, where he built a palisaded fort, on the spot which La Salle had appropriated, in the Winter of 1678, and had named the "Fort de Conty." It

was "the most beautiful, most pleasing, and "most advantageous site on the whole of Lake "Ontario." An "Act" was drawn up, declaring that La Salle's previous possession was "reiterated anew," in the name of Louis. The Fort at Niagara was mounted with some small cannon; and the Chevalier de la Troye was left in command of the garrison of one hundred men, with the Sieur des Bergères as his Lieutenant. Lamberville was appointed Chaplain. Denonville then returned to Montreal, by way of Cataracouy, where he left another garrison of one hundred men, in charge of D'Orvilliers.

XIII.—A NAVAL HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND.

By HON. JOHN RUSSELL BARTLETT.*

I.

WAR WITH HOLLAND. PRIVATEERS SENT FROM NEWPORT AGAINST THE DUTCH, 1658. PROVIDENCE REMONSTRATES AGAINST THE GRANTING OF PRIVATEERS' COMMISSIONS. GOVERNOR STUYVESANT OF NEW YORK THREATENS TO MAKE REPRISALS. DUTCH VESSELS ILLEGALLY CAPTURED AND CONDEMNED. CROMWELL CLAIMS THE STATE'S SHARE OF THE PRIZE-MONEY. SEIZURE OF THE SLOOP *Desire*, OF PLYMOUTH, BY CAPTAIN MAYO. A COMMISSION SENT TO RHODE ISLAND TO ENQUIRE UNDER WHAT AUTHORITY PRIVATEERS' COMMISSIONS HAD BEEN GRANTED.

The earliest mention, in the Colonial Records of Rhode Island, of a movement for fitting out vessels-of-war, is in the year 1658, at which time Great Britain was at war with Holland. At the General Court of Trials, held at Newport, in May of this year, Privateers' Commissions were given to Captain John Underhill, William Dyre, and Edward Hull, with power "to goe against "the Dutch, or any enemies of y^e Common- "wealth of England." In granting these Commissions, they had in view the affording aid to the English Colonies on Long Island, as well as the taking of the vessels of the enemy. It was ordered that the force to be sent to Long Island,

"shall have two great guns and what murderers "are with us on promise of returning them at y^e "due valuation, and to be improved by instruc- "tions given by this Assembly's authority; "provided they engage to the Commonwealth "and conform by subscription to doe their ut- "most to set themselves against all the enemies "of the Commonwealth of England, and to of- "fend them as they shall be ordered."

For the trial of prizes brought in, the general officers, with three Jurors, were to constitute the Court. The President of the Assembly and two Assistants were empowered to fix the time for the trial of prizes; and in case any of the Jurors failed to appear, the number was to be made up in Newport, where the Court was to be held. Power was also given to the President and four Assistants, (any three of them concurring) to grant Commissions against any of the enemies of the Commonwealth. The Towns of Providence and Warwick were empowered to hold similar Courts to those held at Newport, from either of which appeal was to be had to the General Assembly.

It would appear that the Towns of Providence and Warwick did not entirely coincide with those of Newport and Portsmouth, in issuing Commissions to Privateers, to cruise against the Dutch, even though they had been granted "by "virtue of a Commission from the Right Honor- "able the Council of State." At a meeting of Commissioners from Providence and Warwick, held at the former place, in the June following, a Remonstrance was drawn up to be sent to the Towns, chiefly against the Commission granted to William Coddington, as Governor of Rhode Island, whereby the Towns of Newport and Portsmouth "were disjoined from the Collonie of "Providence Plantations." In this, they say that their efforts to reunite Portsmouth and Newport with them, have been in vain. "The inhabi- "tants of the said two Towns, have, as we are "informed, in the name or by the authority of "the Collonie of Providence Plantations, grant- "ed and given unto John Underhill, Edward Hull, "and William Dyre, Commissions tending to War, "which is like, for aught we see, to set all New "England on fire, for the event of War is various "and uncertaine; and, although the honored "Council of State's direction to us is to offend "the Dutch as we shall think necessary, yet we "know not for what reason, or for what cause "the said inhabitants of the Island have given "forth the said Commission. Therefore, we are "enforced thus to declare, that if the said Island "shall attempt to engage us with them in the "said Commissions, or in any other like proceed- "ings, and shall use any force or violence upon "us on that account, that we will address our- "selves immediately to England, to petition for

* We have pleasure in presenting the first of a series of papers on the history of the naval operations of Rhode Island, from the earliest period, from the pen of her distinguished Secretary of State.

The series will extend through several numbers, possibly through those of the entire year; and its great interest, to all classes of readers, and its importance as valuable material for history, will secure for it a hearty welcome among our readers.

It was originally written for *The Providence Journal*, and published therein; but it will now receive the corrections and improvements which subsequent years of study enable its author to give to it; and it will thus acquire new interest and become, essentially, a series of original papers. EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

"their Honors' further directions unto us, which
 "they have pleased to intimate in their Honors'
 "pleasure, by the hand of William Dyre; for
 "we are resolved to use our utmost endeavor to
 "free ourselves from all illegal and unjust pro-
 "ceedings." It was further ordered, that those
 who owned the Commissions before mentioned,
 granted in the name of Providence Plantations,
 shall have no liberty to act until they have given
 satisfaction to the Towns of Providence and War-
 wick. Conceiving, too, that the Colony was in
 imminent danger, they adjourned until two Com-
 missioners should see cause to call the Court to-
 gether. No injury seems to have arisen to the
 Colony from the warlike steps taken against the
 Dutch, as we find that, in the following year, ves-
 sels had been engaged in trading with them.

In 1653, Samuel Mayo, Mariner, of Barnstable,
 in Plymouth Colony, complained to the Commis-
 sioners, that his vessel, the *Desire*, had been un-
 lawfully seized by Thomas Baxter, under order
 of a Commission from Rhode Island. This ves-
 sel had been engaged in transporting the goods
 of William Leverich, of Sandwich, to Oyster Bay,
 on Long Island, within the English limits, where
 he was about to settle. She had also landed
 some cattle at Hempstead, on that Island.

The Commissioners of the United Colonies, in
 consequence of this complaint, sent Captain Wil-
 liam Hudson to the Governor of Rhode Island,
 with orders to enquire by what Commission their
 agents make such seizures, which disturb the
 peace of the Colonies; by whom it was granted;
 and whether it was under the seal of the Com-
 monwealth of England. The agent was further
 directed to write down all the answers to these
 questions, that he "neither mistake or forget
 "any part of it;" and also to ascertain to what
 extent, and by whom, these Commissions had
 been granted; and in what relation Rhode Island
 stood with Providence and Warwick Planta-
 tions.

II.

THE DUTCH SEND TWO VESSELS TO SEIZE
 CAPTAIN BAXTER'S PRIVATEER, LYING AT FAIR-
 FIELD. DUTCH VESSELS PROHIBITED FROM
 ENTERING ANY HARBOR OF THE CONFEDERATE
 COLONIES. GOVERNOR EASTON'S REPLY TO
 THE COMMISSIONERS. WAR BETWEEN GREAT
 BRITAIN AND HOLLAND, IN 1672. A DUTCH
 FLEET RETAKES NEW YORK. ALARM OF
 NEWPORT. THE COLONY ARMS ITSELF. NA-
 VAL OFFICE ESTABLISHED IN NEWPORT, IN
 1684. EFFORTS OF GREAT BRITAIN TO SUP-
 PRESS RHODE ISLAND PRIVATEERS. THE
 GENERAL ASSEMBLY ENACT LAWS FOR THE
 SUPPRESSION OF PIRACY. GOVERNOR CRAN-
 STON REPLIES TO THE BOARD OF TRADE, IN
 ANSWER TO ITS CHARGES AGAINST THE COLONY.

PERSONS CHARGED WITH PIRACY, ARRESTED,
 PROCLAMATION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,
 IN RELATION TO PRIVATEERS AND PIRATES.
 RANDOLPH MAKES A COMPLAINT AGAINST THE
 COLONY. THE BOARD OF TRADE NOT SATIS-
 FIED WITH THE VINDICATION OF GOVERNOR
 CRANSTON, DEMAND FURTHER INFORMATION.

Great was the consternation of the renowned
 Peter Stuyvesant, the Governor of New Amster-
 dam, when news was brought him that a vessel
 trading with that Colony had been seized by an
 impudent English Privateer, from the neighbor-
 ing Colony of Rhode Island. Well was the
 term "headstrong" applied by the truthful
 historian of New Amsterdam, Diedrick Knick-
 erbocker, to the worthy Dutch Governor; for we
 learn that his ire was raised; and, notwithstand-
 ing the dangers attending a voyage through the
 dreaded Hell Gate, to reach Long Island Sound,
 he ordered two vessels to be at once fitted out
 with such warlike implements as the people were
 wont to use, and, with one hundred and fifty men,
 to seize the offending vessel, which then lay
 in the harbor of Fairfield. The Commissioners
 of the United Colonies, alarmed at this proceed-
 ing, issued an Order that all Dutch ships be pro-
 hibited coming into any harbor belonging to any
 of the Confederate Colonies, without a License
 from the Governor or some Magistrate of the
 Colony. Any vessel that entered an English
 Colony after the issuing of the Order, was to be
 notified by a Magistrate or military officer to de-
 part, failing to do which, within six hours, she
 was liable to be seized. The two Dutch vessels,
 lying off Fairfield, were notified to depart within
 the same time or be liable to seizure and confisca-
 tion.

Governor Easton, in reply to the message sent
 him by the Commissioners, through Lieutenant
 Hudson, to know by what authority the Colony
 of Rhode Island had granted Commissions to
 Privateers and raised such a turmoil among
 their quiet neighbors of New Amsterdam, sent
 the following letter:

"NEWPORT, September 16, 1653.

"HONORED GENTLEMEN:—The Council not be-
 "ing present, nor without much difficulty could
 "be, therefore, for myself, being desirous to be
 "inoffensive to your honored authority, which I
 "know is the mind of our Colony, induseth me to
 "petition your Wisdoms for a favorable construc-
 "tion of our proceedings who are far from counte-
 "nancing any incivility, much less insolency, of any
 "of ours; hoping that we shall approve ourselves
 "as to the supreme authority of the State of Eng-
 "land, unto whom we are responsible; so also
 "unto your Wisdoms, in all serviceable humanity.
 "That, by our authority, received from the
 "Right Honorable the Council of State, any

"offences, duly given, I presume not; and hoping that your Wisdoms will not impute particular men's extravagancies to us, being ignorant thereof, but rather suspend; and for sending a copy of our Commission, I have no Commission, and therefore desire to be excused. Yet this much I shall presume to inform your ingenuities, that we are authorized to offend the enemies of the Commonwealth of England, as we shall see necessary; and against them only are our Commissions granted, and so is Baxter authorized; and, as I remember, for the Records are not with me, he is prohibited to pass into the Dutch jurisdiction till further orders be given. He is also bound to bring his prizes, so taken, into our harbor, for trial and that the State's part may be secured; it being so joined on us by the supreme authority, unto which we are also required to render an account of our proceedings, which we have done, and unto whose right wise censure we submit. Thus presuming to trouble your Wisdoms with my rudelines, and desiring that your grave counsels may produce glory to God, grace among men, and honor to our illustrious mother State, this is the true desire of your servant,

"NICHOLAS EASTON.

"I shall readily acquaint our Council with your desires, the first opportunity."

It is evident from this letter, that Rhode Island had no authority or right, either by her Charter or Instructions, to issue Commissions to Privateers: indeed the King and his Ministers disavow all such right, as will shortly appear.

Mr. Mayo, the owner of the vessel seized, accompanied Lieutenant Hudson to Rhode Island, for the purpose of getting her released; but the authorities took no notice of his complaint. The Commissioners, however, finding Mayo could obtain no redress from Rhode Island, ordered a Stay of Proceedings on his giving bonds to pay all damages, in case the vessel should, on trial, be adjudged a lawful prize, under any Commission issued by Providence Plantations, by authority of the Commonwealth.

In 1672, the breaking out of the War again, between Great Britain and Holland, aroused the American Colonies to renewed action. On the thirtieth of July, of the following year, the Dutch arrived with a large fleet, and re-took New York. Rhode Island became much alarmed at this success of their old enemy; and, fearing that an attack on Newport would follow, immediately organized military companies and took such other precautionary measures as seemed necessary in the emergency; but there is no record of any naval exploits. The probability is that the Dutch, having a considerable fleet, had complete command of the adjacent waters.

At the May Session of the General Assembly, held in Newport, in 1682, an Act was passed es-

tablishing a Naval Office in Newport, in which all masters of vessels were "required, upon their arrival, to make entry of them and their loading," and to give bond, as required by Act of Parliament.

At the June Session, 1684, a letter to the Governor was read, from Sir Lionel Jenkins, one of the King's principal Secretaries, with a Proclamation for the suppressing of Privateers and Pirates which had infested the seas and involved Great Britain in serious controversies with nations with which she was at peace. This Proclamation was published in Newport, by the beat of the drum; and the Recorder was ordered to read it in three of the most public places there. The Assembly, in consequence, passed an Act, in the Preamble of which it is asserted that his Majesty's subjects "have and do continually go off from the Colony unto foreign Princes' services, and sail under their Commissions, contrary to their duty and good allegiance, and by fair means cannot be restrained from so doing."

This Act made it felony for any person, inhabiting or belonging to the Colony, to serve in any hostile manner under any foreign Prince or Potentate in amity with His Majesty, without a License from the Governor. It was further ordered, that all treasons, piracies, murders, etc., committed on the high seas, or in any haven, creek, etc., shall be tried the same as if such offence had been committed upon the land, before the Court of Admiralty. It was also made a crime for any one, knowingly, to entertain, conceal, trade, or hold correspondence with, any one supposed to be Pirates or connected with Privateers.

There evidently was reason for the enactment of this law, not only that the Colonists had engaged in the service of foreign powers, but that they had given countenance, if not protection, to Privateers which had entered the waters of Narragansett-bay, for we find that numerous complaints were made to the Government to this effect. In a letter from the Board of Trade to the Governor and Company of Rhode Island, dated the ninth of February, 1696-7, they say that they have received such complaints, and that many persons have deserted their homes and joined Privateers, to the great dishonor of the English nation. They also direct that, in future, "no Pirate or Sea-robbers be anywhere sheltered or entertained, under the severest penalties." In the trial of Avery's crew, in London, for Piracy, it was stated that "Rhode Island was a place where Pirates are ordinarily too kindly entertained;" and that several Privateers, whose names were mentioned, among them William Mayes, were actually fitted out in the Colony.

Governor Cranston, in reply to the Board of Trade, says "that things are misrepresented to His Majesty and your Lordships, and that the

"Government of Rhode Island was never concerned in, nor countenanced, any such things;" that Mayes, the Pirate alluded to, "had his Clearance from the Custom-house at Newport, to go on a trading voyage to Madagascar, with a lawful Commission from the Government, to fight the French, His Majesty's enemies; and the best information we have is, that Captain Avery and his men plundered him. And we very much suspect, too, that they have destroyed him and his company, for none of them are yet returned; nor has any news been yet received of said Mayes, or any of his party." The Governor further says: "Upon the receipt of your lines and the mandates from His Majesty, the General Assembly immediately issued a Proclamation for the apprehending of all persons suspected of Piracy, a copy of which Proclamation is herewith enclosed to your Lordships; and, furthermore, that we have seized two persons and their moneys, Robert Munday and George Cutler, who, upon examination, do deny that they have been further than Madagascar. But we shall endeavor to search out the truth, and bring them to a trial," etc., etc.

The following is an extract from this document:

*"Proclamation of the Rhode Island Assembly
concerning Piracy."*

"Whereas, his most gracious Majesty, William the Third, over England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, hath formerly sent unto His Majesty's Government, a Proclamation for the seizing of all Pirates, and especially Henry Avery and his company, whereupon this His Majesty's Government did forthwith cause said Proclamation to be published throughout the Colony, and did take care for the search and the apprehending of them, if within the Colony. And now, there being information that several persons have lately arrived here, who are justly suspected, by their great quantities of foreign coin and East India goods, to be robbers upon the high seas," ** "we, His Majesty's General Assembly of the Colony of Rhode Island, do order and require all Magistrates and ministers of justice, both civil and military, to do their utmost endeavors for apprehending such suspected Pirates, that they may be brought to condign punishment; and also to prohibit all persons within this said Colony from entertaining the said suspected Pirates or their goods; but, on the contrary, they are strictly required forthwith, upon the discovery of the said persons or goods, to give notice thereof to some person in authority; and, upon neglect thereof, or upon due proof made, that any person or persons, as aforesaid, do connive at or entertain

"any of the said suspected persons, and do not discover the same as aforesaid, they shall be proceeded against as abettors and confederates with them."

A few weeks after Governor Cranston had written to the Board of Trade, Mr. Edmund Randolph addressed the Board, on Rhode Island affairs, from Boston. He says that not long before he came to Rhode Island, "eight Pirates came from Fisher's Island with a great deal of money and East India commodities, which they brought in their brigantine from Madagascar, now lying in New York. That six of these men escaped to Boston, with their goods and money; but that Robert Munday and George Cutler were seized, and about £1,500 taken from them, which money was retained by the Governor" [*Easton.*] That they were put in prison, and, soon after, by the Governor's order, admitted to bail, one of the Governor's uncles, Gresham Clarke, being their security. Randolph further asserts that these men made their escape, "leaving their money to be shared by the Governor and his two uncles, who have been very great gainers by the Pirates who have visited Rhode Island; and that three or four vessels have been fitted out here for the Red Sea." He also asserts that several officers of the Government have enriched themselves by countenancing Pirates; and that the Deputy-governor, John Greene, had granted a Commission to one of the Pirates, without any security given by the Master. In a fortnight, Randolph says, he has been informed that the Governor of Rhode Island intends to appoint a Court for the trial of Munday and Cutler and, if no one appears to prosecute them, to acquit them and deliver them their money.

Governor Easton, in a declaration, states that John Greene of Warwick, while Deputy-governor, gave a Commission to John Bankes, a Privateer, who had come into Newport with Thomas Tew, as he, Easton, had refused them a Commission "to go out on any such designs as they went upon."

The Board of Trade was not satisfied with the explanations made by the Governor and General Assembly of Rhode Island, and addressed them the following Dispatch, in reply:

*"To the Honorable the Governor and Company
of His Majesty's Colony of Rhode Island, in
America:*

"GENTLEMEN—We have received a letter from you, dated the 8th of May last, in answer to what we writ you the 9th of February, 1696-7, upon which we cannot but observe the long interval between the date of our said letter and your answer; especially knowing certainly by the receipt of one of your officers, that our said letter

"did lay some months unanswered in your hands.

"The subject of your letter is principally in vindication of your conduct, in relation to Piracies and Pirates; for which end you send us copies of an Act and Proclamation made by that Government, about these matters, and further seem to say that the Colony of Rhode Island was never concerned in countenancing any such persons or things. And upon the naming of William Mays, as a person said to have been guilty of Piracy, you answer, that he had his clearings from your Custom House, to go on a trading voyage to Madagascar, with a lawful Commission to fight against the French, his Majesty's enemies.

"All this is very well, and therefore, in order to your more full and perfect vindication from the aspersions that have been, and are still, cast upon that Colony and Government, our Commission obliging us to inquire into the true circumstances of these matters throughout all his Majesty's Plantations, and you offering the instance of William Mays's Commission as a proof of the legality of your proceedings, we are very desirous to see the copies of all such like private Commissions which have been granted at any time, during the late War, by the Governor or Deputy-governor of that Colony, to any person whatsoever; as also copies of the bonds given by all such Privateers, upon their receiving their respective Commissions. And we accordingly require you, forthwith, upon the receipt hereof, to send on true and authentic copies of all the said Commissions and Bonds.

"You write also, in your foresaid letter, that you had seized two persons and their money (by name Robert Munday and George Cutler), who denied, upon examination, that they had been any further than Madagascar; and that you intended to bring them to a trial, and would then give us an account. We wish you had seized also the other six of their comrades, who were under the same suspicion, and the East India goods and the money that they had with them. But, however, since these two are in custody, and you promise to give us a particular account, we desire and require you to do it accordingly. That is to say: that you send us, without delay, authentic copies of all the proceedings relating unto them, from first to last, viz: their examinations, imprisonment without bail or mainprize, according to the tenor of your forementioned Act; or, if they were admitted to bail, copies of the evidence upon which that was allowed, and of the security given for their appearance, together with a full account of their trial and sentence, and of the circumstances, and persons, and things, that relate to this matter.

"Your full and explicit answer to these things, will tend much to your justification, and we

"therefore expect you will dispatch it with all possible diligence. In the mean time, bid you heartily farewell.

"J. BRIDGEWATER,

"PH. MEADOWS.

"JNO. POLLEXFEN.

"ABB. HILL.

"WHITEHALL, October the 25th, 1698."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

XIV.—UNPUBLISHED PAPERS, FROM VARIOUS SOURCES.

1.—Governor Olinton to Major Newbank.*

FORT RENSELAER 11 O'clock 20th October.

SIR,

It is proposed to send a small Party across the Country to destroy the Enemys Boats which we are well informed are sunk at this End of Onondaga Lake. I think you told me that you was well acquainted with the nearest and best Route to that Place and that you would be willing to conduct a Party for that Purpose. I therefore wish you to wait on Gen^l Renselaer & Col^l Du Bois with the Bearer Major Woolsey & confer on this subject that a proper Party may be despatched without loss of time for this service.

I am your most obed^t serv^t

GEO CLINTON.

MAJ NEWBANK.

2.—General Robert Howe to Governor Olinton.

WEST POINT, 8 June, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

Capt. Stephens has applied to me for a Flag to go down to New Rochelle. As I have made it a Rule not to give this Permission to the Citizens of the State without their having the approbation of Civil Authority, I have referred him to your Excellency, & in order to save him the trouble of coming to me again have taken the Liberty to enclose you a Letter to the Officer Commanding on the Lines, to grant him a Flag, which your Excellency will please deliver to the Captain or suppress as He has, or has not your approbation.

I have the Honor to be

with the greatest Respect & Regard

Dear Sir

Your Excellency's

most obedient Servant

ROBERT HOWE.

3.—General Gates to Governor Olinton.

HEAD QUARTERS, PEEKSKILL, June 29, 1778.

9 O'clock P.M.

SIR,

Inclosed I have the Honor of transmitting to

* From No. 1, to No. 10, are from originals belonging to Charles L. Bushnell, Esq., of New York City.

your Excellency a Copy of a Letter I rec^d this afternoon from General Washington.

I should be extremely happy to see your Excellency, with all the Force you can collect, as soon as circumstances will permit.

At two O'clock in the morning, I shall march, with the Troops at this Post, for the White Plains.

I beg your Excellency will acquaint Judge Jay, in answer to his Letter which I, this moment received, that the present situation of the Army puts it out of my Power to inform Miss Bayard exactly of the Time, she and her Brother can be permitted to go to New York—she may however rest satisfied that this Indulgence will be granted them, as soon as it can be done consistent with the Good of the service.

I am Sir,

Your most obedient
Humble Servant
HORATIO GATES.

His Excellency
Governor CLINTON.

4.—Colonel Marinus Willett to Governor Clinton.

ALBANY 16th June 1788.

SIR,

Mr. Mather Patau a Gentleman who left Canada about the time our army retreated from that Province and has since served several Campaigns as a Subaltern officer in our army is desirous of going to Canada on business for himself. He has requested me to apply to your Excellency for a pass for that purpose. Should there be no Impropriety in Gratifying Mr. Patau, I would wish to be furnished with a pass for him from your Excellency.

I have the honor to be your Excellencies most obedient and humble Serv^t

M. WILLETT.

His Excellency
Governor CLINTON.

[Addressed:] Public Service.

His Excellency Governor CLINTON,
favoured by Poughkeepsie,
Jeremiah N. Renselaer, Esq.

5.—From Governor Edmund Randolph to Governor George Clinton.

RICHMOND December 1, 1786.

SIR

I feel a peculiar satisfaction in forwarding to your Excellency the inclosed Act of Legislature, As it breathes a spirit truly federal and contains

an effort to support our general Government which is now reduced to the most awful crisis, permit me to solicit your Excellency's cooperation at this trying moment.

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's
most Obed^t Hble Serv^t
EDM^d RANDOLPH.

6.—From General Heath to Governor George Clinton.

HEADQUARTERS HIGHLANDS,
November 29th, 1781.

SIR,

Dick, a negro man belonging to John Hunt of Frog's-neck and Cats, belonging to Gideon Palmer, a refugee officer, left their masters on Saturday last, and have come here, as they say, because they were called upon to carry arms and do military duty. They are forwarded to your Excellency to be disposed of as you may think proper.

I have the honor to be
with the highest respect-
Your Excellency's
most obedient servant,
W. HEATH.

P.S.

Inclosed is a letter addressed to Mr Terbos, brought up by the flag, captain Jackson, who carried down Mrs Colden and family. By this letter it seems Terbos has been in New York, but when I do not know.

His Excellency
Governor CLINTON.

[Addressed:]

on public service

His Excellency
Governor CLINTON

W. HEATH.

Poughkeepsie

7.—From Aaron Burr to G. A. Shufeldt.

I.

On Board the Steam Boat *Kent* bound
to Albany. 7 Aug. 1825.

I am greatly obliged to you, MY DEAR SIR, for your punctual attention to my request respecting my Ward Miss Eden, Your letter of the 28th July was duly received and I have delayed for a whole Week my Journey northward in the hope of receiving the promised communication from your Reverend Friend—but nothing has yet been heard from him & I am obliged to be at Utica on tuesday the 9th & propose to remain

there until the tuesday following (16th) Please to address a line to me at that place advising me of the final determination of the holy man. The young Lady is with me & I shall not seek any other establishment for her until your answer or that of the Rev^d D^r shall be received.

If I can be useful to you at Utica, you may command me.

Very respectfully

Y^r ob^t S^t

A. BURR.

GEORGE A. SHUFELDT, Esq.

II.

UTICA 17 Aug. 1825.

D^r SIR,

Having heard nothing from you, since our interview at Albany, respecting the disposition of your rev^d friend concerning my Ward Miss Eden, I take the liberty of troubling you Again, merely to say, that I propose to leave this place tomorrow morning for Albany—there to remain till the morning of tuesday the 23^d, before which time I shall hope to receive from you a line addressed to me at Albany advising me of the determination of the holy man.

The Court have gone *through* the Calendar!—every cause having been called & either argued, submitted, defaulted, or passed, no one answering on either side.

Very respectfully

Y^r Ob^t S^t

A. BURR.

GEO. A. SHUFELDT, Esq.

III.

1 Sep. 1825.

DR. SIR,

I write from on board a Steam Boat on my way to Albany merely to say that I shall remain there till Sunday when, if nothing shall be heard from Dr P. it is my intention to return with Miss Eden to New York.

With many thanks for the very kind interest which you have taken in this negotiation.

I am respectfully

Y^r ob^t S^t

A. BURR.

GEO. A. SHUFELDT, Esq.

[Addressed:]

GEO. A. SHUFELDT, Esq.

Red Hook.

8.—*From Gouverneur Morris.*

FISHKILL, 6th Jan^y 1777.

DEAR GEN^l

Livingston at the Request of a number of members hath written you their thanks for your agreeable Intelligence. We intend publishing an

accurate account of the various successes since crossing the Delaware in our Retreat and therefore wish you would send us all the Intelligence in your Power for that Purpose. But let us take Care to say nothing by authority but what is strictly true. I wish to God Heath was over a great stroke might be struck in Conjunction with Maxwell and yourself.

I am my Friend

most respectfully yours

GOUV^{te} MORRIS.

9.—*From Robert Morris to Richard Varick.*

D^r COL^l

I should have faulted you for quitting the profession on any account after you was fairly in it, had I not heard that you was personally urged to your present station by so great & good a man as the General. It will nevertheless be injurious to you: I speak from experience. But if you have leisure an hour in the day for professional attention you will hold your ground.

The reason of my present interruption is, that a young Gent^l of my acquaintance originally from New York, and till very lately attached to the army has heard you have a vacant birth in your office, which he is informed will be removed to head quarters when it is convenient to you. If this information is true, he would wish to occupy it with your approbation, provided the terms & emoluments are such as will be proper for him & equal to his support. To be informed in these particulars he requested me to write to you.

From the acquaintance I have with him I believe him to be adequate and that you will not disapprove him, but he is not willing I should mention his name for the present.

Your answer by the Post will confer a favor on Dr. Sir

Your Affectionate Friend &

very humble servant,

ROB^t MORRIS.

MORRISTOWN, Nov^r 8th 1781.

COL^l VARICK.

Much of my time is engaged in business but it is not very productive.

[Addressed:]

Lieu^t Col^l RICHARD VARICK

Pokiepsie

10.—*From General Schuyler to Governor Clinton.*

SARATOGA July 17th 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I am informed that Mr Hopkins has been

much imposed upon by Mr Sherwood in forming the list that was made for militia officers in Washington County—That except such as were recommended by Colo. McCracken a majority of the others are persons who had Joined Genl Burgoyne's Army—That old and Good Officers willing to serve have been neglected—that petitions are preparing on this subject to the council of appointment, Altho It is probable that the whole of this account is not founded, Yet I fear there is so much truth in it as to Justify a wish that the secretary should not send up the Commissions to those already appointed until the business can be investigated for which purpose I shall write to Mr. Hopkins and advise him of this communication. I have the honor to be with Great respect

Your Excellency's
most Obedient Servant

PH. SCHUYLER.

His Ex : Governor CLINTON, &c &c

[Addressed:]

To the Excellency

GEORGE CLINTON, Esq.

Governor of the State of
New York &c &c

NEW YORK.

11.—*Lund Washington to General Washington.**

MOUNT VERNON May 15th 1782

D^r SIR

In my Last weeks Letter I omitid a pretty considerable charge Agust M^r Custis Decs^r.—it is as follows

1775 Feb ^r 2. To mak ^e a suit of	
Pompadore Cloaths.....	£1. 2. 6
May 18—To mak ^e a Coat.....	10. -
June 17—To mak ^e a Waistcoat & p ^r	
of Breeches.....	10. -
Altering a Coat.....	2. 6
Aug ^r 17 mak ^e 2 p ^r of Breeches for	
you.....	8. -
Make ^e a Suit for self.....	1 - -
Make ^e 2 waistcoats & p ^r of	
Breeches.....	15. -

4. 8. -

To 8 Hh^ds of Jamaica Rum imported in the Brig: *Farmer* Capt^r Curtis in 1774—contain^s 120, 118, and 117½ Gallons—855½@4s.....71. 12. - he also had a Case of Claret from here, which was to be repaid, one of those Sent you by Frazier from France.—I fear the Bay Horse you left here (the one sent by Posey) will never get over a Complaint he labours under— It is a

* From the original in the possession of J. A. Russell, Esq., of New York City.

swelling of the Bones in his head nothing that I can do appears to be of any advantage to him, two Horses have Died here with the same Complaint within six months, the first was a horse of my own—the other was a young Horse of the Dewy Breed belonging to you which we workd in the waggon, they are first taken with what we suppose the distemper common of late years to Horses, but nothing ever Runs from their heads, the Bones below the Eyes swells and continues to do it for two Months or more before the Horse Dies, durement which time he never loses his Appetite but constantly eats as much as if nothing was the matter with him—he certainly suffers much pain he walks about with much caution and seldom steps over any thing a foot from the ground—he loses flesh gradually until he Dies your Horse does not grow better therefore I fear he will grow worse.—nothing yet fix^d between Dulany and me respect^s the Land, I believe the sure way is to purchase Dows for I believe it is the women that keeps Dulany from settling the exchange—I suppose M^r French and her friends want too many Acres in exchange for their Land as they hold—I expect Dulany will determine before next whether they will take Dows Land or not—I wrote yesterday to Dulany to say whether he woud or not if not I hoped he woud comply with his promise to you and abide by the Value that shoud be fixd by Little & Triplett, for I had not a doubt that but Dows Land woud be adjudged to be worth much more than his—and that it woud be to your Interest to stand to their determination in preference to giving Dows for his.—If the Reports now among us be true, I hope peace is not far distant. God grant us peace on good terms— Betsy joins me in every good wish for M^r Washington & yourself—Am D^r Sir

Your affectionate Hbl : Servt
LUND WASHINGTON.

12.—*Benjamin Franklin to his Son-in-law, Richard Bache.**

PASSY, June 27, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I have just received yours of May 2, with the Newspapers which you sent by M. Mease. He sent them up from the *L'Orient*, not coming to Paris himself. I have desired that you might send me the German Newspapers, but I suppose the Letters did not get to hand. Pray take them in and send them by Duplicates. They will much oblige some of my friends among the foreign ministers. I wish also to have some

* From the original in the possession of William Duane, Esq.

Graffs of the Newtown Pippin, when it is seasonable to cut them. They may be sent in a Tin Case solder'd up tight. When I was last in Philadelphia, Mr. Miller printed a little Book, containing a Number of Phrases of the Delaware Indian Language. I want a Copy of that. Send me by two or three different Ships that I may be more sure of receiving them.

You have never given me a particular account of the State in which you found my Papers that were entrusted to the care of Mr. Galloway. There were among them 8 Volumes of Manuscript Collections concerning Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, &c which I much valued. They cost me £60 sterling. There were also all the Books of my Letters containing my publick and private Correspondence during my Residence in England, I wish to know whether these are left or taken away. I shall show every Civility in my Power to the persons you recommend, particularly Mess^{rs} Fox and Foulk. If the Regiment of deux Ponts, or its Col. & Lient Colonel should come into your Parts, I recommend earnestly those two Gentlemen to your best Services. They are sons of a Lady my very dear Friend,—Madame la Comtesse de Forback, Dowager of the late Prince de deux ponts, whom I formerly recommended to you. I have wrote all about Ben in my Letter to Sally. We continue well, & I am ever

Your affectionate father

B. FRANKLIN.

XV.—INDIAN NAMES IN VIRGINIA.

BY HON. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, PRESIDENT OF THE CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The language of the Powhatans was nearly the same as that of the tribes of southern New England. Judging from the specimens given by Captain John Smith and from a few others, gleaned from early accounts of the Colony of Virginia, the Powhatan and the Massachusetts did not differ more from each other than either differed from the Delaware. Some of the local names which have been preserved show the resemblance, and also indicate some of the differences, between the northern and southern languages.

THE POWHATANS and their "great Emperor" derived their name, Smith informs us, from a place near "the Falls" in James River, where is now the City of Richmond. "*Powhat-hanne*," or "*pau't-hanne*," denotes "falls in a stream." The first part of the name is found in the Massachusetts and Narragansett "*Pawtuck*" (*pau't-tuk*) "falls in a tidal river"—whence the name of *Pawtucket*, "at the falls," etc., and its diminutive, *Pawtuzet*, "at the little falls:" and again, in the Chippeway name of the Saut Ste. Marie, "*paw-*

ateeg," and with the place-termination, "*paw-ating*," "at the falls." The Algonkin name for Indians who lived near the Saut (among whom were reckoned the Chippeways) was "*Pawitagou-ek*," or "*Pawichtigou-ek*" "Saut-eurs," or "people of the Falls."

WEROWOCOMOCO, on the North side of the river "Pamaunkee" (*York*), was one of the residences of Powhatan, and the place to which Captain John Smith was carried as a prisoner. The name means, "the *werowance* house," "or house of the Chief," who was called "*werowance*" or "*weroanse*," by the Powhatans, and "*Sachem*" by the northern Algonkin tribes of New England. "*Werowo-comoco*" is the equivalent of the Narragansett, "*sachimma-comock*," "a Prince's house" (ROGER WILLIAMS), and Massachusetts, "*sachimo-comaco*," "for so they call the Sachem's place, though they call an ordinary house *witeo*" (E. WINSLOW, in *Good News from N. England*). On Smith's Map of Virginia, several names which have this termination, "*comoco*" "house," or rather, "enclosure," are marked as "King's-houses:" "*Wighco-comaco*," South of the Potomac, near its mouth; another, "*Wighco-comoco*," on a river of the same name, East of Chesapeake-bay—now Wicomico, in Maryland—called in Smith's *Generall Historie*, p. 55, "*Tants*" [for "*Tanks*," "little"] "*Wighco-comoco*;" "*Seco-wocomoco*," North of the Potomac; "*Macocomoco*," on the Patuxent. "The *Machacomoco*," i. e. "great house" (Massachusetts, "*Mashe-komuk*" or "*comaco*") is explained in the margin of the *Generall Historie*, p. 125, as "the Church and "Store-house" of an Indian town: and Beverly informs us that the "great Council" of the tribe was called by the same name, from its place of meeting.

THE name of the island and the river ROANOKE appears to have been taken from "*Roenoke*" or "*Rawrenock*" (as Captain John Smith wrote it), the common shell-money of the Indians, corresponding to the white ("*wompom*") "*peag*" of the northern tribes. Beverly describes this sort of "*peag*," as "made of the cockle-shells, broken into small bits with rough edges, drilled through in the same manner as beads." Its name was given to the island for the same reason, probably, that the Indians of New Netherland and part of New England called Long Island "*Sewan-hacky*,"—because it supplied the material for the manufacture of "*sewan*," or bead-money.

A word here, as to the meaning of the several names of shell-money, which were used, indiscriminately, by the English and Dutch. "*Peag*" was the generic name, without regard to color or quality. "*Wompompeag*" or "*wom-pom*" was the white ("*wompi*") or inferior sort of "*peag*." The shell-beads, white and purple,

were either *strung*, or passed from hand to hand *loose* ("sewauin"), by count. The English very generally gave to all "*peag*" the name of the *white*, calling it "*wompom*"; the Dutch called all bead-money by the name of the *unstrung* or loose beads, "*sewan*" or "*zeewand*."

CHESAPEAKE, —written Chesapeack, Chesupica, Chissapiacke, etc., —is the equivalent of the Massachusetts "*k'che-seppog*," Abnaki "*k'tsi-sou-békou*," "great salt-water," "great sea," or "bay." The prefix frequently loses its initial *k*, in every Algonkin dialect. Heckewelder's etymologies are so seldom correct that he ought to receive due credit for a nearly accurate translation of this name, which he writes "*tachisichwapéke*," or, more fully "*k'tchischwapéeki*," from "*kitachi-schwapeek*," "a superior or greater saltish bay."

ACCOMAC ("ACCOMACK," on Smith's Map) is "the other-side place," or "place on the other side of the water," that is, on the opposite side of Chesapeake-bay to that on which the English were seated. Massachusetts, "*ogkomé*" or "*a kawiné*," Abnaki "*agammioui*," and Chippewa, "*agamé*" mean, "on the other side," "beyond." The Narragansetts called England "*acawmen-auke*," "other-side land." The site of Plymouth, Massachusetts, is marked on Captain John Smith's Map of New England as "*Accomack*." If it ever received this name, it must have been given, as in Virginia, not by Indians of the place, but by those who lived "on the other side" of Plymouth-bay.

The "CHAWONS" or "CHAWWONOCKS," —whose country was the southern limit of Smith's Map of Virginia, —were "the Southrons," or "south-land people." Their seat, on what is now Chowan-river, was "*chowan-ohke*," the Massachusetts "*sewan-ohke*," (used by Eliot for "the South Country," *Gen.* xxiv. 62), Narragansett, "*souánaki*," and Chippewa, "*o sháwun-ong*," "at the South." The French name of the *Chawanons* or *Ouchawanag*, a tribe of the "Nation du Feu," or Mascoutins, and that of the *Shawanoes*, *Shawnoes* or *Shawnees*, are equivalents of Smith's "Chawons."

Not far West of the "Chawons," on Smith's Map, was the country of the "MANGOAGS." Both these tribes are supposed to have been Iroquois, —the same known to us, respectively, as the *Nottoways* and *Tuteloës*. The name "*Mangoag*" suggests that which the more northern Algonkin nations gave the Iroquois; "*Menques*" or "*Maquas*," of the Delawares (corrupted to "*Mingos*," "*Mégouak*" of the Abnakis; "*Mau-quánuq*" of the Massachusetts and Narragansetts, which Roger Williams translates by "cannibals, or man-eaters," —whence the English name, "*Mohawks*."

Powhatan told Captain Smith of "a mighty na-

"tion" called "POCOUGHTAONACK," who were the enemies of the tribes on the Potomac; "a fierce nation, that did eate men." Strachey wrote the name, "*Bocootauwanauks*." There can be little doubt that these are forms of the Massachusetts, "*paguadedenuog*," "destroyers." Another "fierce nation," of Mohican stock, —the terror of southern New England, until it was destroyed by the English, in 1687, —was similarly designated by the neighboring tribes, as "*Paguatoog*" or "*Peguutloog*," "destroyers," corrupted by the English to "*Pagquots*."

"WEANOKE," "WYANOKE," or "WYNAUK," a low meadow-point, on the Powhatan (*James*) river, about twenty miles above Jamestown, was "the going-around place," or place about which the river "wound itself." Eliot would have written this name "*waén-ohke*" or "*weenohke*" —from "*waénu*," "going around," "winding about," and "*ohke*," "place." By doubling the first syllable, the word became intensive or frequentative. We find this form in the Abnaki "*wéwiouniwi*," "*tout à l'entour*," "all about;" and in the Chippeway name of the site of Detroit, "*Wawéatun*" or "*Wawiidton*;" with place-termination, "*Wawéatun-ong*," "at the place of going-round, or winding about," —"indicating," as some suppose "the circuitous approach to the Indian village."

The root, "*waén*" or "*ween*," "winding-about," is found in many local names in New England.

Heckewelder gave a curious translation of "TUCKAHOE," the name of several Creeks in Virginia, Maryland, and New Jersey: "*Tuckah-chowe*;" "deer are shy, difficult to come at." (*Transactions American Philosophical Society*, iv. 378). "*Tuckahoe*" was a generic name of esculent "corms" and bulbous roots. It means, literally, "something round" or "globular." The Massachusetts and Delaware form is "*ptukqui*"; the Cree, "*pttikayoo*," "it is rounded." Smith writes the Indian name of the roots used for food, "*Tockawhough*" and "*Tockwihogh*" (*General History*, 26, 86). The species most common in Virginia was, probably, the Golden Club or Floating Arum (*Orontium aquaticum*).

One or other kind of "Tuckahoe" has given a name to various localities where it was formerly abundant, and, especially, to water-courses. It is doubtful, however, whether the vegetable production found in the Middle and Southern States, called "Virginia Truffle" and, sometimes, "Tuckahoe" and "Indian Bread" (*Sclerotium giganteum*?) was ever used for food. See Kalm's *Travels*, by Forster, i. 225.

J. H. TRUMBULL.

HARTFORD, CONN.

XVI.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

GENERAL JOHN S. MOSBY'S DEFENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN :

SIR: I am really amused at the piece in your valuable paper from "A UNION SOLDIER," for it shows how hard-pressed my enemies are for something to say against me, when they can find nothing worse than the stuff he has had published.

I will notice them in their order :

First : The capture of the train, in October, 1864, on the road between Harper's Ferry and Martinsburg, Va.

This was on a military road, and used by the Federal Army, which was then in the Shenandoah-valley, for transporting troops and supplies. I was in command of about three hundred men, and was charged with the duty of impeding the advance of the Federal Army, by intercepting their communications. If I opposed Sheridan in front, my small force would count for nothing; but, by throwing it in his rear and on his communications, it became a tremendous power, because three hundred men, under a skilful commander, operating in the rear of an Army, are equivalent to ten thousand in front. It was just as legitimate for me to attack Sheridan, in his rear, as for Early, to attack him in front; and Sheridan, in his Report to the Committee on the Conduct of the War, has testified to the efficiency of my command, for he says that, after the defeat of Early, he could have gone on to Richmond, but that he had to detail two-thirds of his force to guard his communications against my attack.

The train I captured was on the way to supply Sheridan's Army. It had on it, besides a large number of officers and soldiers, a considerable number of passengers. Among the officers were two Paymasters, with one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars, going to pay off Sheridan's troops. Of course, it was just as legitimate War to capture and destroy this train, as to kill or capture Sheridan and his men. I penetrated far in rear of the Federal Army, and captured this train, within a mile of a large camp, and burned it. The object of my command was not so much to capture trains as to compel Sheridan to detach heavily from his front to guard his rear. If Mrs. Tolles and the other passengers on this train "were turned out, destitute and unprotected," as this "UNION SOLDIER" avers, it was Sheridan's fault, and not mine; for he ought to have had it properly guarded.

Again : These female passengers only suffered a little inconvenience—no violence was offered them—and if they chose to subject themselves to the hazard of riding on a military railroad, they had nobody to blame but themselves; otherwise, Sheridan might have guarded all his trains by putting a few females on board. He might as well have put women in front of his line of battle, to keep us from shooting at the men. I was, myself, present when this train was captured; and there is no incident of my military life to which I refer with more pride and pleasure. If it was right for Sheridan to capture railroad trains, why shouldn't I do it? Sherman justified the burning of the city of Atlanta; and, in reply to Hood's complaint, said that "War meant cruelty." Is there more wrong in burning a train of cars and subjecting a few passengers to a temporary inconvenience, than in the destruction of a whole city and turning a whole population out of doors?

Second Charge : He says: "At the same time, Colonel Tolles, General Sheridan's Quartermaster, was shot by this same outlaw, at "Cedar-creek," etc.

Now, a small detachment of my command met Colonel Tolles, with a small detachment of Cavalry, near Newtown, on the Valley-turnpike. Tolles and his party retreated and were pursued by my men; Tolles, while running, was shot in the back. All right: he took the chances of escape in preference to surrender. I suppose, if Colonel Tolles could have had the opportunity, he would have shot me. That is what men go to war for; and I can't see how there is any greater crime in killing Colonel Tolles, in the rear of Sheridan than in his front.

Third Point : "This outlaw hanged five "stragglers at Berryville."

In September, 1864, General Custer captured and hanged seven of my men, in the streets of Front Royal, Virginia. Immediately on hearing of this, having a lot of thirty prisoners on hand, I made them draw lots for seven to be hanged as a measure of retaliation to protect my men. These men were hanged on the Valley-pike, along which Sheridan's troops travelled, every day, as a warning of what they might expect, if any more of my men were hanged. At the same time, I wrote a letter to General Sheridan, which was published in the newspapers of the time and can be found in the Memoir of my command, by Scott, avowing my responsibility for the act, and stating my reasons for it. Sheridan acknowledged the justice of the deed, by ordering my men to be treated with the humanities of War. I have never been called in

question for this act, although I assumed all the responsibility for it.

The "UNION SOLDIER" pretends that these "exploits of the chivalric Mosby" have never been given to the world. If he will only consult the Memoir of my command, by Scott, he will see that the death of Colonel Tolles, the capture of the train and the incidents connected with it, and the hanging of the prisoners, are all spoken of. They were all legitimate acts of War. I think it high time for a people who glory in "Sherman's march from the 'mountains to the sea,' in which he made a desert of the country that lay in his track—who received, with huzzas, Sheridan's triumphant Despatch "that he had burned three thousand 'barns and mills, and made the Valley of Virginia so desolate that a crow could not fly 'over it without carrying his rations,'"—to cease objecting that anybody did not observe the rules of mitigated War.

Very truly,
JNO. S. MOSBY.

WARRENTON, Nov. 6. [1869.]

A REMARKABLE FAMILY.—The Rev. R. H. Morrison, D.D., of Lincoln-county, who was the first President and, more than any other man, the father of Davidson College, raised a family of six daughters and four sons. His eldest daughter is the wife of General D. H. Hill; his eldest son, William W. Morrison, now dead, was a Major in the Confederate service; his second daughter, Mrs. James P. Irwin, of Charlotte, is a writer of some celebrity, and is also the inventor of an improved mode of architecture; his third daughter is the widow of Stonewall Jackson; his fourth, now dead, was the wife of General Rufus Barringer; his fifth is the wife of Colonel A. C. Avery, of Burke; and his youngest has recently been married to Colonel J. E. Brown, of Mecklenburg. His two sons, J. G. and R. H. Morrison, Jr., now in California, were both Captains in the late War, and saw hard service, one of them losing a limb; and his youngest son, Alfred J. Morrison, graduated at Davidson College, last June, with the first honors of that institution, and will enter the legal profession, in North Carolina.

The recent marriage of Dr. Morrison's youngest daughter has suggested these facts; and it is hoped that we do not transcend the bounds of propriety in publishing them. "The seed of the righteous shall be established."—*North Carolina Presbyterian*.

DR. HOPKINS, THE HOPKINSIAN.—In 1798,

Doctor Samuel Hopkins, of Newport, Rhode Island, published his *System of Doctrines*, in two octavo volumes. It was issued by subscription; and among the eighteen columns of subscribers' names—no less than twenty-eight in South Carolina—are found those of seventeen "free blacks," of Newport and Providence—such as Prince Amy, Mrs. Wishee Buckminster, Congo Jenkins, Solmar Nubia, Zingo Stevens, Mrs. Duchess Quamine, Nimble Nightingale, and Bristol Yamma.—*Examiner and Chronicle*.

GENERAL ROSECRANS ON THE BATTLE OF STONE-RIVER.—The following letter appears in the *San Francisco Alta*, of September 19:

"It seems desirable that the statements detracting from the true lustre of the Nation's achievements, in the late 'little unpleasantness,' should not be accounted as history. Swinton, in his *Twelve Decisive Battles*, says the Rebels had 'about thirty-five thousand men at the 'Battle of Stone-river.'"

"*First*: I know that we took prisoners from one hundred and ninety-two Regiments of Infantry, twelve Battalions of Sharpshooters, twenty-three Batteries of Artillery, twenty-nine Regiments of Cavalry, and twenty-four Cavalry commands, less than Regiments. By any reasonable computation of the strength of these organizations, can they aggregate only thirty-five thousand men? Try it.

"*Second*: General Bragg's official Report, published in the newspapers, gives his loss in that battle at fourteen thousand, seven hundred men, *hors du combat*. If he lost as large a percentage as we did—say twenty per cent. of his command—he must have had five times fourteen thousand, seven hundred, or seventy-three thousand, five hundred men.

"*Third*: General Bragg's official Map of that battle represents his line considerably overlapping ours, on both flanks; and yet he gives us all the ground we really occupied, and about one Division more. We had forty-three thousand men in that battle.

"Is it creditable that any General, much less General Bragg, would have attempted to cover all our line, the imaginary overplus, and several hundred yards beyond, on each flank, with thirty-five thousand men? Even a military Report would fail to make me believe it.

"My official Report estimates the Rebel force at about sixty-two thousand.

"Please call public attention to the foregoing in your journal, and oblige your friend,

"W. S. ROSECRANS."

THE BAPTISTS OF MAINE.—We have a history. In 1681, several persons were baptized in Kittery, and united with the Baptist-church in Boston, which was nearest to them. One of their members, William Screven, was licensed, by the Boston-church, "to exercise his gifts at Kittery, or elsewhere, as the providence of God may cast him."

As soon as the design of these few Baptists was known in town, Mr. Woodbridge, the Congregational Minister, and Mr. Huche, the Magistrate, summoned those who had attended the Boston meeting, and threatened to fine them five shillings each, for every such offence in the future. The same year, the General Court placed Mr. Screven under bonds for good behavior, that is, not to hold meetings; but not being careful to comply with these tyrannical requirements, he was fined ten pounds. In 1682, a Church was organized, whose history is soon told. Persecuted by Church and State authorities, it soon disbanded, and most of its members removed to other localities.

It was eighty-five years after the Church at Kittery was scattered, before any further attempt was made to gather another. Doctor Smith, of Haverhill, Massachusetts, accompanied by one or two of his members, visited Maine. Their missionary labors were blessed; and, as a result, a Baptist-church was organized at Berwick, in 1768, which is now the oldest in the State, and which held its Centennial Anniversary last year. The early members suffered greatly from the "Standing Order." Some of them were imprisoned, whose property was seized and sold for Parish taxes.

From this time, Baptist sentiments prevailed; and Churches were organized, which united in forming the New Hampshire Association, in 1785.

At the present time, we have thirteen Associations, two hundred and sixty-nine Churches, one hundred and forty-three Pastors; one hundred and eighty-two ordained Ministers, and nineteen thousand, eight hundred, and thirty-three members, as reported in 1868—returns for present year not yet published:—Sabbath-school teachers, one thousand, eight hundred, and ninety-eight; scholars, seventeen thousand, and ten; contributions, about four thousand dollars each to Foreign and Domestic Missions, and several thousand to other objects.—*Examiner*.

A QUIANT PRESCRIPTION.—Doctor Upham, at a recent meeting of the Massachusetts Medical Society, read the subjoined old-fashioned prescription, sent by a famous London physician to John Winthrop, Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, A. D. 1643. It is called

a "*Remedie against fevers, poysons, small-pox, the plague, and such like*": "R. In y^e month of March take Toades, as many as you will, alive; putt them into an earthen pott; cover with a broad tyle; then overwhelm y^e pott, so y^e bottom may be uppermost; putt char-coales round about it, and in y^e open ayre, *not in an house*. Set it on fire; when cold take out y^e toades and in iron mortar pound them well, and *tearce* them"—[*whatever that may be*]"—a black powder will result. Of this, "you may give a dragme inwardly in any affection. For prevention, $\frac{1}{4}$ a dragme will suffice. Moderate y^e dose according to y^e strength and constitution of y^e partie." *College Review*.

ROBERT SANDEMAN, founder of the sect who took from him the name of Sandemanians, was a native of Perth, in Scotland, where he was born, 1728. He was educated at the University of Edinburgh; and having married a daughter of the Reverend John Glass, became a follower of his opinions, and an Elder in one of his Churches.

The subject of controversy which led to the formation of this party was a particular view of the nature of Justifying Faith; but they differ also from other communions, in the matter of discipline and church-fellowship, especially in the administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Their fundamental tenets were Calvinistic.

Whatever subjects may have engrossed the general attention, there never has been a period when the people of Boston lost their interest in those of a religious nature. The letters of Robert Sandeman to Mr. Hervey had excited a desire in some people, to see the former in this quarter of the world. Pressing solicitations were sent to him, from different parts of New England, by letter from some of the Clergy as well as of the laity; and he arrived in Boston, on the eighteenth of October, 1764, in the ship *George and James*, Captain Montgomery, from Glasgow. On the next Sabbath, he conducted religious service, at Masons' Hall.

Those who first associated with him, in Boston, were Edward Foster, Alford Butler, and George Ogilvie, with their respective wives and families; and, very soon after, Edward King, Henry Capen, Adam Chireau, Ebenezer Allen, Barnabas Allen, Hopestill Capen, Benjamin Davies, Isaac Winslow, Colburn Barrell, Walter Barrell, Mr. Peck, Hannah Robinson, Susannah Davies, Mary Cotton, Mary West, Kerial West, Mrs. Stayner, and some others, of both sexes. Mr. Joseph Howe and Samuel Harris and wife joined the Society, at a later period.

They first met in a large room, at Mr. Fos-

tor's house, in Prince-street, near Hanover; but, as much attention was excited, they removed to the Long Room, at the Green Dragon. They soon built a house at the bottom of a lane leading to the Mill-pond, somewhere between the two Baptist meeting-houses: it is now called Veazie-place. It was erected for the sole purpose of a Meeting-house, by assistance of many friends.

This house was burned in a fire which happened on Sunday afternoon, the fourth of April, 1773, and destroyed a large number of wooden buildings.

The Sandemanian Society afterwards convened at a Mr. Townsend's, in Cross-street. They subsequently built a house, in the rear of Middle, now Hanover-street, where they met till 1824; when the attendance became so thin as to occasion the discontinuance of their meetings. A primary-school was afterwards kept in the same building.

As to church-officers, they always had two Elders (teachers) and Deacons. No Deaconesses are recollected. Daniel Humphries, Esquire, brother to the late Colonel Humphries, was early a Deacon here; but soon removed to Danbury, Connecticut, to officiate as an Elder. Mr. Humphries was afterwards United States District Attorney for New Hampshire, and resided in Portsmouth, and was Elder of a small Society there.

Mr. Sandeman died at Danbury, Connecticut, on the second of April, 1771, aged forty-eight.

Part of their Creed was to keep open house, and help all their brethren that needed assistance.

Hopestill Capen was a dry-goods dealer, in Union-street.

Isaac Winslow was father of Isaac, who was a Long-wharf merchant, thirty, or forty years ago.

Samuel Harris was father of the late Isaac Harris.—*Boston Transcript*.

RELICS OF THE SPANISH SETTLEMENT OF FLORIDA.—We learn that the workmen, in overhauling the old fort, at St. Augustine, Florida, discovered several subterranean cells or prisons, each of which contained a long, iron, upright box and a human skeleton in irons. It is supposed these were refractory Spanish soldiers, or perhaps prisoners of war, who were incarcerated in these sweat boxes and left there to die, hundreds of years ago.—*Charleston Courier*, July 31.

SCRAPS.—At the Centennial Celebration of the John-street Church, New York, the Bible

which Philip Embury used in its pulpit was exhibited—a small quarto, black-letter book, dated 1611, in good preservation, generally, but, rebound in light calf.

The impression has gone out that it is a copy of the first edition of our present translation, which appeared in that year; but this is not the case. It is a copy of the Genevan translation.—*Christian Advocate*.

—The Savannah (Georgia) *Republican* publishes a curious document. It is a Grant of the present territory of Georgia, to Sir Robert Montgomery, Baronet, by the Palatine and Lords Proprietors of Carolina, under the name of "The Margrave of Azilia." The Grant is dated the nineteenth of June, 1717, fifteen years before the advent of Oglethorpe.

—Upon a white marble monument, near the street, in Stonington, is the following inscription: "When Rhode Island, by her Legislature, from 1844 to 1850, repudiated her Revolutionary debt, Doctor Richmond removed from that State to this Borough and selected this as his family burial-place, resolving that the remains of himself and family should not be disgraced by being a part of the common earth of a repudiating State."

On the reverse of the monument, is the following: "A trust fund is given to the Town of Stonington, to keep this ground, walls, etc., in good repair, forever. See Town Record."

The Cemetery is triangular in shape, and is cared for, faithfully, by the authorities of the Town.

—In the Boston Town Records of the fourteenth of March, 1653, after the great fire, there is an Order that "Every household shall provide a pole, of about twelve feet long, with a good large swob at the end of it, to reach the rofe of his house to quench fire."

—An engraved fac-simile letter of Martha Washington, among the historical curiosities of the Capitol, does not speak very well for her literary culture—albeit she was one of the most elegant ladies of the Old Dominion. It was written to an intimate friend, during her husband's Presidency, and when New York was the seat of Government. Most of the peculiarities are due, it is true, to old-fashioned spelling and customs:

"NEW-YORK, October the 22d, 1789.

"MY DEAR FANNY

"I Have by mrs. Sims sent you a watch it is one of the cargo that I have so long mentioned to you, that was expected, I hope is such a one as will please you—it is of the newest fashion, if that has any influence on

"your tast, the chain is of mr. Lears choosing
"and such as mrs. Adams the vice-presidents
"lady and those in the polite circle wear.

"mrs Sims will give you a better account of
"the fashions than I can—I live a very dull life
"hear and know nothing that passes in the
"town—I never goe to any public place—in-
"deed I think I am more like a state prisoner
"than anything else, there is certain bounds
"set for me which I must not depart from—
"and as I cannot doe as I like I am obstinate
"and stay at home a great deal.

"the President set out this day week on a tour
"to the eastward mr Lear and major Jackson
"attended him—my dear children has had
"very bad colds but thank god they are getting
"better my love and good wishes attend you
"and all with you—remember me to mr & mrs
"L Wn how is the poor child—kiss marie I
"send her too little handkerseefs to wipe her
"nose!

"adue I am my dear Fanny yours

"most affectionately

"M WASHINGTON"

—The oldest tannery, it is said, in the United States, is located at Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania. It was built by the Moravians, in 1748, and enlarged by them, in 1762. Eleven vats, sunk at that time, are still in use, though they have been repaired on several occasions. The building is of stone, three stories high.

XVII.—NOTES.

ANCIENT BALL-TICKET.—We have copied the following, as a matter of curiosity, from the original, belonging to John W. Hammersly, Esq. Fifth-avenue, New York City. D.

COMMEMORATION BALL.

The HONOR of Miss E. Hammersly's Company is requested on FRIDAY EVENING, the 22d of FEBRUARY at the City Hotel, to celebrate the Anniversary of the BIRTH of

GENERAL WASHINGTON.

—MANAGERS.—

JAMES FARQUHAR,	{	WILLIAM M. SETON,
JACOB MORTON,		JOHN R. LIVINGSTON,
AQUILA GILES,		WILLIAM ARMSTRONG.

NEW-YORK.

GENERAL GREENE.—The writer lately met with an old volume of Rollin's *Ancient History*, which appears to have once belonged to the celebrated General Greene. On the margin of one of its pages is drawn an index, pointing to the following passage, with the word "*Rhode-Island*" written underneath, in the hand-writing, as it is pre-

sumed, of that illustrious hero. "Here [*Carthage*] "the genius of a State composed of mer-
"chants discovers itself, who know the full val-
"ue of money, but not the merit of soldiers;
"who make a traffic of their blood, as though
"they were goods; and always go to the cheapest
"market. In such a Republic, when an ex-
"gency is once answered, the merit of services
"is no longer remembered."—*The Rhode Island Literary Repository*, i., 607. February, 1815.

NEW YORK CITY.

W. K.

TALLIES.—In London, forty years ago, the ancient Tally was (and possibly still is,) in general use by the Milk-maids: each, bearing two tin-pails suspended from a yoke across her shoulders, gave at every customer's door, a shrill oral notice of her presence. The house-servant came out with a pitcher in one hand and the tally in the other—a smooth and thin piece of wood ten or twelve inches long and two inches wide. For every pint or quart poured into the pitcher, a long or short mark was drawn with red chalk across it.

NEW YORK CITY.

T.

CONVICTS SENT TO AMERICA.

London, October 26. This Morning 118 Felon Convicts were carried from Newgate and put on board a close Lighter, in order to be transported in the *Caesar* to his Majesty's Plantations in America.

Dublin, October 7. Several Criminals indentured themselves yesterday for his Majesty's Plantations in America.—*The New-York Gazette*, February 13. 1732.

Philadelphia, July 26. We hear from Cape May that last week the Bodies of three Men drove ashore there, one of them had good Cloaths on, Gold Buttons in his Shirt sleeves, two Gold Rings on his Finger, a Watch and some pieces of Gold in his Pocket, and Silver Buckles in his Shoes, but was shot thro' the Head, the other two had their Heads cut off. About the same time a Sloop drove on shore about 15 Miles to the Northward of the Cape, but it is not known who she or the Men are. We also hear that a Brigentine sailed up our Bay as far as *Bombay-Hook*, then tacked about and stood to Sea. Some think it was the Brigentine bound from *Bristol* with a number of Convicts, and that they had mutined, and Murdered the Master and Men.—*The New-York Gazette*, July 30, 1733.

London, January 17. This Morning about 120 Felons were carried from Black-fryers Stairs, in a close Lighter, to Woolwich, in order to be put on board the *Caesar*, now lying there, which Ship is to transport them to his Majesty's Plan-

tations in America.—*The New-York Gazette*, April 29, 1784.

Dublin, Sept. 9. On Tuesday last ten Coaches full of convict Felons were shipp'd at the Quay, in order to be transported to his Majesty's Plantations in America.—*The New-York Gazette and Weekly Post-Boy*, November 13, 1749.

NEW YORK CITY. W. K.

THE LEE FAMILY OF VIRGINIA.—In one of the April numbers of *The Nation*, W. H. W., noticing a book on the *Lee Genealogy*, published by Richardson, of New York, points out the mistake of the Editor of the work, in supposing that Richard Lee, the emigrant, was the son of Launcelot Lee.

Manuscript records in the Maryland Land Office state that, early in 1639, Richard Lee and his wife came with the Province; and he seems to have secured land on the Maryland, as well as the Virginia, side of the Potomac. An inscription, on the tombstone of one of his sons, in Westmoreland-county, Virginia, says he was descended of an old family of Merton-Regis, in Shropshire, like Robert Lee, Merchant-tailor and Mayor of London, in 1602, who was the son of Humphrey Lee, of Bridgenorth, Shropshire.

Campbell, the most accurate of the historians of Virginia, designated the story of Richard Lee, as a Cavalier visiting Charles the First, at Breda, as a fiction. Since he wrote, the *Calendar of British State Papers, Colonial Series*, has been published; and from it we learn that, in 1654, Richard Lee, the settler, visited England and was a Cromwellian. In September, 1655, his trunk, containing some silver, was seized on board the ship *Anthony*, at Gravesend. The Records in the State Paper Office, say it was restored, "Colonel Lee being faithful and useful to the interests of the "Commonwealth."—*Calendar State Papers, Colonial Series*.

ANACOSTIA, D. C.

E. D. N.

NEW YORK CITY, IN 1829.

Extract from a letter of J. Bogert Jr., New York, February 20, 1829.

The great pear-tree was brought from Holland, by Gov. Stuyvesant, in 1650, & planted by him on his then Bowery, now the corner of 13th Street & Third Avenue. It occupies the same spot & is alive.

The house, No. 176 Water-street, in which I was a clerk two years, was the first in this city, to exchange leaden window-sashes for wood.

The population of this city, by the last census, taken in 1825, was 166,086 souls: it is now, upward of 180,000, perhaps 190,000.

The following facts I transcribed from the city Comptroller's books, viz:

The assessed value of real estate in this city, in 1808, was.....	\$ 21,740.170
Personal estate.....	3,378.550
	25,118.720

Taxes thereon....	\$138,984.18
Assessed value, in 1828, Real estate.....	77,139.880
Personal estate.....	36,879.658
	\$ 114,019.538

Taxes thereon....\$485,751.72
The streets on the North or Hudson-river, extend to 18th Street.

On the East-river, to Dry Dock.
On Broadway and Bowery, to 13th street.
Registered tonnage of this city,
for 1824, was..... 128,285 tons.
Enrolled..... 172,112 tons.

	800,397 tons.
Steam boats.....	10,482
PORTLAND, ME.	W. W.

THE VERMONT "LAND-JOBBER."

[The following article appeared in *The Western Star*, a paper published at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and was reprinted by Cobbett in *Porcupine's Gazette*, Monday, November 27, 1797.

NEW YORK CITY.

W. K.]

Few individuals have been more the subject of general conversation for some time past, than General Ira Allen, of Vermont. By his late letter to his friend in Fairhaven, it appears that the principal officers in this nation have transmitted such vouchers and information as will save that gentleman from the capital punishment which was expected about the time that M'Lean was executed in Canada.

General Allen was born in Salisbury, in Connecticut; and, not long before the late War, he went into Vermont, where he had a large share in effecting the independence of that State, from the State of New York. His lot was to become the chief agent in the Land-office, and he thereby procured large Patents and Grants for himself. Vermont neglected to make restitution to those who were deprived of their honest claims under the New York title; and the people of Vermont obtained a quitclaim of all further title and jurisdiction, for thirty thousand dollars. The lands and public money thus engrossed and expended, left General Allen with the largest estate in Vermont, and some said, the largest in New England.

In his attempt to build furnaces and mills and make improvements on his estates, he became in-

volved in debt, first in Quebec, and then in New York. He was pushed into both places by his creditors, and made many efforts to rescue himself, by mortgaging his property. Lands he would not sell, because they were rising in value: taxes were levied upon them, but he found expedients not to alienate any.

In this distress he embarked for England, having previously sent out a nephew, to negotiate a credit. He procured a small quantity of goods, which arrived with his nephew, at Boston; but the young man took them for his own use, in reward for his services to his uncle. A second quantity were shipped to New York; but, wanting money to pay the impost, his agents intrusted some merchants, in General Allen's behalf: these paid the public debt, and attached the merchandise for the debts due to themselves. In this dilemma, he retreated to the French Directory—his party, in Vermont, were ready for war with Canada, and wanted arms; these General Allen procured, with artillery, tents, camp-kettles, etc. The military feathers were shipped into Boston, by Mr. John A. Graham. The General and one of the aides-de-camp of Governor Chittenden were in London together. The latter wrote and printed, upon vellum paper, a *History of Vermont*, in a series of letters to the Earl of Montross, a branch or head of the Graham family. In that volume, attempts are made to exculpate General Allen from treasonable designs against the Government of Great Britain. Mr. Graham also mentioned General Allen as the brother of the late General Ethan Allen, whose prowess and infidelity were so well-known in the States, Canada, and England. General Ira Allen was offended with this information of Mr. Graham, being well aware it would do him no good.

Some time previous to the departure of General Allen, he presented a Petition to the Legislature of Vermont, for certain lands reserved for propagating the Gospel, for the use of a College which he was patronizing in Burlington, near his own dwelling, in the neighborhood of Lake Champlain. He was defeated in his wishes; but his movements ended in a seizure of the glebes belonging to the Episcopal Church. Democracy and Genet's spies and agents had spread French politics, infidelity, and avarice too far for the claims of religion and justice to be heard. Part of the lands were in possession of the Society in London, who had not alienated them. General Allen and Mr. Graham hoped to have obtained the agency and superintendence of that property; but information had long before been transmitted to England and the British Minister in the States, which put those concerned on their guard.

Great distress had been given to those who had settled in certain townships in which General

Allen was interested, because he neglected to resign the property devoted to religious uses, into proper hands, that religious and other important institutions might be obtained, as easily as possible.

General Allen thus engrossed large Grants from the State to himself, and the land of the Church; but, in addition to this, he had in his possession, the property of the heirs of two of his brothers.

All this immense property is now involved in almost inextricable difficulties, by his great graspings, by his disappointments, and by his absence. He is dismissed from all places of honor and profit; and his property is conveying into other hands.

Such is the short history of a *Democrat*; and such is the history of many others. General Allen's leading trait is low cunning, a secret conducting of his business, and an artful endeavor to draw others into his measures by an apparent indifference as to the issue, or disposition to further the favorite wish of his neighbor. He introduced himself to the late Bishop elect of Vermont, who is in London. The College in Vermont was a darling object with General Allen; and he therefore flattered Bishop Peters with the idea of making him President—a measure which was not practicable, as that gentleman's zeal and opinions were not acceptable to Calvinists, Deists, or Democrats.

The solicitous public are now waiting to hear further intelligence from the General. All humane men shudder at the idea of an halter; and many honest men will rejoice if General Allen's liberation puts an end to his restless career in future. Should the French Directory have no opportunity to reel in their property, purchasers in England or the merchants in Quebec may obtain the arms, artillery, tents and kettles.

AN INCIDENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

THE following singular incident of the Revolution, was furnished for the press by the Rev. Doctor Rodgers, of New York, about the year 1800:—"Colonel John Bayard, an eminent Merchant in the city of Philadelphia, sent a vessel to France, early in the year 1777, to purchase military stores, under the command of Captain Stocker, who had sailed some time in his employ; and Mr. William Hodge, his brother-in-law, went as Supercargo. His vessel arrived safe at her destined port, and was loaded with powder, muskets, bayonets, gun-flints, etc. The British spies in the several ports of France, gave notice of this vessel leaving there, her cargo, and of the time of her sailing, to their administration; and two vessels were sent out from England, to cruise off

"the mouth of the Delaware-bay, to intercept and take her. For several days before she came on the coast, the weather was so thick and hazy, that Captain Stocker could not get an observation, and therefore had no other way to know his situation, than by throwing his lead: this he did with great diligence and care, when he found himself in soundings, and the water was sometimes deeper and sometimes shallower. Thus the vigilance of the two British vessels was eluded. In this situation, a dark night came on, and he went on throwing his lead, and, in the morning, to his great surprise, he found himself near the upper end of Reedy Island, one hundred miles up the Bay, and within fifty miles of Philadelphia. Thus the United States was furnished with a seasonable supply of the most essential articles for carrying on their War, at an early period of their struggle for Independence."

NEW YORK CITY.

DE V.

XVIII.—QUERIES.

GENERAL WOLFE AND GRAY'S ELEGY.—[*H. M. II. v. 302.*—May, 1869.] Can any of your readers tell in what number of the *Gentleman's Magazine* is to be found the mention, that General Wolfe repeated this Elegy, as he was floating down to the base of the Heights of Abraham; and said he would rather have been the author of that poem than to be the captor of Quebec? The fact was first brought to light before the American public, by a now deceased grandson of Major-general Stark. B.

DELAWARE, OR MARYLAND?—A current history of wrong operations, in 1781, stated that "General Lincoln had reached Worten-creek, which is thirty miles from the head of Elk." Sabine's *American Loyalists* includes one Samuel Worden, of Murderkill, Delaware, prosecuted in 1778.

Can any one inform me of the location or origin of the name of said Worten-creek, or further respecting said Samuel, who got on the wrong side? O. N. WORDEN.

PLYMOUTH PURITANS.—Benjamin Scott, F. R. A. S., Chamberlain of the City of London, in 1866, before the Friends' Institute of that City, supported the historical proposition that the *Pilgrim Fathers were not Puritans*; but Separatists, like Brown and Penry. On the title-page of his published Address, he quotes a paragraph from the pen of the Rev. Doctor Waddington, beginning with these words: "The ignorance still ex-

isting on this subject is almost incredible. We find men of education, who seem to have no exact information respecting the Pilgrim Fathers."

May not the ignorance be upon the part of Scott and Waddington? Brown, Penry, and the Leyden people were all known as Puritans. James the First, who was on the throne when the Puritans landed at Plymouth, expressly says, in the *Basili-con Doron*: "As to Puritans, I am not ignorant the style of Puritan properly belongs to that vile sect of the Anabaptists, called the Family of Love. Of this special sect, I principally mean when I speak of Puritans, divers of them as Browne and Penry."

In the tractate against Vorstius, he also stated that "Amongst the ancient heretics there was a sect that called themselves Catharoi; and there was also another one, among the Anabaptists, that were called Puritanes, whence the Precisians of our Kingdom, who, out of ill-will and fancy, refused to conform themselves to the orders of our Church, have borrowed their name."

ANACOSTIA, D. C.

E. D. N.

WHO WROTE IT? A few years ago, Hurd and Houghton re-published an old work, similar in character to *Robinson Crusoe*, and some think superior to it. It was edited and revised by Cecil Hartley. "*Swiss Family Robinson*."

A friend enquires when that book was originally published, and when and by whom written?

STATESVILLE, N. C.

E. F. R.

XIX.—REPLIES.

"THE FIRST CITY GRANT IN AMERICA."
[*H. M. II. vi, 101.*]

MR. DAWSON: The article of your correspondent, page 101, of the August number of the *MAGAZINE*, entitled "First City Grant in America," contains three errors:

First—In the date of the Charter for *Gorgeana*.

Second—In spelling the name, which should be Gorgeana, not Gorgiana.

Third—In making Thomas Gorges the last Mayor.

Thomas Gorges returned to England in 1643; and was succeeded, in the office of Mayor, by Edward Godfrey, the first settler, a large proprietor of York.

There were two Charters granted to that territory, with City privileges; the first on the tenth of April, 1641, in which the name given to it was "*Acomenticus*," and Thomas Gorges appointed "*the first and next Mayor*," and Ed-

ward Godfrey and seven others, Aldermen. This Charter, at length, is in Hazard's *Historical Collections*. i., 740.

The second Charter, dated the first of March, 1642, created a "City or town," by the name of Gorgeana; and provides that the Mayor, twelve Aldermen, and twenty-four Common Councilmen, be chosen by the Common Council and free Burgesses, *Hazard* i., 480.

You will also perceive that your correspondent's commendation of Gorges, for omitting a Common Council, is alike erroneous; for the second Charter makes provision for a large one.

The first Charter does not call the place a City, though it invests it with all the forms of a City: it speaks of the *Towne* of Acomenticus, while the second Charter speaks throughout of a "Citie or "Towne."

WILLIAM WILLIS.

PORTLAND, November 19, 1869.

THE TRANSLATOR OF CHASTELLUX [*H. M.* I., i. 55, 90; ii. 88; iii. 252; vi. 371, 382; vii. 30].—These references show that the question of the authorship of the English translation of *Travels in North America*, by the Marquis de Chastellux (London, 1787), has not been without interest to readers of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. This question has lately been answered by Mr. J. Hammond Trumbull, in a letter to the Honorable Robert C. Winthrop, which is printed in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, for April, 1869.

Mr. Trumbull shows that Watt was wrong, in ascribing, in the *Bibliotheca Britannica*, the translation to "J. Kent, Esq.;" and that Ebeling, (to whose note, in a copy of the French edition, Mr. Winthrop first called attention,) was right, in naming 'Grieve' as the translator.

GEORGE GREIVE, born about 1750, was the younger son of Mr. Richard Greive, attorney, at Alnwick, Northumberland. "A young gentleman of great promise," he was placed, at a premium of a thousand guineas, as an apprentice, to the great London merchant, Peter Thellusson. At his father's death, he inherited some £20,000, "most of which (it is stated) he spent in search of popularity." He became a member, and the Secretary, of the Bill of Rights Club; took an active part in the famous Westminster Election contest, in 1780; was an unsuccessful candidate for the Sheriffalty of London; and was employed by Almon, on the *London Courant*. Some criminal offence—political or other—compelled him to fly from England to Holland; and from Holland, he came to America, in 1781. He remained in this country till the close of the War; and, in December, 1782, sailed for Bordeaux, France, in the *General Galves* from Salem, Mass. Mr. Trumbull quotes from a letter ad-

ressed by Greive, from Bordeaux, on the twenty-first of January, 1783, to Silas Deane, then at Paris, in which he mentions having been in Hartford, the preceding October. It does not appear that he ever returned to England. He was still living in France, when his elder brother died, in 1798, "where," says [the *Gentleman's Magazine*, (lxiii., 1216), "he had long lamented his youthful levities; and was then, at Bordeaux, sighing for the sweets of his native land and of a virtuous liberty." He had "employed himself in literary pursuits;" and, among other things, had translated the once popular *Memoirs of Baron Tott*. 77

"WOOLBALLS," "HAIRBALLS" AND "WITCH-BALLS." [*H. M.* II., vi.]—When I was a boy of nine years old, my father resided in New Jersey. The inhabitants generally were quite intelligent, though quite a number had been taught the belief in witchcraft. My father was not among the number; and my mother, good woman she was (whose mother was not!) could not, for a moment, harbor the thought that the Father in Heaven, in whom she trusted, would permit Satan or any of his satellites to exercise such control over His children; and we were taught to reverence and love that Holy Being, and not be afraid of witches nor of any supernatural beings, so long as we had Him for our friend.

A circumstance, however, occurred in the neighborhood, of which I was an eye-witness, and which was the subject of remarks, and served to strengthen many persons in their belief of the power of witches.

I will state the facts, and leave your readers to make their own conclusions.

In the month of August, A.D. 1817, Mr. L., a near neighbor, came in haste to my father's, to request him to hasten to his place and see for himself, the result of witchcraft, upon a fine young heifer, five months old. My father was not at home; and I obtained permission from my mother to go and see the bewitched calf. I well remember the excited looks, and almost the words, of Mr. L., as he came in haste to my father's house.

"I want the 'Squire to come immediately. I saw the old witch pass through the field, two hours ago: the calf was then as well as ever she was: looking at it, shortly after, it began to moan piteously; tumbling about as if crazy; and, finally, fell, unable to rise! and it was almost dead when I left: and it will surely die! But I'll burn the witch! I will! I know her! Yes, I know her;" and away he ran towards home. I followed him, to see the bewitched animal. The calf was dead; and Mr. L—

proceeded, with a large knife, to open the carcase, to find the witch-ball. No orifice, nor even puncture of the skin, was visible, but, within the maw or stomach, he found the "witchball," a round substance, two inches in diameter, made of hair, matted and pressed together, so that it could not be pulled apart: with a large stick, I tried to break or mash it; but a heavy blow made no perceptible impression: agreeably to the direction of Mr. L—, I carried it on a small board to the house, to put it in the fire. The old lady was ironing clothes, heating her irons in front of a large fire of coals, on the hearth. She would not allow me to put it on the coals, but directed me to lay it on the hot stones, near the fire. "Now," said she, "as soon as it begins to roast, the old witch will feel the flame. No matter if she does burn! She ought to burn! All the witches should be burned. I wonder if your father will now believe that witches exist. The Bible tells of witches: they were not all destroyed by Saul." I ventured to remark, that I had often heard that witches could not get over the broomstick, though they frequently rode astride of one; and playfully took the broom and laid it athwart the outer door, which stood wide open. Of course, I got a reprimand, for my unbelief and for my boyish acts in so serious a matter. I only laughed and stepped outside the door, ostensibly to look for the appearance of the witch or some one of her aids, but really to have a good laugh by myself. Imagine my surprise, to see two little ragged urchins, grand-children of the identical named witch, coming in great haste; and wanting to see Mrs. L—. I accompanied them to the door, and invited them to walk in: they approached the door, but there laid the broomstick: they stopped, and hung down their heads. I urged them to come in, and led the way over the broomstick; but they stood still, and could not, or did not, move. The old lady stepped to the door, when the eldest of the children, nearly of my age, said, in pleading terms, "Mrs. L—, 'won't you please to give mother a little hog's fat' [lard;] but the old lady told them "No, 'go about your business: do not come here for lard, nor for anything else: leave here at once: 'tell your mother and your grand-mother, too, 'they can't have anything here." The children left with downcast looks, and wended their way homeward, nearly a mile distant. Now came my turn for a lecture for my waywardness, and being, just like the old 'Squire, unbelieving even when the evidences were so plain, "Why," said she, "did these children pass three farm-houses 'to get lard here? Why not get it at Mr. A's, or Mr. H's, or at The 'Squire's? Evidently they were sent here for a purpose; but let the old hag burn! Yes, let her burn!"

And yet, after seeing all this, the truth of which I can vouch for at any time, as here related, I remain, like the old 'Squire, my father, in regard to witches and their power, an

TARRYTOWN, N. Y.

UNBELIEVER.

P.S.—There were two calves, about the same age, pasturing in the lot, which had often drank milk from the same pail. They had a great fondness for each other, and indulged very freely in smoothing each others coats, by frequent licking. About the ears and flanks, much of the hair had disappeared and, very probably, had entered into the stomach, and gradually formed a ball, which, at the time mentioned, had so increased in size as to cause choking and pain, from the effects of which the animal died, as before stated.

"The old witch" resided with her daughter, but had been absent, with a relative, some weeks; and, returning homeward, her path lay through the field or lot where the calves were feeding. They were fine ones, and attracted the attention of all who saw them, especially their ears, destitute of hair.

When grandma came home, children and mother wanted to have a good time; and they must have some peach pie—peaches were plenty, at three levy's (37½ cents) a bushel—but lard was scarce; they were very poor people—witches are always poor—and they must have lard to make pie-crust. Mr. A., Mr. H., and the Squire had large families, and were not generally over-supplied; but Mrs. L—always had an overstock; and was very liberal to the poor. So off they ran to accomplish their errand, with bare heads and bare feet, carrying a little *blick-ye*—a two-quart tin pail—for the lard. When they came to the door, their courage failed—they were ragged and sweaty—and could scarcely muster courage to ask for the "hog's fat" outside the door—certainly they were too timid to enter the house of Mrs. L—, who was a large, fine-looking old lady of sixty summers. She was generally noted for her liberality to the poor; but, from the time of the calf being "bewitched," she would never allow any of her family to give "a cent," or its worth, to the "old witch" or any of her relatives. The old woman lived several years after the occurrence I have related; but I never learned that she had suffered from the effects of my burning the witch-ball. Mrs. L—was a Christian, indeed, a Bible-reader, but was trained from childhood in the belief of witches: but I still remain an

UNBELIEVER.

"MILITARY." (H. M., II., v., 835).—"The Governor's Foot Guard, of Hartford, Conn., is one of the very oldest Companies in the country. It was formed in 1771; and has

"appeared in the same uniform since its organization, * * * The next oldest military Company in the United States is the Fayetteville Independent Light Infantry, at Fayetteville, N. C. For its services in the War of 1812, the Legislature conferred, etc."

The writer of the above speaks of the Governor's Foot Guard of Connecticut, organized in 1771, and the Fayetteville, N. C., Light Infantry, first known in the War of 1812, as about the oldest military Companies in the Country. It is not known that the Fayetteville Company still exists. He seems to have forgotten the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston, which was organized in 1637, nearly a century and a half before the Governor's Foot Guard of Connecticut. Besides the old Artillery referred to, I think there are half a dozen military Companies, in Boston, that were organized before the War of 1812. The "Cadets" were formed long before the Revolution; and were commanded by John Hancock, before that event; the "Boston Fusiliers," formed in 1787, have just celebrated their eighty-second anniversary; the "Boston Light Infantry" was organized in 1798, during the quasi belligerent troubles with France, during John Adams's Presidency; and some other Companies that I cannot refer to, at this moment, have kept up their organizations from the early part of this century. I had occasion, last Summer, to look into the history of the old Artillery Company alluded to, in preparing an article for the *Boston Transcript*; and perhaps an abstract of it may interest the readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

The "Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company" of Boston is probably the oldest organization of any kind, in this country; and, with the exception of two or three organizations in the British or Austrian service, it is undoubtedly the oldest military organization in the world. When it was formed, and for many years after, it comprised the most distinguished men of Boston and the neighboring towns,—to use the Puritanical language of that time: "shining ornaments of the Church of Christ, as well as the strongest bulwarks of society." For many years, till within half a century, its anniversary was observed in Boston and its vicinity as a holiday, with almost as much interest as the Fourth of July. About a century ago, the mode of notifying the company for its "training days," was peculiar—no printed notices were issued, but the Company was reminded of its duty by the beating of the drum and the playing of fifes and drums through the principal streets of Boston; and displaying the standard of the Company, at Major Hinchman's, at the South-east corner of State-street and Cornhill, was for a time, an auxiliary method of

giving notice. It was also the custom, in the forenoon, previous to their mustering, for Ichabod Williston, long celebrated as the Company's Drummer, to march down Middle-street, to Winnisimmet Ferry, between the hours of eleven and one, beating his drum, unescorted, except by an innumerable crowd of boys. On his arrival at the Ferry, he solemnly beat the roll, three times, then shouldered his drum, and silently went his way. This was called "the first drum," which became a bye-word amongst the mechanics at the "North End" of the town, who, when they began to feel the want of their forenoon-grog and luncheon, used to ask each other "if it was not about time to beat the first drum."

The uniform of the Company has, of course, varied largely in two centuries. Tradition says, that on its organization, in 1637, officers and privates all wore large white wigs. One hundred years later, scarlet, crimson, and buff were the prevailing colors of their uniform, which was very rich, such as a scarlet coat, crimson silk stockings, with large gold clocks, and shoes with silver buckles, and large cocked hat trimmed with gold lace. In 1754, white hose were adopted. In 1770, white linen spatterdashes, to which black buttons were affixed, in 1785; wigs and hair were ordered to be clubbed, in 1772; and "the cock of the hat to be uniform with the militia officers." In 1787, a permanent uniform was adopted, viz., coat, deep blue cloth, faced with buff, with shoulder-straps to secure the belts, and hooks and eyes at the skirts; buff vest and breeches; with plain yellow double-washed buttons on the whole; plain black hat, with black buttons, loop, and cockade; "cocks to be soldier-like and uniform, as possible;" white linen spatterdashes, fastened under the foot, and reaching partly up the thigh, with black buttons and black garter, buckled below the knee; white socks and white shirts, ruffled at the wrist and bosom; "the hair queued;" the musicians' uniform the same, the coats only being reversed. This lasted for over twenty years; but the ruffles were dispensed with, in 1798. In 1810, the French "*chapeau de bras*, with fantail cockade, silver loop and button, and a full black plume, eighteen inches long," was adopted. The plume was soon changed to white, ten inches long; deep blue superfine coats, with red facings and white trimmings, were adopted; also white Marseilles vests, single-breasted, with standing collars; white cassimere small-clothes; white gaiters; etc.; "the hair braided, turned up, and powdered."

Compared with the neat, snug, and comfortable uniform of the present United States Army-officers, the Ancient and Honorables, in some of

their old uniforms, would make as grotesque an appearance as a Company of Cavalry that volunteered in Connecticut, in the American Revolution. They were sturdy farmers, armed, generally, with long, old-fashioned shot-guns, and dressed "with large, white, full-bottomed wigs." They reached Washington's camp, at New York, in the Summer of 1776, laying by, on Sundays, during their march. An unlucky trooper of this Company was taken prisoner at the battle of Long Island; and his awkward appearance caused great merriment amongst the British officers, who asked him, what under heavens could be the use of such troops in the Rebel camp? He innocently replied, "*To flank a little, and carry tidings!*"

In 1762, on muster-day, refreshments of "punch, wine, and bread, and nothing more," were provided: no one to be invited, unless he belonged to the Company: "pipes and tobacco intirely excluded;" "the Company to dismiss themselves as seasonably as possible, to prevent the unnecessary expense of candles." Soon after, "cheese was added to the above refreshments; and the officers were authorized to "invite their friends, as they think fit." As the Company's treasury was flourishing by fines, etc., a more generous supply of refreshments was voted; and, in 1768, at their anniversary, "nine bottles, that is, two gallons of wine, "eight gallons punch, 4s. 8d. worth of biscuit, "& ten pounds of cheese," were voted, "and "thought to be fully sufficient."

The same year (1768) several British Regiments were encamped on the Boston Common, where the Ancients and Honorables met, under Lieutenant Heath, afterwards Major-general Heath, of Revolutionary fame. The British commander ordered them to retire, without beat of drum; and forbade the usual firing at depositing the standard. After consulting with the Company, Lieutenant Heath considered it the part of prudence and duty to comply; and they marched to Faneuil Hall in silence, and deposited their standard without firing. This gave great dissatisfaction to some of the members; and one of them, Hopeskill Capen, then Orderly-sergeant, resented it so highly, that he went to the top of his house, after the Company was dismissed, and loaded and fired his musket three times; and, many years after, he refused to vote for General Heath, for Lieutenant-governor, because of his compliance with the order of the British commander. All honor to the memory of Hopeskill!

In 1819, Major Bumstead, then seventy-nine years old, invited the Company to an entertainment at his house, at which many Revolutionary veterans were present, and "fought "their battles over again," entertaining each

other with stories of their youthful times, amongst which was the following, by Major B: When the news of Burgoyne's defeat reached Boston, in 1777, some doubted its authenticity. A number of the Company being present, one of them offered a bet of a bowl of punch, which was accepted. In the afternoon, when the rumor was confirmed, the members assembled at Major B.'s house, to drink the punch. It was prepared in an old-fashioned china punch-bowl, that held *ten gallons*. When assembled, a new bet was made, that no member could singly lift the bowl, filled as it was, to his mouth, drink, and replace it in safety on the table. Several tried to lift it, but without success, until Daniel Rea, an athletic man, though not stout in appearance, lifted the bowl, without difficulty, and

"Took a long and solemn draught,

"Then wiped his yellow beard,"

replacing the bowl safely on the table, thus winning the second bet

Fifty years ago, the productive funds of the Company exceeded three thousand dollars.

By the original Charter of the Ancient and Honorables, they were possessed of a singular "vested right," or, as William Wirt described a similar case, a "vested wrong," by which no military Company, within certain limits, was permitted to parade, on either of the field-days of the Company! In former times, this right was claimed, in its fullest extent, and supported and maintained with great exactness. Even as late as 1808, when the Company was paraded in upper Faneuil Hall, under Captain Melzar, it was found the "Winslow Blues" were assembled in their Armory, for a drill. Captain Melzar sent an Order to them to disperse; and, after consultation, the "Winslow Blues" were dismissed till another day! Say nothing about red tape at Washington, after this.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

J. B. R.

ALBANY INSTITUTE SERIES. (H. M. II. v. 336.) In reply to "DICK," I beg to state that Doctor Hough did not get encouragement enough to make a sure thing of it; and, as he takes no risks, the project of issuing the works referred to was abandoned.

ALBANY, N. Y.

J. M.

XX.—BOOKS.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCHENCK & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*The Salem Witchcraft and Cotton Mather*. By Hon. Charles W. Upham. Morrisania, N. Y.: 1869. Small quarto, pp. vii, 91.

Our readers will have learned, before this, the character of this work and its importance to all who are interested in either the general history of New England or the particular history of Massachusetts. There are some, too, who will find in it some simple element which will interest them—such, for instance, as the new example, which it exposes, of that peculiar mode of treating history and historians which has hitherto been noticed in our pages as peculiar to the notorious William Frederic Poole and those whom he serves so grimly.

The work originated in the elaborate article which appeared in *The North American Review*, for April last, in which the recently-published volumes, by Mr. Upham, on Salem and the Witchcraft Delusion were so recklessly reviewed by this Poole; and it consists, simply, of Mr. Upham's vindication of his well-earned reputation, as a historian, from the studied misrepresentations to which it was exposed in that article.

We need not comment elaborately on the successful treatment of his subject by the venerable historian: the text of the work is before our readers and it speaks for itself, more eloquently than we can speak for it. There has been no attempt, as far as we have seen, either to suppress the truth or to mystify and conceal it; and, as far as we understand the subject, the vindication seems to be perfectly successful.

The copy before us, in separate form, is one of a small edition which has been printed for the author, for circulation among his personal friends.

2.—*George Henry Moore, LL.D. A Memoir*. By Howard Crosby, D.D. Morrisania, N. Y.: 1870. Octavo, pp. vii, 8.

This beautiful little tract contains a memoir of one of our nearest and dearest friends, whom to know is to love. It is from the pen of his brother, Rev. Doctor Crosby, whose qualifications for the discharge of such a service, commemorative of one whom he, too, has learned to esteem as highly as we esteem him, are so widely and properly recognized; and the character of the memoir—brief as it necessarily is—is therefore of the highest character.

As a passing recognition of the peculiar abilities, as a historical writer and as an executive officer, and of the many virtues, as a man, which are combined in the widely-known Librarian of the New York Historical Society, this tract will be very welcome to those who shall possess it; and the life-like portrait, so beautifully engraved by young Alfred B. Hall—a son of the

veteran, Henry B. Hall, Esq., whose handiwork in portraiture is so widely and honorably known among our readers—will add to the interest which Doctor Crosby has thrown around his subject.

The edition numbered only thirty copies; and was printed for us, exclusively for private circulation in the family and among the more intimate friends of Mr. Moore.

3.—*An Oration, delivered at Salem, Mass., on Washington's Birthday, February 22, 1792*. By Rev. William Bentley, D.D. Morrisania, N. Y.: 1870. Octavo, pp. viii, 19.

Like the tract which we last noticed, this is a re-print, from the pages of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, for private circulation among the personal friends of the Editor.

The wide-spread reputation of Doctor Bentley, as well as the occasion which called forth this *Oration*, will serve to make it among the most highly-prized of the privately-printed tracts of the day; while collectors of Washingtoniana will search in vain for any thing which is better entitled to their respect.

As we have said, this is printed for private circulation only; and the edition numbers only thirty copies.

4.—*Martha Preble Oznard, eldest child of Brigadier-general Jedidiah Preble and Mchitable Bangs, 1714-1824, and her descendants to 1869*. Prepared for the *Genealogy of the Preble Family in America*, by George Henry Preble. [Boston: 1869.] Octavo, pp. 8.

Our friend, Captain Preble, U. S. N., is engaged on a family-history; and this tract seems to be a portion of that yet unpublished volume, which has been printed separately, for advance circulation among the members of the family.

The pamphlet is a neat one, but is without a title-page; and the edition numbered fifty copies.

5.—*Quentin Durward, the Loser and the Winner*. Privately printed. Albany: Joel Munsell, 1869. Small octavo, pp. 69.

This is an interesting little volume, which was evidently the product of a fire-side discussion concerning the moral of an unfinished tale—the story of Quentin Durward, as told by Sir Walter Scott. The narrative, in the words of the Preface, is as follows: "About Christmas time, 'a gentleman was reading to his family, at his 'home on the banks of the Cayuga, that glorious historical romance of *Quentin Durward*, in 'which Sir Walter Scott, by his learning as by 'his genius, woke Louis XI. out of the dusty 'chronicle of French Kings, and made him illustrious, as a ruler, however deep the doom 'over him of the world's judgment, as a man. 'Fascinated with the story, the book was only

"too brief. It was felt as if the scene of Quentin's success should have been prolonged and his triumph made more enduring enjoyment to the reader. The book was the theme of thought and conversation, when one of the young ladies declared that, after all, according to the rule of chivalry, Quentin did not fairly win the beautiful Countess of Croye, for he kept to himself the secret information which the Countess had caused to be conveyed to him, that De la Marck was to wear his dress of battle copied after that of Dunois; that, in all right, had he been a thoroughly honorable man and true knight, he would have given that secret out to all, that all might have contended on equal grounds; and that he ought not therefore to have won the Lady of Croye.

"The gentleman thought that Quentin was a modest and a young man, and that he was entirely blameless in 'taking the good the Gods provided;' and that in her loveliness he had a prize too exquisite to be hazarded in a sublimated question of perhaps suicidal generosity.

"And thus differing, it was agreed that, as an intellectual exercise, the young ladies should prepare Chapters in continuation, reversing Quentin's good fortune; and the gentleman furnished Chapters, establishing his brilliant destiny; and that these literary tasks should be exchanged by the tenth of January, which was done. They are now printed only for private circulation among friends, who, perhaps, may be amused or instructed by them."

Such was the curious origin of the volume; and the ingenuity with which the respective theories are maintained by the rival parties, is really interesting.

The little volume is from the Munsell Press and is very neatly printed.

6.—*Julius Caesar; Did he Cross the Channel? Reviewed.* By John Wainwright. London: John Russell Smith. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. i. xi, 9, 192.

The recent appearance, in England, of a small pamphlet, entitled *Julius Caesar, did he Cross the Channel?*, has excited some comment, inasmuch as its author removes the Morini of Caesar from off the coast of Kent to that of Norfolk, on the North Sea; and boldly maintains that Caesar never set foot at Boulogne nor Calais, and never crossed the Channel nor set eyes on Deal or Dover. That pamphlet was recently reviewed by Mr. Wainwright, in a series of letters addressed to the *Doncaster Gazette*; and these were replied to, by the original disputant, Rev. Mr. Surtees, in two or three letters, addressed to the same newspaper, and, subsequently, in a thin pamphlet of eighteen pages.

The volume before us is a rejoinder to the last-

mentioned pamphlet; and its purpose is declared to be "to elucidate and defend the position so long and so universally entertained by our best historians and most astute antiquaries and archæologists, in relation to Caesar's embarkation at a port of the Morini, South of the Schelde, and his disembarkation on the shore of Kent, against the errors of Mr. Surtees," the author of the opposite theory.

We have no inclination, nor have we the ability, to enter into all the details of this interesting discussion; but we may be allowed to enter our protest, as we do, against the indistinctness of the question at issue, as stated in this volume.

We really supposed, when we read the question, as stated herein, that Mr. Surtees had insisted that Caesar had never crossed from the mainland to Britain; and not until we had read several pages did we discover that such was not the case; that the contest is only concerning the places, respectively, of a mutually conceded embarkation and debarkation; and that, while Mr. Surtees denies that the conqueror crossed the Channel, he promptly admits that he crossed the North Sea—Britain, in either case, feeling the weight of his heel, either in Kent or in Norfolk.

Mr. Wainwright evidently perceives that the key of his position is the port of the conqueror's departure from the main-land; and his great struggle, therefore, is to establish his theory that the Morini were not seated near the Schelde, or Rhine, or Walcheren, as maintained by Mr. Surtees, but lower down the coast, between Dunkirk and Boulogne, as maintained by himself and those whom he follows. This point he very manfully defends; and if we had been less used to the emptiness of great names than we have been, we should have supposed that he had fully established himself, within it.

Having very cleverly made a case, on this branch of the subject, Mr. Wainwright proceeds to occupy still more advanced positions in the domain of his opponent; but we confess that we are not wholly satisfied, even with his *ex parte* argument, that he is right and Mr. Surtees wrong. Yet, we may be wrong; and he right.

Taken in connection with all its side issues, the main question is very elaborately discussed in this little volume; but our space does not admit of a more elaborate analysis of the relative positions occupied by the disputants, much less to examine the merits or the demerits of either.

The mechanical execution of this little volume is not at all creditable to King and Baird, of Philadelphia, who printed it; and their apology for their short-coming does not mend the matter. It is such a job as no master-printer, hereabouts, who cares anything for his reputation, would have allowed to leave his office.

The edition numbered three hundred copies.

7.—*Occasional Thoughts and Fancies*. By C. C. D. New York: 1869. Small quarto, pp. 84.

Our friend and namesake, Charles Carroll Dawson, Esq., sometimes varies his amusements by thinking and writing; and in this beautiful little volume, which he has caused to be "printed "for private use," we have the record of some occasional *Thoughts and Fancies*.

The opening, and longest, of the series is a poetical Address which was read at the closing of Brooklyn Evening School, No. 1., in December, 1855; and several shorter pieces follow, devoted, respectively, to personal friendship, to the family ties, to the memory of deceased friends, to the legend of St. Anthony, to the Church of which he was probably a member, to the social ties which bind him to his neighborhood and neighbors, to the cause of education, to the cause of his Country, etc.; and all of them are well-written and reflect the highest credit on the heart and head of the author as well as on his good taste and skill as a versifier.

There is evidently a train of sadness running through the entire series—even in his most cheerful moments, the excellent author never loses sight of the solid realities of life, as well as its cares, and anxieties, and sorrows—and he never allows himself to forget either his accountability to God, wherever he may be, or his duty to his fellow men.

The volume is very handsomely printed; and, in every respect, it is a pattern of neatness.

It is exclusively for private circulation.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

8.—*Jamastown of Pemaquid: a poem*. By Mrs. Maria W. Hackleton. Read on the site of Fort Frederic, on the reception of the Committee of the Maine Historical Society, by the citizens of Bristol, August 26, 1869. Published under the direction of the Society. New York: Hurd and Houghton. 1869. Small octavo, pp. 40.

During the past Summer, a Committee of the Maine Historical Society was appointed to examine and report on the remains, in the town of Bristol, of the ancient fortification at Pemaquid, the paved street, and indications of the original settlement connected therewith; and the occasion of the visit of the Committee to the site of the ancient settlement was marked on their calendars, by the inhabitants of the surrounding country, as "a red-letter day," of the greatest importance.

The Committee was greeted with a hearty welcome; and it conducted its investigations amid the collected crowds who then heard, many of them for the first time, the details of the early history of many of the localities among which they lived and daily moved.

This little volume records the welcome which was extended to the Committee; but it does not pretend to give the formal result of the Commit-

tee's investigations—that remains for future publication. It contains, however, a *Prefatory Note*, by Doctor Ballard, the Secretary of the Society, in which the narrative of the Committee's visit is given in a condensed form, and a *Historical Sketch* and a beautiful and very appropriate *Poem*, both by Mrs. Hackleton, which added so much to the pleasure of the visitors.

There is something so complete and elegant about the *Sketch* and *Poem* of Mrs. Hackleton, that we feel that the Committee and Society should have done *their* part to make this volume a more fitting memorial of the visit of the former to ancient Pemaquid. As it is, the result of the visit is still unknown; the "succinct narrative" which Professor Johnson, evidently prepared at the expense of much labor, is left only in the author's manuscript and the fleeting recollections of those who heard it, notwithstanding a copy was asked for, for publication; and the "addressees of "great practical interest," especially that of B. K. Sewall, Esq., of Wiscasset, are daily becoming less distinctly remembered and will very soon be forgotten. It is to be regretted, therefore, that what was evidently done so well, in all its parts, has not been recorded, with careful fidelity, in the same volume, for the benefit of those who shall come after us.

The little volume is from the Riverside Press, and is elegantly printed and neatly bound.

9.—*Minutes of the Forty-third Annual Meeting of the General Conference of the Congregational Churches in Maine: with the Sermon before the Maine Missionary Society, by Rev. Alfred E. Ives, of Castine, and the Report of the Trustees, at its Sixty-second Anniversary, held with the Hammond-street Congregational Church in Bangor, June 2 and 23, 1869. Portland: 1869. Octavo, pp. 112.*

Its elaborate title-page describes, both accurately and fully, the contents of this volume; and it only remains for us, therefore, to say that the materials were arranged for the Press by Deacon E. F. Duren, of Bangor, whose perfect fitness for the peculiar duties of Secretary of such a body cannot be disputed by any one who will run over these pages.

The arrangement of the ample supply of material is excellent, and may be taken as a model by Secretaries, generally: the typography, by Thurston of Portland, is exceedingly good.

10.—*The Collegiate Dutch Church*. Proceedings at the Centennial Anniversary of the Dedication of the North Dutch Church, May 25, 1869; and, also, at the laying of the corner-stone of the New Church, on Fifth Avenue, corner Forty-eighth street, on the same day. Published by order of the Consistory of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, in the city of New York. 1869. Octavo, pp. 74.

We are indebted to Rev. Talbot W. Chambers, D.D., for a copy of this very beautiful volume, recording the doings of the venerable Collegiate

Dutch Church—the remnant of those who dare be *Dutch* in the midst of a city where the spirit of the Dutch controls—in the celebration of the one hundredth birth-day of one of her Meeting-houses, and in the laying of the corner-stone of another which is now in progress.

The corner-stone of the North Dutch Church was laid in 1767; and the edifice was opened for worship on the twenty-fifth of May, 1769; and, on the Centennial Anniversary of its Dedication, that event was duly honored by appropriate services, the record of which is in this volume.

On this occasion, with the greatest propriety, the venerable Dominie DeWitt presided and delivered the opening *Address*, after which Dominie Chambers read the *Memorial Discourse*—a paper which indicated considerable research, a more than usual candor of statement, and an aptitude for historical writing which is as unusual as it is desirable.

Doctor Chambers opened bluntly, as he should, with the subject matter of his discourse. No flourish of rhetoric heralded the approach of his history; but the statement of the day, and date, and newspaper, in which appeared the original notice of the event which the Church had assembled to commemorate, appropriately opened the words of his *Memorial*.

A survey of the period when the structure was dedicated, follows—it was the same year in which Napoleon Bonaparte, Ney, and Soult, Wellington, Cuvier, and Humboldt, Sir Thomas Lawrence, Brunel, and the younger Watt, were born: it was the year when the elder Watt patented his condensing steam-engine, and Arkwright his spinning-jenny. Clement XIV. was Pope; Frederic was resting on his laurels; Joseph II. was the reigning Emperor of Germany; the Dauphin was not yet united to the beautiful, but ill-fated Maria Antoinette. Sir Henry Moore and Cadwallader Colden ruled New York: the illegitimate son of Benjamin Franklin was Governor of New Jersey.

The contest, concerning the use of the English language in the Churches, was next referred to, with the call of Dominie Laidlie; the rapid growth of the Churches; the necessary construction of new Meeting-houses; and the preparation for building the North Church, for the especial accommodation of the English-speaking worshippers.

The character of the Harpending legacy and the purpose of the testator next received attention; and then the preacher turned to the matter especially before him—the preliminary subscription, which was secured before even the plans were called for; the plans of Mr. Brestede; the laying of the corner-stone, on the second of July, 1767, by James Roosevelt, Esq.; the prosecution

of the work; the individual contribution of the ten pillars which support the Galleries, by prominent members of the Church; the apportionment of the pews, etc., successively receiving due attention; and the call of Dominie Livingston being particularly referred to.

The War of the Revolution was noticed; and, with unusual frankness, the fact that a Dutch Church, served by a Dutch Dominie, Garret Lydekker, existed in the city, during the whole period of that War, is particularly and minutely referred to—very much to the disgust, we doubt not, of many who would have every Dutchman to have been a refugee, no matter how disloyal it would have been, and every Dutch Meeting-house a bear-garden or a riding school.

The restoration of Peace and its results are noticed—the death of Dominie Laidlaw and the withdrawal from active duty of Dominies Ritzenma and DeRonde; the call of Dominies Linn and Kuypers; and the subsequent services of Dominies Abeel, Schureman, Brodhead, Milledollar, Strong, Knox, Brownlee—four of them very well remembered by us—were appropriately noticed. The Noon-day Prayer-meeting also received the speaker's attention; and the growing smallness of the stated congregation and the consequent provision for a new disposition of the property, were announced.

The entire discourse was appropriate, unusually accurate in its statements, and more than ordinarily minute in its terms.

In the afternoon of the same day, the corner-stone of a new edifice was laid by Dominie DeWitt; and Dominie Ludlow delivered an appropriate address.

In the evening, the old North Church was again filled to hear the closing services of the Centenary; when Addresses were delivered by Chancellor Ferris, Dominie Hutton, Professor Woodbridge, and Dominie Ludlow; and the celebration ended.

In all these services, and in all that the venerable Collegiate Church does, we rejoice to see, the *Dutch* are never forgotten; and we pray that she may be strengthened as she shall need strength, as long as she shall support, on her front, the manly recognition of those from whom she sprung, which she now boldly carries there.

The pamphlet is from the Aldine Press, and is a very handsome one.

11.—*Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the State Agricultural College of Michigan. 1869. Lansing: 1869. Octavo, pp. 37.*

A very neat pamphlet descriptive of the institution which Michigan has reared for the instruction of her rising generation of farmers. We hope it may prove as useful as it ought to be; yet we fear it will not, as the world goes.

12.—*Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society, Second Series*, Vol. I. 1867-1869. Newark, N. J.: 1869. Octavo, pp. iv, 188.

Prominent among the Historical Societies of the country, both in character and usefulness, is that of New Jersey; and it circulates some of the results of its labors in the semi-occasional volumes of *Collections* which it has issued and the more systematically issued volumes of *Proceedings*, of which the volume before us is the last issued.

In this volume, we find discussed the name of "Neversink;" together with a letter to George H. Moore by W. A. Whitehead, on "Staten Land and the Jersey boundary" and the reply of the former; divers Military Returns and Orders; a paper on the operation of the Stamp-act; remarks on the MS. Journals of the Commons of Great Britain, which are in the Society's Library; various epitaphs, from old Jersey grave-yards; the Notes on New Jersey, in 1776 or 1786—we don't know which*—of John Rutherford; an Address on the late James Parker, by Judge Field; a review of Doctor Hatfield's *History of Elizabeth*, by W. A. Whitehead, who may justly claim the honor of being the greatest scold in Newark; and certain letters of John Rutherford, on "The Commercial prospects of New Jersey, "during the Confederation."

The volume is creditable to the Society; and it entitles that body, notwithstanding the controlling cause which cripples it and impairs its usefulness, to more than it will probably receive and enjoy—the unqualified confidence of Jerseymen, everywhere.

The volume is printed only tolerably.

13.—*Journal of the Proceedings of the Bishops, Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, assembled in a General Convention, held in the City of New York, from Oct. 1th to Oct. 29th, inclusive, in the year of our Lord 1868. With an Appendix*. Hartford: Printed for the Convention. 1868. Octavo, pp. lxxi, 564.

Digest of the Canons for the Government of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. Passed and Adopted in the General Conventions of 1859, 1862, 1865, and 1868. Together with the Constitution. Printed for the Convention. 1868. Octavo, pp. 122.

Pastoral Letter of the House of Bishops to the Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. A.D. 1868. Hartford: 1868. Octavo, pp. 10.

We are indebted to the Secretary of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, Rev. William Stevens Perry, D.D., for this series of the records and documents of the last General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the United States; and we have pleasure in calling the attention of such of our readers as are interested in it, to its well-printed pages.

14.—*A Memorial of the Semi-Centennial Celebration of the founding of the First Presbyterian Church, Utica, N. Y.* Utica, N. Y.: Ellis H. Roberts. 1867. Octavo, pp. 2, 8.

We notice this volume, although not of recent publication, in order that it may be brought to the attention of our readers, as a local history of unusual interest.

It is a very neat volume, containing the reminiscences of various old settlers of Utica, each telling his own story, in his own way, rather than a systematic narrative of the establishment and progress of Sunday Schools in Utica; and it consequently contains very much that relates to the actions and purposes of individuals, as well as to the localities, the popular ideas, and the struggles for existence, of a by-gone age.

15.—*The Publications of the Prince Society*. Established May 26th, 1858. The Andros Tracts. Volume Second. Boston: Printed for the Society. 1869. Small quarto, pp. xxxvi, 846.

We noticed, some months since, the first volume of this series of *Andros Tracts*; and we considered it to be our duty, at that time, to point out sundry omissions therefrom, which should not have appeared in such a work, prepared for the Press by so excellent an Editor, in so well-supplied a city as Boston; and we find in this volume, no reason for changing the views which we then expressed, both concerning the evident imperfections of that portion of the collection which was then presented, and what might have been the reason for omitting papers of the very highest importance to students of the subject to which the volume professed to be devoted.

If the Prince Society really occupies the place of a partizan, whose great purpose is to establish a theory, no matter how baseless in fact nor how unjust in its effect, and if that purpose is to be carried out by the suppression of some of the facts with which it professes to deal and by the re-setting of some others, it has done well, as such a partizan, engaged in such an undertaking, and in the use of such means, in the issue of what it has been pleased to term *The Andros Tracts*. But, as one of the oldest members of that Society, we do not understand that to have been its particular object; nor do we conceive that, under any circumstances, whether partizan or otherwise, it has any right to treat the materials for history which it undertakes to handle and employ, as it has treated the materials concerning Andros and his administration of the Government of New-England, in the two expensive volumes which it has published and which are now before us.

Andros may have been a bad man and a worse Governor; but his memory, and the cause of Truth, and the demands of genuine History, alike require that he shall not be made to appear

* Compare pages 79 and 89. Ed. His. Mag.

worse than he really was, by such means as this Society has employed, nor by any others.

As a Royal Governor, he was necessarily controlled by the written Instructions of the Home Government, whose servant he was; and to that extent, at least, the Government was responsible and not he. Why, then, were not those Instructions admitted into this Collection, which would have enabled those who employ it, to understand the entire case, properly, and to judge for themselves, wherein and to what extent Andros was individually blameworthy, and to what extent and wherein the Government, whose servant he was and whose Instructions were the secret power by which his action was controlled, is to be held accountable?

Again, the not altogether lovely disposition of "the Governed," in New-England, about that time, is an element which this Society should have ventilated while it was engaged on Andros and his times; and it would have probably done so, if the partizan character of the Society had been less manifest than it has been. But that does not seem to be the temper of "Boston," as that body makes itself known to the rural districts of Massachusetts and to those of us who are not of that ancient Commonwealth.

This "Boston," as our readers know, is not the aggregate of that venerable Municipality which is impatiently huddled around Beacon-hill and joyfully pushes its way into the Back-bay, in the absence of any better place to which it can go; but, comparatively, an insignificant number of pretentious men, generally of what assume to be "the first families" of the city, although very seldom of the most ancient and honorable of the number: men who forget the short-comings of their own ancestors in their zeal to talk about the assumed virtues of the ancestors of those who make no such pretensions: men whose successful want of integrity, in one occupation, no longer pestered with their presence, has been too often transferred, with themselves, to another profession, which has not yet gotten rid of either. These, by aggregating what are assumed to have been the virtues of the community, both in ancient and in modern times, are enabled, without challenge from any one, to claim a share in that to which, if considered apart from the aggregated community and on their own merits, they could lay no claim whatever, even to the very smallest amount.

Thus "Boston" has an idea that it is improper, in any one, to look into the records of other days, if the effect of it is to impair the standing of any of the heroes or of the saints which it has invented; and it seems to suppose, too, that it possesses an unquestionable license, whenever it shall please to do so, to add such testimony of its own invention as it shall need, to make its

case, *ex parte*, and as much of it, too, as shall be necessary to establish that case before the world. In imitation of those of their neighbors who assume to exercise that rather questionable franchise, the managers of the Prince Society have ventured to issue two expensive volumes of "The Andros Tracts"—not a selection of them—from which they have diligently excluded everything which would possibly tend to illustrate "the other side," either of the assumed tyranny of Sir Edmund or the concealed lawlessness of the Colonists of Massachusetts; exactly as the history of Slavery, and of Nullification, and of attempted Secession, within the borders and with the hearty approval of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, have been studiously concealed, in these our days, by her historical writers, both by the suppression of ugly truths which would tell against their present pretensions to superiority, and by the invention and circulation of more palatable falsehoods, which may serve to promote them.

As materials for history—very largely nothing more than that which, in another form we had already on our book-shelves—these volumes, *as far as they go*, are very well; but, *for the cost of them*, the members of the Club should have had what was promised—"The Andros Tracts"—without abridgement, or mutilation, or omission, whether "Boston" was pleased or displeased, whether Sir Edmund was or was not a rigid Executive among a lawless and unprincipled community, whether the invented reputation, for superior godliness, of the predecessors of "Boston" was or was not damaged, by that publication. As it is, these volumes serve chiefly to provide, in more elegant form, but without affording any essential service to close and honest students of the history of the Andros Administration, a portion of the "Tracts" referred to, and those of the class which are the least important to those who are seeking a knowledge of the exact truth of the subject.

Typographically considered, these volumes are very handsome, as they should be, at seven dollars per volume.

16.—*Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society, Volume II. The Battle of Long Island: with preceding and subsequent events.* Brooklyn, N. Y.: Published by the Society. 1869 Octavo, pp. xi, 549. Price \$5.

Among the Historical Societies of our country, we know no one which has done as much, and, generally, as well, within as short a time, as the Long Island Society; and, as excellent testimony on that subject, we need do little more than direct our readers' attention to its well-stocked and well-selected library, to its well-invested Permanent and Publication Funds, and to the two volumes of *Memoirs* which, as an earnest of

others yet to come, it has sent out into the world.

In the elegant volume before us, we have what the sub-title rather clumsily tells us is *The Battle of Long Island; with connected preceding events, and the subsequent American retreat. Introductory Narrative by Thomas W. Field. With authentic documents*; by which we suppose is meant, a series of papers, documentary and narrative in form, inedited and selected, concerning the military operations on Long Island, in the Summer of 1776; with an introductory narrative of those operations, by our diligent friend, Thomas W. Field, and divers pictorial illustrations, more or less important and less or more accurate in their form.

Of the *Papers* referred to, there are very few which were unknown, before the issue of this volume, to every one who has pretended to know anything of the subject to which they relate—Duer's *Life of Stirling*, Force's *American Archives*, *The Journals and Documents of the New York Provincial Congress*, Sparks's *Letters of Washington*, Onderdonk's *Queen's County, Pennsylvania Historical Society's Bulletin*, *Chambersburg in the Colony and the Revolution*, Lushington's *Life of Lord Harris*, *The Naval Chronicle*, Max von Eelking's *Die Deutschen Hülfsruppen in Nordamerikanischen Befreiungskriege, 1776 bis 1783*, Knight's *Pictorial History of England*, Stedman's *History*, Sir William Howe's *Narrative*, *The Detail and Conduct of the American War*, Abraham Leggett's *Narrative*, Stiles's *Ancient Windsor*, Williams's *Life of Olney*, and Headley's *Chaplains and Clergy of the Revolution*, from which by far the greater portion have been extracted, being in print and readily accessible to every body; while the manuscript Diary of President Stiles and the brief narratives of two nameless authors, published, respectively, in the *Vermont Chronicle* and in a volume printed in 1830, furnish, alone, that portion which is less accessible—the great mass of highly important correspondence and other material, which the papers of that day, here and in Europe, afford so liberally and so usefully to the diligent student, having been wholly neglected; and private family papers, readily accessible to the Society, as entirely disregarded as if none such existed.

As these papers constitute the text of the volume, and as we had been led to suppose that unusual attention had been paid to the collection of unpublished material, especially on Long Island, we confess that we are disappointed in the reality which has been actually presented by the work itself. It is not as useful as we supposed it would be. It is well-enough as far as it goes; but it does not go far enough, as the publication of a Historical Society. Business publishers

have reason, very often, to make their publications less complete than they should be; but a Historical Society, as such, with ample means, both literary and financial, and with an already provided remunerative patronage to sustain it, should afford no ground for such a censure. It should exhaust its subjects, as far as it can do so, whenever it undertakes to discuss them; and it should never content itself with a mere compilation of masses of papers and narratives, *each entirely independent of the others*, copied from published volumes which are readily accessible to every one, in every well-appointed library, either public or private, at the expense of other, equally important, but less accessible.

We may, also, express a doubt as to the usefulness, in such a work as this, of mere narratives of events, written in our own day, by those who were not present when they occurred and whose information is either derived from no unusual source or presented in a language different from that employed by those on whom they depend. Thus, Mr. Headley's and Mrs. Williams's, Mr. Lushington's, Mr. Knight's, and Mr. von Eelking's narratives afford to the reader only the private understanding of the matter which those writers respectively entertain; while even Stedman's, notwithstanding its high character, is hardly fit for re-publication by a Historical Society, among the original authorities concerning a battle at which its author does not pretend to have been present.

The *Introductory Narrative*, by Mr. Field, is very elaborate and very circumstantial.

Commencing with a survey of the original settlement of Long Island, at either extremity, by antagonistic peoples, Mr. Field hurries forward to the disaffection to the Crown which was manifested in 1774, the subsequent strife of parties on the island, the occupation of its western extremity by the Royal troops, the battle and defeat, and the flight of the insurgents, closing with a Chapter on the capture and death of General Woodhull.

It would be unjust to treat Mr. Field, in this connection, as we would treat, therein, a professional writer; and we shall consider less unfavorably, therefore, than we should have done, some defects which we have noticed in his pages. Thus, we shall not protest as strongly as we might, against the publication of such a narrative as this without an exhibition of the authorities on which it is based, at the foot of the pages; he may inform us that the Declaration of Independence was signed on the fourth of July, 1776, as he does on page 127, without more than a passing shake of our head; and his failure to account for the successful movement of the Royal troops, on the American left, as conclusively as he might have done, shall be quietly disregarded.

With commendable candor and fidelity, and with great minuteness, Mr. Field narrates and condemns the outrages which were inflicted on the loyal inhabitants of Long Island, by the Ben. Butler of that day, the notorious Charles Lee; and in doing so, he not unfrequently displays his sense of the ungracious task which is too often imposed on the historical writers of to-day, of considering every loyal man of that period as unworthy of respect, and every insurgent to have been a patriot and a saint. He tells, too, of the sturdy fidelity to their King and Government, even under the most adverse circumstances, of the loyal inhabitants of Queen's-county; and he evidently recognizes the strangeness of the contrast between the sentiments of that time and those at the present, concerning the duty of the citizen to the Government to which he legally owes obedience.

He notices, also, with great precision and, apparently, great caution, the partizan strife which was produced by these raids of the insurgents on the loyalists of Long Island—those measures, which were adopted by those who were not in revolt, either for their own defence or as retaliatory for injuries which they had sustained from others. He very elaborately discourses on the occupation of Long Island by the Royal Army, without, however, being entirely successful in preventing obscurity in some portions of the narrative; and, not unfrequently at the expence of precision, and sometimes overlooking very important facts, he fights the Battle of Long Island over again, much as it was originally fought by those of whom he writes—without a proper understanding of either the positions, or the movements, or the strength of the assailants, or the secret wickedness of him who commanded the Americans, or the weakness, if not the criminal stupidity, of those who, too often, were the subordinates in command. He tells us, too, of the noble daring of those gallant men—the “Mac-caronis,” of Maryland, and the “Blue-hen's,” of Delaware—who so nobly resisted the progress of the Royal troops, at Gowanus, and who, notwithstanding they had lost more than one-half their number, would not give way until their General ordered them to do so: he does *not* tell us, however, of the miserable cowardice of those Connecticut troops, who had been sent to guard the Jamaica Pass, but, with due regard for their own safety, who had slept at the *western* extremity of it and knew nothing of the presence of an enemy, until the latter emerged from the Pass and was the agreeable witness of the terror which his presence produced in the ranks of those to whom had been entrusted the defence of that all-important position.

Mr. Field dignifies with the name of a “Siege,” the dilatoriness of the Royal troops, after the Battle; and he very minutely describes the retreat of the shattered remains of the American Army, when they abandoned Brooklyn and were concentrated in New York.

As a whole, notwithstanding the merits of Mr. Field's paper, this volume, as we have said, disappoints us; and we see no reason for supposing, even with this volume before us, that the Battle of Long Island has been historically exhausted. Typographically considered, this volume reflects credit on Joel Munsell, by whom it was printed.

17.—*Franklin Society Publications, I. The Printer*: Read before the Franklin Society of the City of Chicago, by James W. Sheahan, October 27, 1869. Chicago: Published by the Franklin Society. 1869. Quarto, pp. 20.

The Franklin Society is composed of persons directly connected with the business of printing, editing, or publishing of books or newspapers, the manufacture of paper, printing presses, or printing-ink, type-founding, and its branches, engraving, book-binding, and kindred trades connected with typography. It proposes to issue a series of tracts, upon subjects connected with the different crafts represented in the organization; and the beautiful tract before us is the first of the number.

In this paper, Mr. Sheahan undertook to say “what a Printer ought to be and what he “might be if he would”; and in a short, pithy address, of strong, practical words, he conveyed to his hearers many plain truths which are just as applicable to all others as to Printers, and quite as useful in Morrisania as in Chicago. There is nothing very profound in them; but they are sensible, easily understood, and perfectly adapted to the end for which they were spoken.

As we said, this tract is very handsome; but the paper is too large for a convenient preservation of it, without mutilation.

C.—PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

18.—*Journal of the Council of Censors of the State of Vermont, at its several Sessions held in Montpelier, 1869*. Published by order of Council. Montpelier: 1869. Octavo, pp. 107.

In a recent number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, we noticed the periodical organization of this Council, in Vermont, for the purpose of ascertaining if the Constitution of that State had been invaded by any of its officers, and if so, what remedy should be provided, and to advise such alterations of the Constitution, as it should see fit, to the People, for its Ratification or rejection. We alluded, also, to the recent Session

of the Council of Censors and to the action of that body, concerning the existing Constitution; and the Documents which it had then printed were only noticed.

In the volume before us, we have the Journal of the Council, complete; and we invite the attention to it of all who are interested in the Constitutional history of the Republic.

19.—*Florida: its climate, soil, and productions, with a sketch of its history, natural features, and social condition, a manual of reliable information concerning the resources of the State and the inducements to immigrants. Prepared officially by Hon. J. S. Adams, Commissioner of Immigration for the State of Florida. Jacksonville: Edred M. Cheney, State Printer, 1869. Octavo, pp. iv, 161.*

The Southern States are striving to induce emigrants to seek homes in that portion of the Union; and several of the States have appointed Commissioners especially charged with the duty of presenting their respective claims to the world. Florida is one of these; and in the volume before us we have a copy of the descriptive pamphlet in which her Commissioner has presented reliable information concerning the situation, history, political condition, and system of Government, social condition, climate, soil, productions, etc., of that State. In all these, there is no appearance of exaggeration; but the statements are moderate in their tone and well-sustained, by, apparently, the best evidence.

As a local, relating to Florida, this volume is highly important; and libraries and collectors will do well to obtain copies.

20.—*Provincial Papers. Documents and Records relating to the Province of New Hampshire, from 1603 to 1793: being Part II. of papers relating to that period, containing the "Journal of the Council and General Assembly." Published by authority of the Legislature of New Hampshire. Volume III. Compiled and edited by Nathaniel Bouton, D.D., Corresponding Secretary of the New Hampshire Historical Society. Manchester: John B. Clarke, State Printer. 1869. Octavo, pp. viii, 863.*

We have heretofore referred to this work and condemned the system in which it is edited: we return to the subject, with this volume before us, with more pleasure, since it seems to have been prepared with more respect for the originals—at any rate, the Corresponding Secretary of a History Society has discontinued his ignorant sneers at those who desire to read the ancient papers of New Hampshire, her records as well as her documents, in all their peculiarities of punctuation, spelling, and capitals, without the impertinent interference of an Editor's ignorance, or prejudice, or interests, recklessly set in motion, in defiance of all good precedents and all common sense.

We have no means of knowing how far Doctor Bouton has altered the important Journals which he has re-produced in this volume; al-

though it is evident that he has done so, to some considerable extent: it is to be regretted that his mulish obstinacy forbids him from changing the course which, in his self sufficiency, he originally marked out for himself, notwithstanding the examples he had before him, to the contrary, in the published Journals of Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, New Haven, New York, Pennsylvania, etc.

We regret to perceive, also, "the Editor has not deemed it necessary or expedient to publish, entire," the *first* Journal of the Assembly of the State, even while publishing the Records of that period, simply because "it is very meagre and incomplete." We need no better evidence than this, of the entire want of capacity, as an Editor of such papers, of Doctor Bouton, and our regret that he has been called to such a position.

The volume is very neatly printed; and the edition numbered eight hundred copies.

21.—*Roll of Honor. (No. XXI.) Names of Soldiers who died in defence of the American Union, interred in the National Cemeteries at Memphis, Tennessee, and Chalmette, (near New Orleans,) Louisiana. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1869. Octavo, pp. 408.*

Roll of Honor. (No. XXIII.) Names of Soldiers who died in defence of the American Union, interred in the National Cemeteries at Marietta, Ga.; Fort Donelson, Tenn.; Chattanooga, Tenn.; (Additional to XI.) Marreesboro, Tenn.; (Additional to No. XI.) and Knoxville, Tenn., (Additional to No. XI.) Washington: Government Printing Office. 1869. Octavo, pp. 328.

We have so often referred to this series of Reports that we need do no more, in this case, than to state that, in the first of these volumes, twenty-three thousand and sixteen, and, in the last, sixteen thousand, six hundred, and seventy-five, burials are recorded, with the name, in each case, wherever known, of the soldier, the Regiment and Company of which he was a member, the day of his death, the place of his original interment, and the Section of the Cemetery and number of the Grave which he now occupies.

Numbers XX and XXII are not yet ready.

C.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

22.—*The Pictorial Field-book of the War of 1812; or, Illustrations, by pen and pencil, of the history, biography, scenery, relics, and traditions of the last War of Independence. By Benson J. Lossing. With several hundred engravings on wood, by Lossing and Barritt, chiefly from original sketches by the author. New York: Harper & Bros. 1863, pp. title-page and verso, 1084.*

We are indebted to our long-time friend, the widely-known author of this volume, for a copy of it; but we have not much pleasure in calling attention to it.

Our readers are generally acquainted with the *Pictorial Field-book of the Revolution*, by the same author; and, to many of them, are also

known, in all their fullness, the merits of that well-known work as well as the defects which so sadly mar its many beauties. The peculiar plan of its construction—combining the narrative of a modern tourist with that of a devoted antiquary and historian—and its many wood-cuts, offered unusual attractions to the dry narrative of the events of the War, as they had been previously presented; and many were thereby attracted to it who, but for these novel inducements, would not have looked at it.

The *Field-book* before us, however, is nearly a complete abandonment of this new process; and it restores the ordinary chronological arrangement of the narrative to the position from which the former *Field-book* so completely and agreeably hurled it—it is a chronologically arranged History of the War of 1812; and the pictorial garnishing of the dish is all of the *Field-book* peculiarity which we can see in it.

Mr. Lossing, in the volume before us, carries his readers back to the evacuation of New York by the British, in 1783—indeed, he also gives them a taste of the opening of the Revolution; and, in doing so, we are sorry to say that, in our judgment, he too often sacrifices his fidelity as a historian for the sake of rhetorical effect. Thus, in the very opening paragraph of the work, he writes: "When the War of Independence had just been kindled, the statesmen and sages of that hour decreed the dismemberment of a mighty empire and the establishment of a nation of freemen in the New World,"—a statement which Mr. Lossing must know has no foundation in fact; on the contrary, those "statesmen and sages," both at "that hour" and long afterwards, steadily asserted their loyalty to their legal Sovereign and as steadily disclaimed an intention, even the least, to strike for their independence from the Mother Country. Indeed, so well-read a student as Mr. Lossing, must have read their emphatic disclaimers and the unmistakable evidence of their good faith in making them, dozens of times; and we need not further enlarge on it, except to wonder that he possibly penned such a paragraph, as that which we have quoted.

Mr. Lossing tells us, also, that, "their rebellion instantly assumed the dignity of a Revolution," and commanded the respect and sympathy of the civilized nations; while the fact was that even the insurgents themselves steadily disclaimed all idea of "a Revolution" from the beginning until July, 1776; and it required more than another year—nearly three years from the beginning of the War—before the first of "the civilized nations," referred to by Mr. Lossing, could be induced to face the inevitable war which would ensue, should it recognize the new-born Republic, notwithstanding a

division of the power of what had always been a natural enemy of France, which such a recognition might possibly promote, formed a much greater inducement for her to do so than all others combined—certainly greater than any love, in that country, for the insurgents or for the great political principles which they asserted.

The American Revolution was the necessary result of a peculiar policy in the Home Government; and the Colonists were as unwillingly pushed into it, by the controlling power of a superintending Providence, as was the Home Government. It was of slow growth, too, and not the work of an hour; and it is yet an unsolved question if the insurgents of 1775 acted wisely, either in what they undertook to do or what they really did—indeed there are many who openly declare that the Revolution in America has been productive of more mischief than good, both to the inhabitants of the States and to the world, generally.

Mr. Lossing next introduces those uneasy spirits through whose busy ambition the United States were kept in hot-water, as far as Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and their respective co-agitators were able to keep the water at boiling heat; and he tells us of their reverential thankfulness to God and of their prescience concerning the evil which was in store for their country.

The party to which Mr. Lossing refers may have been the very devout individuals which he describes; but we have never seen any evidence of it—we have seen, however, and we can show, the evidence that those gentlemen, to a man, reprobated the great doctrine of the manhood of man, *per se*; that they opposed the general right of the governed to govern themselves; and that the British Constitution, in all its leading features, was the form of Government for the United States which they altogether preferred. They were the veriest toadies of monarchy, *provided they filled the offices*; and their representatives, to day, are just like them; and the commonalty, then and now, was as dust under their feet and unworthy of the least consideration from them, *except as payers of taxes*.

Mr. Lossing next unaccountably repeats the oft-told balderdash concerning the apocryphal Confederation which has been, too often, the theme of such historians as preceded him. The United States, he tells us, "had not formed a Nation and thereby created a power to be respected"; notwithstanding John Quincy Adams tells us,—we will not say how untruly,—in his *Jubilee Discourse*, that such a Nation was formed when the Declaration of Independence was signed.

Mr. Lossing says, truly, when he says "they had not formed a Nation"; but he does not speak truly when he says that, either for that

reason or any other, they were not "respected" abroad and prosperous at home, during the six years, from 1783 to 1789. We think we, too, have a reputation to lose; and we are willing to venture it on this very subject. We say, therefore,—and we challenge Mr. Lossing to disprove it—that during the six years from the Spring of 1783, when the Treaty of Peace was signed with Great Britain, until the Spring of 1789, the United States enjoyed a more enviable position, in their commercial relations with the nations of Europe, than they did during the next succeeding six years, under Washington's administration; that their prosperity, at home, taking into consideration the relative position of the industry of the country, at the suspension of hostilities, in the beginning of the first term and the prosperity, secured by the preceding six years of Peace, with which the second term was opened, was vastly in favor of the former; and that the morals of the inhabitants and respect for the laws of the land were sensibly worse during the first six years under the Constitution than they had been during the preceding six years, under the Confederation, before that instrument was adopted. If Mr. Lossing had not presented, at second hand, what he might have more safely looked for in the original authorities he, too, would have seen the blindness of his dissolute guides and become, himself, a more trustworthy guide than he now can pretend to be. We speak understandingly on this subject; and when we see such really honest men as Mr. Lossing, even when they profess to write as historians, reproduce only the vile falsehoods of unprincipled monarchical partizans, we sometimes wonder if the Almighty has not permitted our countrymen to be thus misled, in order that they may the more readily become the willing victims of the scourges with which he will, hereafter, punish the pride and dishonesty of our countrymen.

Mr. Lossing next examines, in detail, what he considers the causes of what he considers to have been the nothingness of the Confederation. Unlike Mr. Adams, as we have said, he supposes, very correctly, "that our fathers had not formed 'a Nation on the return of Peace; and in that fact,' he also supposes, 'was the inherent weakness of their Government and the spring of all the hopes of the royalists for their speedy return to colonial supremacy'—as it has, ever since, been 'the spring of the hopes' of every tory, notwithstanding the 'establishment' of the Constitution 'between' the States, which Mr. Lossing seems to suppose has remedied the 'weakness' which he has invented. He makes *The Articles of Confederation*, very properly, 'the organic law of the great American League of independent Commonwealths'; and

he staggers around the terms of the Treaty of Peace which was made by the King with *each State* by name, and satisfies himself with the shabby excuse that the several States "were held to be, *on the part of the English*, independent republics, as they had been Colonies independent of each other"—without even appearing to know, certainly without stating, that "*the English*" were not the only party to that Treaty whose ideas concerning its peculiar phraseology were considered, when that Treaty was drawn up and executed; and without seeming to know, too, that *the Treaties with France, and that with Holland, and that with Sweden*,—all made before that with Great Britain—were made with the same parties, on our side, in the same terms, and in no other. And pray, Mr. Lossing, in what other terms could that Treaty have possibly been made, with the least propriety? One party was merely "a League of independent Commonwealths"—your own description of it—in what terms then could that party have been more properly described, in the Treaty, than by naming, separately, each of the several "independent Commonwealths" of which that League was composed?

But Mr. Lossing intensifies his unaccountable obscurity, as a historian, by adding a foot-note to his curious remarks on the terms of the Treaty; and that foot-note is devoted to an elaborate exposition of its author's views on "*supreme State Sovereignty*."

Pray, Mr. Lossing, how many kinds of State Sovereignty are there, as you understand the subject? and what kind of "Sovereignty" is that, whether "State" or otherwise, which is not "supreme"? Will you be kind enough, also, in your next edition, to tell us just what you understand by the term "State" and what by the term "Sovereignty," in order that we may know just how much you differ from Vattel, and Montesquieu, and Bodin, and Fortescue, and Grotius, and Sidney; and just how nearly you are in line with Salmasius, and Sir Robert Filmer, and John Wesley, and Samuel Johnson, and Joseph Galloway, and James Rivington?

Now, Mr. Lossing knows full well—if he does not, let him ask the first country Squire whom he meets—that the technical term, "State," is the exact equivalent of the technical term "People," and that the technical term "Sovereignty" finds an exact equivalent in the words "the original right to command and to employ"; and he knows, therefore, that what he pleases to term "the mischievous political doctrine," is nothing more nor less than the doctrine of "the original" not delegated] "right of the People to command" [those who are within its own territory] "and to employ," [under the right of domain] the property which they may

possess—certainly not a very “mischievous” doctrine among Republicans, in a *Republic*; but emphatically so, in the hands of real Republicans, in a *despotism*; and particularly so—and hence the terror which it inspires in some parts of the United States—when it is employed by genuine Republicans, as a reminder to those public officers of their own creation, who have disregarded and overridden the laws of the land and undertaken to play the tyrant, as far as their ignorance and their sense of security have enabled those officers to do so. Mr. Lossing seems inclined to take his position on the part of the absolutists: he will not step on our toes while he thus amuses himself.

Mr. Lossing next relates the effort which was made by the Congress of the United States, to obtain the consent of the several States that it, the Congress, might levy certain specified taxes, “the revenue therefrom to be applied “solely to the payment of the interest and “principal of the public debt”; and he narrates, also, the want of success in the application, without telling just why it was unsuccessful—how fairly, on his part, the reader may judge. He then terms that unsuccessful attempt to secure to itself the *delegation* to it, by the several States, of certain specified authority, for certain specified purposes, during a certain specified term, as an “important effort of the “Congress to assume the functions of Sovereignty”!! Comment on this is wholly unnecessary. Either Mr. Lossing uses these important words without understanding their real meaning—which we do not believe—or without exercising that caution in the use of terms which is the first requisite of every careful historian, especially when treating of such momentous subjects as this, and in a period of ill-regulated excitement. Congress, in all this was, and only assumed to be, what John Adams termed, “the “agent” of the several States from whom it sought authority to do what, before and without that authority, it could not pretend to do, either as “agent” or otherwise. This was seeking what Mr. Lossing termed, when defining “sovereignty,” (page 20, note) “no superior,” with a vengeance.

If Mr. Lossing will take the trouble to turn to the British *Statutes at large*—he can find them in the Astor Library—he will see just how untrue he has written, on pages 21 and 23, the history of the commercial relations between the United States and Great Britain, between 1783 and 1789. It is well, sometimes, to be quite sure of the value of one's authorities before undertaking to write *history*: when writing *romance* one needs take less trouble.

Mr. Lossing next refers to what he pleases to term the weakness of the Confederacy, an idea

which he has entertained because of the formation of the new State of Franklin, where Tennessee now is, on the western side of the Mountains; of the outrages committed by Connecticut men, under the authority of Connecticut, in the valley of Wyoming, in Pennsylvania; of the attempt to organize a State, in the Massachusetts District of Maine; of the Exeter mob, in New-Hampshire; and of the Shays Rebellion in Massachusetts—as if any of these had the least earthly connection with *Federal* affairs or were suppressed either by Federal bayonets or Federal influence.

Now Mr. Lossing thus writes history: the inhabitants of Western North Carolina, under the Confederation, sought to establish, and did establish, for their own convenience, the State of Franklin; and he has made that fact do duty as evidence of what he is pleased to consider the weakness of the Federal Congress, under that Confederation: he has not been pleased, however, to attribute to any weakness in “the new “system,” under the Constitution, the renewed attempt to do the same thing, which the same community made, years afterwards, when the State of Tennessee was organized. How impartially Mr. Lossing has thus either swiftly condemned or silently acquiesced in these respective movements, one a parallel of the other, and how faithfully he has referred to the matter, in his *History*, or how necessarily, in such a connection, others can say as well as we: they can say, too, we imagine, how little the Federal authorities had to do with the internal affairs of North Carolina, at that time; and, in the days when the fathers were in authority, how little the latter interfered with what did not legally concern them.

But Connecticut squatted on Pennsylvania and impudently claimed property and jurisdiction, there, before the Constitution was established between the States; and Mr. Lossing sees in that fact a historical mare's-nest, indicative of weakness in the Confederation: both Connecticut and Massachusetts did the same in New York, after that event, yet Mr. Lossing has seen nothing in the latter event to warrant a judgment concerning either the weakness or the stability of the new system. Who, except Mr. Lossing, would have supposed that, in either of these circumstances, there is evidence of any defects in the *Federal* Constitution; or, who, except that gentleman, would have contrived to find, in the one case, and not in the other, any evidence whatever of the weakness of the *Federal* Constitution, whatever it may, against that of the *State* authorities? Who, except Mr. Lossing, too, would have looked into the record of either of those outrages, in which the Federal authorities were not concerned a whit, for evidence of either the strength or the weakness of the Congress?

He sees, too, in the *earlier and unsuccessful* movements of the inhabitants of the District of Maine, for the establishment of its independence from Massachusetts, a certain evidence of the insufficiency of the Confederation, although that body had no concern in the matter and made it none of its business; yet, the *more recent and successful* attempts of the same people, to establish the same separation, have not been seen by Mr. Lossing as evidence of the insufficiency of the existing Constitution—he does not seem to have heard, either, of the unsuccessful revolt of the Eastern District of New York, during the supremacy of what we know as the Confederacy, nor of the success of the same insurgents, in their subsequent operations, after the new Constitution had been established; and as for the case of West Virginia, wherein the Federal Constitution was openly and flagrantly violated by the Federal authorities, he has either never heard of it or has not seen in it the least appearance of weakness in the existing system, unless—as we are not willing to believe—his pen was stayed in its holy work of bearing testimony to the Truth, because of the injury which it might do to the temper or the reputation of a dominant political party.

The Exeter mob, in New Hampshire, too, is pressed into Mr. Lossing's questionable service, notwithstanding there was no *Federal* question involved and no *Federal* interposition to suppress it; and the Shays insurrection, in Massachusetts, was an exactly similar case.

Our readers will judge how fit such a pen as Mr. Lossing's is to write *History*, when such a series of misrepresentations as these are among its staple productions: that it is well-suited for the line of *Romance* no one will dispute. But the end is not yet.

On page 24, Mr. Lossing says, "the exhaustion of the people was great on account of the War; and poverty was wide-spread. The farmer found no remunerative market for his produce; and domestic manufactures were depressed by foreign competition. Debt weighed down all classes; and made them feel that the burden which the tax-gatherer would lay upon them would be the 'feather' which would 'break the camel's back.' There was doubt, and confusion, and perplexity, on every side, and the very air seemed thick with forebodings of evil. Society appeared to be about to dissolve into its original elements." Mr. Lossing should have told his readers, too, that in the midst of all this gloom—if it really existed; which we deny—so willing were the people of that day to remain in their distress, that the People of Rhode Island, by a formal vote at the polls, rejected the proposed change, declining even to send Delegates to the Convention and, by

nearly an unanimous vote, rejecting the new Constitution, after it had been framed; that the People of Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, and North Carolina, at the polls, voted squarely against any change whatever, and sent Delegates to their respective Conventions who were pledged to reject the proposed "new system"; that New York, during that pretended period of gloom and distress, had paid off her debts and had paid more than had been asked of her, into the Federal Treasury; and that the Constitution was established and a change secured, not because of the "thick forebodings of evil," but by the purchase, in the market, of Delegates whose constituents were thus betrayed, by those who had other ends to serve than the public good. What fools those people must have been, in this State, for instance, who, outside of the City of New York and its immediate neighborhood, so far preferred to remain in misery that they sent unbroken Delegations, wholly pledged to resist every change in the existing frame of Government; while Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Elbridge Gerry, George Clinton, Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, Edmund Randolph, and others not less noteworthy and upright, must have been as dishonest as they were unwise, when they so resolutely resisted the establishment of "the new plan" of Government, which the Constitution inaugurated.

Mr. Lossing speaks of the Annapolis Convention as a "failure." Why has he not told his readers, what he must know to be the truth, that it was, on the contrary, a fraud; that, after the fashion of Tammany-hall, the meeting was organized and almost instantly adjourned, in order to prevent the Delegates who were then on their way and very near the town, from discharging the particular duties for the performance of which they had been sent to Annapolis, and to secure more surely the nice little game which Alexander Hamilton, Egbert Benson, and their friends had, beforehand, determined to play.

Mr. Lossing says, too, that the Philadelphia Convention of 1787, "was convened for the purpose of establishing the validity and power of the Declaration of Independence, by dissolving the inefficient political League of the States, and constituting the inhabitants of all the States one great and indissoluble NATION." All this, Mr. Lossing must know, is wholly untrue. Instead of being convened for the purpose of "dissolving" "the League of friendship" which then existed, it was convened merely to amend the existing *Articles of Confederation*. Instead of repealing those *Articles of Confederation*—the pretended act of repeal Mr. Lossing has never yet seen and never will see—those *Articles*, wherein they have not been superseded, are, to-day, the organic law of the Republic and alone

furnish the names of the Republic and the bond of union between the States: they furnish, also, the only existing constitutional enactment disallowing a dissolution of the Union. So far was this Convention from transforming the Republic into a Nation, as Mr. Lossing must know, even the Admiralty Courts of the United States, to-day, regard each *State* as a distinct nation: the Supreme Court, to-day, knows no Common Law, because we have no national unity; and the stripes and the stars of our Federal colors know no more blending of colors, to-day, than when they first floated over an American bottom, on the seas, in the early days of the Confederation.

Mr. Lossing knows, too, that the Convention of 1787—the same which framed the Federal Constitution—expressly, by a formal vote, erased the word “national” from every part of the proposed Constitution; and substituted therefor such words as none but a willing partizan can interpret into even an apology for nationality.

Mr. Lossing says, on page 28, “Randolph suggested the chief business of the Convention in his proposition ‘that a NATIONAL Government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme Legislature, Executive, and Judiciary.’ Upon this broad proposition all future action was based.”

It would have been well if Mr. Lossing had told his readers that the word “national” nowhere appears in the Constitution which that Convention framed nor in any Amendment which was made to it, during the first succeeding fifty years; and it would have been more creditable to his fidelity as a historian, if he had read to them, from the *Journal of the Convention* itself, just what that body did in the premises, and just what it did not, after the obnoxious word had been introduced by Mr. Randolph and some other of the members. We will read it for him: On the nineteenth of June, Mr. Gorham, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, reported a series of Resolutions, the first three of which read thus:

“1. *Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this Committee that a *National Government* ought to be established, consisting of a supreme legislative, judiciary, and executive.

“2. *Resolved*, That the *National Legislature* ought to consist of two branches.

“3. *Resolved*, That the members of the first branch of the *National Legislature* ought to be elected by the people of the several States, for the term of three years; to receive fixed stipends, by which they may be compensated for the devotion of their time to public service, to be paid out of the *National treasury*; to be ineligible to any office established by a particular State, or under the authority of the United States, (except those peculiarly belonging to the func-

tions of the first branch,) during the term of service, and under the *National Government*, for the space of one year after its expiration.”

The *Journal of the Convention*, under date of “Wednesday, June 20, 1787”—the day after the presentation of these Resolutions—says “It was moved by Mr. Ellsworth, seconded by Mr. Gorham, to amend the first Resolution reported by the Committee of the whole House, so as to read as follows, namely:—‘*Resolved*, That the Government of the United States ought to consist of a supreme legislative, judiciary, and executive.’ On the question to agree to the amendment, it passed unanimously in the affirmative.”—*Journal of the Convention, June 20, 1787*.

Mr. Madison, in his *Debates in the Federal Convention*, thus refers to this action of the Convention: “WEDNESDAY, June 20, * * *

“Mr. Ellsworth, seconded by Mr. Gorham, moves to alter it, so as to run ‘that the Government of the United States ought to consist of a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary.’ ‘This alteration,’ he said, ‘would drop the word ‘National,’ and retain the proper title, ‘the United States.’ He could not admit the doctrine that a breach of any of the Federal Articles could dissolve the whole. It would be highly dangerous not to consider the Confederation as still subsisting. He wished, also, the plan of the Convention to go forth as an Amendment of the Articles of the Confederation, since, under this idea, the authority of the Legislatures could ratify it. * * * “The motion of Mr. Ellsworth was acquiesced in, nem. con.

“The second Resolution, ‘That the *National Legislature* ought to consist of two branches,’ being taken up, the word ‘*National*’ was struck out, as of course.”—*Debates, Wednesday, June 20—Elliot’s Debates, v. 214*.

This was the first blow which Mr. Lossing’s *National Government* received from those whose blows were fatal whenever they fell: it was, however, not the last.

On the following day, the Convention adopted the second Resolution, shorn down, because of Mr. Ellsworth’s Resolution, to the following terms: “*Resolved*, That the Legislature consist of two branches,”—thus sending “the *National Legislature*” of the Committee and Mr. Lossing to grief, a second time; and when it shall be known that the vote was seven States in the affirmative, three States in the negative, and one State divided, the significance of the action will be understood.—*Journal, June 21, 1787*.

On the same day, the first Clause of the third Resolution, as originally reported by the Committee was passed, because of Mr. Ellsworth’s

motion, in this modified form: "*Resolved*, That 'the members of the first branch of the *Legislature* ought to be elected,' etc.—thus imposing on the scheme of the Committee and on Mr. Lossing's invention a third blow which was not less fatal to the idea of "*nationality*" than the others.—*Journal*, June 21, 1787.

On the twenty-third of June, "it was moved 'and seconded to strike the words '*National Government*' out of the third Resolution, 'which passed in the affirmative,' only Pennsylvania and Georgia being in the negative, while Massachusetts was divided.—*Journal*, June 23, 1787.

We need say no more concerning Mr. Lossing's "*history*" of this matter.

Mr. Lossing fails to tell his readers, too, that a majority of the Delegates to the Convention did not vote for the new Constitution, even in the Convention which framed it; that the signatures of the Delegates were appended merely *as witnesses and not as approving it*; and that two of the thirteen States—New York and Rhode Island—were not legally represented when it was adopted by the Convention, and did not vote on the question.

Mr. Lossing says "the Convention, by a carefully worded Resolution, recommended the Congress to lay the new Constitution before 'the people (not the States) and ask them, the source of all sovereignty, to ratify or reject it.'" Will Mr. Lossing, in his next edition, tell his readers just what difference, there is, either in fact or in law, between "The People," to whom that Constitution was referred, and "the States," to which, he says, it was *not* thus referred? He knows full well that the "People" of each State—which, in both law and fact, is the "State" itself—was invited to receive or reject the new Constitution; that each "State" thus acted, regardless of the action of her sister States; and that, until each independent State had fully consented, for herself, the Constitution had no binding effect whatever on her or her members—indeed, Washington was confessedly inaugurated President of eleven States only; and little Rhode Island was no more bound, nor considered to be bound, by the consent of the other eleven States than she would have been by the action of twelve negroes in Virginia, while robbing their master's henroost.

We have thus followed Mr. Lossing through his first Chapter—a Chapter, too, which has as little to do with "The War of 1812" as it has with the Spanish Armada. We have intimated, if we have not asserted, that, in our judgment, Mr. Lossing has not written it with that regard for the truth which is the first requisite of every historian; that we conceive that the truth has been too often suppressed; and that we believe the untruth has been too often asserted. We

have seen, too, what we conceive to be the evidence that Mr. Lossing has examined the authorities only for the establishment of a preconceived theory; that his narrative has been written wholly in the spirit of a partizan, for the support of the policy of a controlling political party, and in defiance of the authorities on which historians delight to lean: in sad disregard, too, of his reputation as a faithful historian.

We regret that we have seen these evidences of what we conceive to be the infidelity to the truth of history, of one who, during very many years, has commanded our warmest respect as an author and our deep attachment as a friend; and we shall be very glad to correct our own misgivings and errors, if we have made any, at any time and to any extent, whenever our good friend shall enable us to do so. Indeed, we shall be most grateful to him if he will disprove, in our own pages or elsewhere, what we conceive to be his errors and our truths, on the exceedingly important subjects on which we have condemned him; and we earnestly assure him that we shall consider it no hardship to retire from any position, which we now occupy, if it is not perfectly well-founded, both on the Law and the Testimony.

We shall return to this volume, in our next issue.

28—*The Polar World*: a popular description of Man and Nature in the Arctic and Antarctic regions of the Globe. By Dr. G. Hartwig. With additional Chapters and one hundred and sixty-three illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 496. Price.

The object of this work is to describe the Polar World in its principal natural features; to point out the influence of its long winter-night and fleeting Summer on the development of vegetable and animal existence; and, finally, to picture man waging the battle of life against the dreadful climate of the high latitudes of the earth, either as the inhabitant of their gloomy solitudes or as the bold investigator of their mysteries.

Two Chapters have been added, in this edition, for which Doctor Hartwig is not accountable; and the vast resources of the Harpers have been conscripted by the American Editor of the work, for the purpose of more appropriately illustrating it. The result is, that one of the most interesting, and certainly one of the most beautiful, volumes in the Trade, has been produced; and the subject of which it treats is as important as its dress is handsome.

In the range of his inquiries, the Author and Editor have embraced the land and the sea; the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms; Iceland, Norway, Spitzbergen, Nova Zembla, the Lapps, the Samoides, the Ostiaks, the Jacuts, the Tungusi, Kamchatka, Alaska, the Esquimaux,

the Crees, the Tinnés, Newfoundland, Greenland, the Antarctic Ocean, Patagonia, the Fuegians, etc.; and the various Arctic navigators, from Cabot to Hall, receive careful attention.

From this survey of the range of subjects discussed in this work, its value to the general reader will be apparent; yet we cannot clearly convey, in so brief a notice as we are compelled to make of it, a clear idea of how much this volume has pleased us.

24.—*Epistola Rev. P. Gabriellæ Dreuillette, Societatis Jesu Presbyteri, ad Dominum Illustrissimum, Dominum Joannem Winthrop, Scutarium, Neo-Eboraci in insula Manhattan: Typis Cramoisiæ Joannis-Marie Shea. M.DCCC.LX.IX.* Octavo, large paper and small, pp. 14.

This trifle, from the Winthrop Papers, possesses no particular value beyond that of a historical curiosity and as a supplement to the Journal of Father Dreuillette, written while on his pacific Mission from the French to New England, the latter of which has been issued, privately, by Mr. Lenox, and, in his Cramoisy Series, by Mr. Shea.

There is, however, a romance attached to its issue from the press which few others possess. The poor creature is a waif, deserted by its god-father and other kindred, and cast on the world, *accidentally*, by a luckless printer, who supposed he was doing, while printing it, what he really was not.

It is neatly printed; and being uniform with Mr. Shea's series and bearing his imprint, although without his authority and knowledge, it will finally find a resting-place with that collection, and cease to be known as a fatherless vagabond, in the literary world.

25.—*The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico.* By W. W. H. Davis, A. M. Doylestown, Pa.: 1899. Octavo. pp. 433.

The author of this volume went to New Mexico, in 1853, to fill an official station under the Federal Government; and, with a true spirit, he entered on a survey of the hitherto unknown history of that distant country. There were no published volumes, on that subject, to be had at Santa Fe; nor was any one there who was capable of satisfying the cravings of the enquirer. He resolved, therefore, to investigate the subject; and his investigations led him, necessarily, into the Secretary's office, in that ancient city. The musty bundles of papers, mostly in Spanish, were untied and their contents studied; fragments of ancient journals, also in manuscript, were consulted; and, subsequently, the printed volumes which throw light on the subject were also faithfully ransacked—a new and important contribution to the history of our country being the result.

The volume opens with the departure from

Spain, in 1537, of the ill-fated expedition of Narvaez; and that is followed with a narrative of what befel it; of the wanderings of Cabeza de Vaca; of the information which Guzman obtained of the country of Cibola, or New Mexico, and his attempt to explore it; of the explorations of Niza, in 1539, in search of the same region; of the expedition in 1541–8, under Coronado, to subjugate the country; of the adventures of the friar, Ruiz, in 1581, and of Espejo, in 1582; of the attempt to colonize the country, under Juan de Oñate, in 1591, and the succession of Indian revolts during the succeeding ninety years; of the great rebellion of 1680, and the subsequent contest to re-establish the authority of Spain; and, of the final success of the latter and the restoration of Peace.

The greater portion of all this material is comparatively unknown; and the issue of this volume will open to the great body of the reading public, matter which is as interesting as a romance while it is also vested with all the charms of truthful History.

We perceive that the Author manfully assails the premises, occupied by standard writers, which he conceives to be historically untenable; and we have been delighted at the sight of that intelligent boldness with which he has vindicated what he conceives to be the truth of history, against all comers—not, indeed, opposing everybody, on all subjects, at all times; but, in many cases, by calmly but resolutely presenting his views, adverse to those of his predecessors, with his reasons for dissenting and those for the establishment of his own conclusions.

The volume is a very neat one; and we respectfully invite the attention of our readers to it, both as a "local" and as a narrative of the Spanish dominion in America, evidently of great value and importance.

26.—*A History of the city of Brooklyn.* Including the old town and village of Brooklyn, the town of Bushwick, and the village and city of Williamsburgh. By Henry R. Stiles. Vol. II. Brooklyn, N. Y.: Published by Subscription. 1899. Octavo, pp. 500. Price \$5.00.

Some months since, we noticed the appearance of the first volume of this work; and we have pleasure in greeting the issue of the second.

It is a minute record, in the form of annals, of the progress of Brooklyn, from 1812, before the date of her incorporation as a legally-organized Village, until her re-organization, by consolidation with her neighbors, as the third city in the Union. In all its parts, the respect of this work for details is especially notable; and the author, Doctor Stiles, has faithfully earned the gratitude of all of Brooklyn which is to come, by his unwearied diligence in searching for material and by the good judgment which he has

displayed in preserving all that he has thus been able to find of the Past of the young city in which he lives.

It is well printed and illustrated, as may be supposed from its origin in the office of Joel Munsell, who seldom turns out a shabby volume; and we hope that those for whose gratification the work was written, will liberally reward the wearied author.

A third volume is yet to come, which, while it will improve the quality of the work, will, also, we fear, make it less likely to be profitable.

11.—*Haydn's Dictionary of Dates*, relating to all Ages and Nations. For universal reference. Edited by Benjamin Vincent: and revised for the use of American readers. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 641.

This is one of those volumes which are made for use rather than for show; and one of the very few which are better than they seem to be.

It is not merely a "Dictionary of Dates," as may be supposed from its title-page, but a synopsis of history, on almost all conceivable subjects, the dates certainly receiving due, although not exclusive attention; and the Editor has properly described the result of his labors, when he says his "aim has been, throughout, to make "this book not a mere Dictionary of Dates, but "a dated Encyclopædia, a digested summary of "every department of human industry, brought "down to the very eve of publication."

The enterprising and experienced publishers of the American edition have added to the value of the original, by employing a party of Americans, each an adept in some particular department of knowledge, to add such new matter as will make it more useful to readers in this country. It is, therefore, in its new form, an exceedingly valuable work for reference: indeed, it is almost indispensable, on the desk of a professional man; while the office of the intelligent merchant and the tables of those who read to receive instruction, should every where be furnished with it.

Notwithstanding the smallness of the type employed, it is perfectly legible, even to those, who, like ourself, begin to experience the decay of their sight.

12.—*Bible Animals*; being a description of every living creature mentioned in the Scriptures, from the Ape to the Coral. By Rev. J. G. Wood, M. A. F. L. S., etc. With one hundred new designs by W. F. Key, T. W. Wood, and E. A. Smith, engraved by G. Pearson. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. xxxi, 652. Price \$3.

The words of the title-page clearly describe the character of the contents of this beautiful volume. It is an elaborate description of the various animals referred to in the Bible; together with an exposition, in many cases, of the bibli-

cal use of words, connected with the several animals, in its comparisons and figurative sentences.

It is evidently the result of a careful and intelligent study, not only of the terms of the Bible and its use of particular words, but of the character and habits of the various animals of which it treats, and their associations, in the polity of the Jews and other ancient peoples; and very few volumes will be found, which, either to the student or the teacher, will be more generally useful.

It is from the Alvord Press; and is especially noticeable because of the perfection of its wood-cut printing, although the text, too, is very well printed.

13.—*The Military and Civil History of the County of Essex, New York*; and a General Survey of its Physical Geography, its Mines and Minerals, and Industrial Pursuits, embracing An Account of the Northern Wilderness; and, also, the Military Annals of the Fortresses of Crown Point and Ticonderoga. By Winslow C. Watson. Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsell. 1869. Octavo, pp. viii, 504.

There are few "local histories" which are as important as that of Essex-county must necessarily be; and it is pleasing, therefore, to know that such an one as is generally due to that importance, has been carried through the Press and is now before the world.

In the volume before us, we have a very thorough history of the Northern Wilderness, in all its parts; from the earliest period to the present time. It embraces less family history than is usual in such works, since there have been few families there, except those of Gilliland and John Brown, which have been prominent enough, before the world, to require any such distinction; but the stirring events which attended the conflict for supremacy in America, of England or France; the equally stirring events of the War of the Revolution; the settlement and development of the vast mineral wealth of that region; the part taken by the inhabitants in the recent War of Secession; the products of the Country—animal, mineral, and vegetable;—and its industrial pursuits, have all received the most careful, if not the most intelligent, handling, in this volume.

It is indeed true that the Author has not kept up with the age, in all the details of his *history*; and he has not seemed to realize the stern reality, that, in historical knowledge quite as much as in nature, "the world moves." He has been content, therefore, to re-assert the oft-told stories of Ticonderoga and the Green-mountain-boys, of Arnold's short-comings, of Nathan Bemen's exploits, etc., as if they were true; and, like another Robinson Crusoe, when the latter withdrew to the security of his solitary fastness, he has closed his explorations in the mazes of Vermont's history, by withdrawing behind Slade, and Governor Hall, and Zadoc Thompson; pulled

after him the ladder on which he climbed into his homely shelter; and bade the outside world an affectionate "Good-night"—he has seen all that need be known on the subject, he supposes; and, consequently, "the student of history will obtain all the elucidation this subject will ever probably receive," he says, by consulting the conclusions of those estimable, but seriously mistaken, gentlemen.

The volume is fairly printed, by Mr. Munsell, of Albany.

30.—*Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States.* By Henry Lee. A new edition, with revisions and Biography of the Author, by Robert E. Lee. New York: University Publishing Co. 1899. Octavo, pp. 620.

The great value of Major Lee's *Memoirs* is known to our readers; and we need not, therefore, enlarge on it. It has appeared, already, in two editions, and had become scarce; and the demand for the work, with such improvements as the present age requires, is no uncertain venture.

The *Biography* is quite extended, and such an one as a son might be expected to write concerning a father; but it is scarcely as full, in the matters connected with the public career of General Henry Lee, as we should have desired. In all that relates to the private life and character of his subject, however, the author has been more generous; and the correspondence between the General and his son, Carter, and Joseph Reed, is peculiarly interesting.

The *Memoirs* are said to have been revised, but we have no means of judging wherein those changes have been made: we are glad to perceive that Maps have been introduced to illustrate the subjects treated on; and we regret that the Notes which the distinguished Editor could have added, criticising the movements of the Armies of the Revolution, over the well-trodden fields of the South, have not been added to the original text of the volume.

There is no doubt that the name of the Editor will afford a passport to this volume, into thousands of families throughout the South; and we shall be glad to learn that so useful a work has been duly appreciated by those into whose hands it shall fall.

The volume is tolerably well printed; but the paper should have been of a better quality, in such a work as this.

31.—*Rambles about Portsmouth. Second Series.* Sketches of persons, localities, and incidents of two centuries; principally from tradition and unpublished documents. By Charles W. Brewster. With a biographical sketch of the author, by Wm. H. Y. Hackett. Portsmouth, N. H.: Lewis W. Brewster, 1899. Octavo, pp. 375.

The first volume of the *Rambles about Portsmouth* is not a volume which is unknown to

historical students; nor is its value unrecognized. The second volume of the series, therefore, will not be silently received; nor will the interesting character of its contents be unnoticed by those to whom they are useful.

These *Rambles* relate almost exclusively to Portsmouth and its vicinity; to men and families, thereabouts; and to incidents which occurred there, years ago; and, for this reason, while the papers very often throw light, incidentally, on subjects of general interest, they are more local in their character than otherwise.

The style in which they are written is easy and graceful, such as a practised pen like Mr. Brewster's may well be supposed to have employed; and, without the coldness of formal history, they contain just enough of the appearance of an old man's fireside talk, to give life to the subjects to which they relate.

The biography of the author, by his life-long friend, Mr. Hackett, is a graceful tribute to the memory of a worthy man, who, while he was evidently a plain working-man—one of the wheel-horses of the editorial team of New Hampshire—was one whose good judgment, and uprightness of character, and simplicity of habits, and love of home, and carelessness of empty honors, made him more conspicuous and more influential among the best men of the country than a more showy exterior and more unstable pen could have possibly secured for him.

32.—*Old Testament Shadows of New Testament Truths.* By Lyman Abbott. With Designs by Doré, Delaroche, and Parsons. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 218. Price \$3.50.

The Old Testament is more full of parables, although in a different form, than the New. Its history is prophetic. Its stories are parables in real life. The Chronicles of Israel are full of God's foreshadowings of the redemption of the world. From the Fall, in Eden, to the restoration of the Jews, under Ezra, there are, all along the way, finger-posts that point to the Cross of Christ. Their inscriptions are sometimes so plain that the wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err therein. They are sometimes so obscured that the heedless traveller does not notice them. These finger-posts the author seeks to decipher, these parables to interpret, in the volume before us.

The magnitude of the undertaking will be apparent. The great underlying truths which these parables were intended to introduce, in advance of their full recognition, are the very corner-stones of our faith and the foundations of our hope. They are clear, certain, unmistakable: they teach lessons which the world

either too frequently fails to learn or too quickly fails to remember.

The volume before us presents the Cities of the Plain, the Water in the Wilderness, Eliezer's Prayer, Joseph's Staff, the Great Deliverance, the Great Question, the Riven Rock, the fiery Serpents and the Brazen, the benevolence of Boaz, the forlorn hope of Israel, the price of Ambition, Samson, Elisha's vision, and the Queen's Crown, as the series most worthy of our attention: we are not sure, however, that the selection might not have been improved, even for the purposes of this volume. The Flood, for instance, and the Covenant with Abraham, and the Scapegoat, and the noiseless building of the Temple, and the office of the High-Priest, and many others, it seems to us, are Old Testament Parables of so much greater significance than some of those which Mr. Abbott has selected, that we wonder that he has not noticed them.

Typographically, this is a volume of great beauty. Its ample pages, and clear type, and exquisite wood-cuts—perfect gems, in many instances—and very neat binding, will compare favorably with those of more pretentious volumes; and they certainly render this a most acceptable Gift-book, for this season of gifts.

32.—*History of the Church in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.* By K. R. Hagenbach, D.D. Translated from the last German Edition, with Additions, by Rev. John F. Hurst, D.D. In two volumes. New York: O. Scribner & Co.: 1869. Octavo, pp. (I) xii, 504; (II) vi, 487. Price \$6.

The author of this work is what is called Evangelical in his belief; of the school of Tholuck, Julius Müller, Dörner, and Richard Rothe, and of those who aim "at the reconciliation of reason and revelation, science and faith." How much real, vital, old-fashioned, Bible Religion there is in the man and in his aims and efforts, we leave to others for determination.

In the volume before us, we have what their author considers a history of THE CHURCH, from 1700 until now—not, as we should understand, by that term, a history of an isolated body of Christians, meeting in some specified locality, for worship, after the pattern laid down in the Bible, and fearing to infringe on the terms of that supreme rule of faith and practice, either by addition or diminution; but, as he seems to understand it, the aggregate of those various National Establishments, in Germany and elsewhere, which are the creatures of man's laws rather than of God's, the sycophants of man's power rather than the humble and willing followers of Christ and his precepts, and the formal professors of what, in

their daily practice, they specially and constantly belittle and condemn. "The Church," in these volumes, means everything; and it also means nothing. It means the French Establishment; it means the German Establishment; it means the Swiss Establishment; it means the Prussian Establishment; it embraces, at once, as fit subjects for its notice, the Protestants and Catholics, the Lutherans and the Reformed, the Camisards and the Salzburgers, the Pietists and the Separatists, the Moravians and the Swedenborgians, the Methodists and the "Anabaptists," Rationalism and Supernaturalism, Idealism and Pestalozzianism, Pantheism and Pseudo-orthodoxy, the Romantics and the school of Schleiermacher and De Wette: it does *not* mean either the humble Dissenters on the Continent nor those in Great Britain: it does *not* mean any thing in America, where nothing is established; it does *not* mean any particular class, anywhere, as distinguished from the great mass, everywhere.

In all this, while we are not less an admirer of that wonderful industry in research which distinguishes this, as well as nearly all that comes from German scholarship, we cannot read with approbation, as a "History of THE Church," what must, necessarily, be any thing else than such a History. It lacks that precision of subject which should distinguish every historian from the horde of Essayists, which surround him; why, then, should we suppose its author had confidence in himself, and why should we have confidence in him? He evidently gropes in the dark, now taking one sect as "the Church" and now another: he passes by one Continent, entirely—not even alluding to it, except once, incidentally—as if "the Church in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" was unknown there: he either does not know, or knowing forgets to tell, just what a Christian Church is, anywhere; and while he seems to recognize the creative power of legislative enactments and Royal Dispensations, as legitimate Church-making elements; he entirely insults and condemns, by insulting and condemning those whose existence does not run back to a Statute or an Edict—those who recognize only as authoritative, in such matters, "the Voluntary Principle"—among whom he has seen and honored with especial malignity, the persecuted "Anabaptists" of the Continent and the despised and insulted "Methodists" of Great Britain. Under these circumstances, what dependence, as a historian of "the Church," is Hagenbach entitled to? What and where situated does he consider "the Church?" Does or does not he suppose that America has been a stranger to "the Church," during the past one hundred and seventy years?

If yea, why should we respect him, or his judgment, or scholarship, as a historian: if nay, why should we overlook his entire omission of that portion of his subject, from so carefully-prepared a "History" of it?

The work is well printed; but we confess that we do not admire the condensed letter in which it has been "set up"; notwithstanding that is in keeping with the narrow, contracted view of his subject in which the author has written it.

34.—*The German Colony and Lutheran Church in Maine.* An Address delivered before the Historical Society of the Lutheran Church at its meeting in Washington, D.C., May 14th, 1899. Published by request of the Society. Gettysburg: 1899. Octavo, pp. 24.

More than a hundred and thirty years ago, in some unknown manner and for some now hidden purpose, a few German emigrants settled in what is now Waldoborough, in Maine; and, in 1740, they were strengthened by the arrival of large accessions from Fatherland. Hardships, both those of Peace and those of War, peeled the settlement and discouraged the settlers; yet, in 1751, another party arrived from Germany to make the settlement its home. Others followed, allured by liberal promises which were never fulfilled; and imposition, and barefaced frauds, and bloodshed, continued to be the lot of this band of simple-hearted, honest foreigners, until the Peace of 1783 and its attendant changes worked for their permanent relief.

Of course, a Church was an early object of the attention of this people; and in that humble structure of logs, we doubt not, the Father of us all was worshipped as acceptably, to say the least of it, as he was in Boston or New York. The vicissitudes of the little Church, however, were as remarkable as those of the settlement where it was seated; and dissipated Pastors and the employment of a strange tongue, the German, gradually accomplished its destruction.

In 1850, the Church ceased to exist; and the remnants of the settlement, intermingled with the great body of those surrounding it, can no longer be distinguished, as it moves down the current of time, a component part of that great State of Maine, which so honorably stands as an outpost of the Union, on the borders of Royalty.

In this tract, Doctor Pohlman, of Albany, has sketched the history of this Settlement and Church; and we have read it with the greatest interest. It is not very minute; but we doubt if it can be made more so, in view of the scarcity of materials concerning the history of so humble and sincere a people as this was;

and, for that reason, we accept it as a most valuable contribution, not only to the history of the Lutheran Church in America, but to that of the State of Maine and to that of Waldoborough, where it was located.

35.—*Bound to John Company; or, the adventures and misadventures of Robert Ainsleigh.* With illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1899. Octavo, pp. 169. Price 75 cents.

This is another of that series of first-rate Novels which the Harpers are throwing before the public at nominal prices; leaving no excuse for the use of the trashy and flashy stuff which everywhere stares us in the face.

It is handsomely-printed and well illustrated.

36.—*Directory of Booksellers, Stationers, Newsdealers, and Music-dealers in the United States and Canada. Complete to September 1st, 1899.* New York: John H. Dingman. 1899. Octavo, pp. lx, 7—\$18.

Our excellent friend, Mr. Dingman, who occupies a responsible post in the heavy publishing-house of Charles Scribner & Co., has done a good service to the Trade by issuing this very complete list of those who are in it, in all its branches, in every part of the country. Its value is increased by the addition of an Appendix containing the English and American Copy-right Laws, a schedule of Stamp Duties, and the Postal Regulations and Rates, both foreign and domestic.

To the Trade and to all having dealings with those who make and vend books, this handbook is a necessity; and we are glad to believe that the enterprise of an excellent young man, seeking to help himself through the world, will not be unrewarded.

37.—*Wild Sports of the World: a book of Natural History and Adventure.* By James Greenwood. With one hundred and forty-seven illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 474.

The title-page of this volume accurately describes its character—it is not a mere book of hair-breadth escapes and doubtful adventures; but one in which the character and habits of the wild-beasts of the world are carefully described, with merely incidental allusions to adventures, as illustrations of the narrative. It is, therefore, less open to objection, as a volume for the young, than many others; and, as such, it should be more widely circulated.

The illustrations are appropriate and well-executed; and, as a whole, the volume is a very neat one.

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New Series, Vol. VII.

No. II.

THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE,

AND

NOTES AND QUERIES

CONCERNING

The Antiquities, History, and Biography

OF

AMERICA.

February, 1870.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.:

HENRY B. DAWSON.

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OUR SUBSCRIBERS IN MAINE will be gratified with the information that in our next number we shall print, entire, the very extended *Bibliography of the State of Maine*, prefaced with a historical sketch of the literature of that State, which was the last historical work of the late Hon. WILLIAM WILLIS, by whom it was written expressly for THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, and completed only a few days before his decease. That work will be followed, in the April number, by an elaborate article—particularly interesting to the Eastport people—entitled *Moose Island and its dependencies, four years under Martial Law*, which we have received from the venerable historian of the Loyalists, Hon. LORENZO SABINE, of Boston; the May number will contain a series of unpublished documents, illustrative of the early history of Machias, communicated by J. WINGATE THORNTON, Esq., of Boston; and we hope, in the June number, to present an article from our own pen, *Maine and the War of Secession*, in which we shall present the honorable record of her services and sacrifices, in that extended struggle, with considerable particularity.

Besides these, we have secured and shall present several shorter articles, illustrative of Maine's history, by Father Vetromile, of Eastport, Samuel P. Benson Esq., and Doctor Ballard, of Brunswick, Hon. John A. Poor, of Portland, Hon. James Williamson, of Belfast; etc.

OUR MARYLAND SUBSCRIBERS will find in this number, the beginning of a series of *The Papers of General Samuel Smith*, which will embrace material of the greatest historical importance, especially concerning the defence of Baltimore in 1814. These will be followed by other unpublished papers, from various sources and of unusual interest to every Marylander, among which is a *Bibliography of Maryland*—the most perfect paper of that class of works which we have yet seen—the latter of which will appear in our April number, and be continued until completed.

OUR READERS GENERALLY, will be pleased to learn, also, that we have in hand, preparing for speedy publication, the unpublished papers of Generals JOHN SULLIVAN, JOHN GLOVER, WILLIAM HULL, WILLIAM J. WORTH, HUGH BRADY, etc.; and that we have, in hand, also, ready for the press, a great variety of original papers, by the most accomplished writers of history, in their respective departments, which the country has yet produced.

THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. VII. SECOND SERIES.]

FEBRUARY, 1870.

[No. 2.

I.—THE PAPERS OF GENERAL SAMUEL SMITH.

I.—THE GENERAL'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.*

[1] † He was born in Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, on the twenty-seventh day of July, 1752. His grand-father, of the same name, was left in independent circumstances, by his father, Hugh Smith, an Englishman; but, in 1721, some years after the death of the latter, he emigrated from Ireland, the country of his birth, to America, and settled in Lancaster-county, Pennsylvania. He purchased land there, made an establishment, and sent for his wife and his son John, then six years of age. The maiden name of this lady was *Sidney Gamble*.‡

John Smith married Mary, the daughter of Robert Buchanan, who, with Samuel Smith, filled the place of High Sheriff of Lancaster-county, during twenty years. General Smith was the eldest offspring of this marriage. John Smith received, from his father, a mill and plantation, which he sold; and he removed to Carlisle then a frontier town. He had [2] built the first house

in that beautiful borough; and there he commenced business as a merchant; and was very successful. His house was the head-quarters of General Stanwix, after Baddock's defeat. He was elected, for a series of years, to the Legislature of Pennsylvania. The General was sent to the Latin school of the Rev. Mr. Duffield; and had made some progress in that language, when, in 1760, his father removed to Baltimore. He took with him a capital of forty thousand dollars, and began business as a merchant. His arrival, with that of his brothers-in-law, William Buchanan and William Smith, with Mr. Starrett and Mr. William Speare, who were all men of capital, gave the first impulse to the commerce of Baltimore. It was then a small town, having not more than eighteen or twenty houses, West of Jones's Falls.

The General's father was elected, with J. T. Chase, as members from Baltimore, to the Convention for framing the Constitution of the State Government, [3] in 1776; and he afterwards represented the City, for several years, in the House of Delegates.

There being, at the time, no school in Baltimore, the General was sent to an excellent Academy at Little Elk, afterwards removed to New-ark, where he remained about two years, when he was called home, to a school established in Baltimore. He continued at this school, until he was more than fourteen years of age; and he had learned much of the Latin and some of the Greek Classics. He has always complained that the frequent change of schools had prevented his education from being so good as it ought to have been. From the schools, he was placed in his father's counting-house, where he remained until he had passed the age of nineteen.

In May, 1770, he embarked in a ship of his father's, placed under his control, laden with flour, for account of the French Government, and bound for Havre de Grace. This ship, with her cargo, was ordered to London, and from thence to Bristol. Here she discharged and was then [4] chartered by him to take a cargo from Falmouth to Venice.

The intention of his father was that he should

* These original papers were sent to us, several years since, by the late General J. SPRAKE SMITH, of Baltimore, a son of the distinguished defender of Fort Mifflin and, then, the honored President of the Maryland Historical Society, for our use in a projected *Military History of the United States*, for which we were collecting materials.

We shall continue the publication of these papers, in successive numbers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE; and we promise our readers much pleasure in the enjoyment of the new light which these will throw on our country's military history, from the Battle of Long Island, in 1776, to the successful defence of Baltimore, in the War of 1812.

Other unpublished family papers will follow this series, which will sometimes serve to indicate why THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has so often dissented from its contemporaries on matters of history.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

† The figures, enclosed in brackets, which are scattered through this article, refer to the pages of the original manuscripts.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

‡ The legend in the family, for the name of *Sidney* to a female, is this. During the Wars of William of Orange, in Ireland, a wounded British officer, Captain Sidney, was taken into the residence of Miss Gamble's father, and there nursed until he recovered. Whilst under their roof, she was born. His gentle and resigned conduct had so endeared him to the family, that, in memorial of the event and of their affection for him, they gave her the baptismal name of *Sidney*. It is still in the family.—General J. SPRAKE SMITH, in 1867.

be placed in the counting-house of his correspondent in London. He, however, believed that he would derive no benefit from that plan; and he embarked in the ship, on her voyage to Venice. The passage was short. A pilot was taken on board, in sight of the City, who ran the ship ashore. The shock unshipped the rudder; and, after getting off the ground, she became unmanageable, and was filling fast with water. The lives of all were saved, being able to land from the boats on the island of Matomoco. From thence, after three days, they were permitted to go to Venice, where he remained eight months, during the Carnival. Thence he proceeded to Rome, and witnessed the last two weeks of the Carnival there, during which the theatres were opened. He spent a month in Rome, daily engaged in visiting all the public buildings of note. From Rome he proceeded to Leghorn, Pisa, Genoa, Nice, and Marseilles, staying a sufficient time [5] at each place, for his purposes. From Marseilles he went to Barcelona; and thence though Valencia, Alicante, Grenada, and Malaga, to Gibraltar. Here he remained three weeks, and was treated with great attention by General Elliott, by whom an Officer was directed to show him all the works of that stupendous fortification. He continued his travels to Cadiz; and thence, through Seville, Badajoz, and Elvas, to Lisbon. Here he staid two months; and, at the invitation of Captain Bennett, embarked on the *Alborough*, sloop-of-war; and after a tempestuous passage, in the month of January, arrived at Plymouth. On his reaching London he was informed that his father had taken him into partnership. He visited a great part of England; purchased goods for the new concern; and sailed for America, in the *St. George*, accompanied by Major André. They arrived in Philadelphia, on the day the first Congress met—the fourth day of September, 1774.

He continued, until January, 1776, successfully employed in commerce. He had joined a Company of young gentlemen, under Captain Gist; * was soon made a Sergeant; and, subsequently, Adjutant to the Company. [6] On the third day of January, 1776, he received a Commission of Captain in Smallwood's Regiment, raised for the defence of the State. Three Companies were stationed at Baltimore, under the command of Major Mordecai Gist, afterwards a Brigadier-general. They were trained by Captain Smith; and, whilst in that situation, he was ordered by Major Gist, at the request of the Committee of Safety of Baltimore, to proceed to Annapolis in a small schooner, to prevent the escape of Governor Eden; † and, on his arrival

there, to present his dispatches to the Council of Safety, and to take its orders. He performed that service, and was received very coolly by the Council, who considered itself insulted by a subordinate body undertaking to act on a subject of such high importance. His orders were to return immediately. The conduct of the Baltimore Committee was induced by a letter to that body, from General Charles Lee, then in command at Charleston, South Carolina, enclosing a copy of an intercepted letter from Governor Eden, of an obnoxious character, with his advice "that the Governor should be arrested, and held until exchanged for an Officer of high rank, who might thereafter be taken by the enemy."

Mr. Samuel Purviance, Chairman of the Baltimore Committee, Major Gist, and Captain Smith were summoned to appear before the Convention, held at Annapolis, to answer for the alleged assumption of power. Mr. Purviance was reprimanded. The two Officers were justified, as military men acting under the orders of a known civil authority.

The State's armed ship, *Defence*, was ordered to cruise for a British sloop-of-war, which had appeared off the mouth of the Patuxent, annoying the Bay craft. He volunteered with his Company, and went in the *Defence*, in pursuit of the sloop-of-war, which, however, had gone down the Bay, and was not overtaken.

Smallwood's Regiment was taken into the service of the United States, and marched, in July, 1776, to join the main Army, under Washington, then at New York. At the Battle of Long Island, the Regiment, with the Delaware Battalion, comprising, of force, not exceeding twelve hundred men, under the command of General Lord Stirling, took possession of a commanding position [8] on the extreme right of the American Army. It was opposed to a force exceeding three thousand men, under the command of General Grant, who, when Colonel Grant, had said, in the House of Commons, that with five thousand men he would march from one end of the country to the other. He had served in America, in the War of 1756. No attack was made on us, during the day, except a little skirmishing. In the evening, a scouting party brought in a Sergeant and ten or fifteen Grenadiers, from whom information was received that the left and the main body of the Americans had been defeated; and that they, themselves, had been scouring the field for stragglers. A retreat was immediately ordered; and was made, most injudiciously, in files. When the Regiment had mounted a hill, a British officer appeared, as if alone, and waved his hat; and it was supposed he meant to surrender. He clapped his hands three times, on which signal his Company rose and gave a heavy discharge. The three Companies in front broke. Cap-

* Afterwards General Mordecai Gist.—H. B. D.

† Author of the interesting volume of *Letters from America*.—H. B. D.

tain Smith wheeled his Company into platoons, and was advancing, when he [9] was ordered by Lord Stirling to form in a line. His Lordship went to the left of the Regiment, and ordered the Companies to cross the road, when he was taken prisoner. The men were surrounded, and almost all killed, for the Hessians gave no quarter on that day. The loss of the Regiment was about two hundred and fifty; the residue got off, as best they could. Captain Smith took his Company through a marsh, until he was stopped by the dam of a tide-mill, then full, and too deep for the men to ford. He and a Sergeant swam over and got two slabs into the water, on the ends of which they ferried over all who could not swim. He found the Regiment in a very strong redoubt, with a small outpost, in front of which he was ordered. Colonel Smallwood and Lieutenant-colonel Ware had joined the Regiment—they had been on a Court Martial; and the Regiment had, in consequence, been commanded by Major Gist, during the action. About midnight, one of the Corporals informed Captain Smith that he had been up and down the lines, and not [10] a man was to be seen; in consequence of which he sent his two Lieutenants to go up and down the lines; and, on their return, they reported that all the troops had gone, where they knew not. In consequence, he removed his Company into the main redoubt. He presumed that he had been left as a forlorn hope; he was, however, relieved by the arrival of Lieutenant-colonel Ware, who told him that the Regiment was, by that time, in New York, and ordered him to march to the ferry. He passed General Washington, who asked him how it happened he was so late; and he answered he had received no order until a few minutes past. He arrived in time to embark in the last boat; and had scarcely got off from the wharf, when the British Light horse appeared on the hill and fired their carbines, without doing any injury to his men.

The Regiment immediately marched to Harlem, about eight miles from the City, where it lay encamped until the enemy landed on York Island. It then removed to the heights, [11] near Fort Washington; pitched its tents; and advanced to the Heights of Harlem, to cover the Militia, retreating along the North-river. The enemy made no advance that day; and the Regiment returned at night to its encampment. A smart skirmish took place the next day, between a Virginia Regiment and a detachment of the enemy. Smallwood's Regiment was ordered to reinforce it, but did not march, the enemy having retired.*

A few days thereafter, the Army marched to

White Plains. Smallwood's Regiment covered the rear, and halted within a mile of the lines, encamping on a commanding hill, the Bronx-river running between it and the enemy. Captain Smith conversed with a British officer, on the opposite bank; and whilst making some enquiry about his friend, the unfortunate Major André,* the British officer advised him to retire, lest he might be shot by the Yagers, over whom he had no control.

Early next morning, an order was received to march immediately. The men were cooking, but had to leave their kettles, without [12] eating. The Regiment took a strong position on a high hill, the enemy occupying one of equal elevation, with the Bronx running in a deep valley between them. General McDougall, a gallant officer, commanded the detachment, consisting of Smallwood's Regiment, the Delaware Battalion, a New York and a Connecticut Regiment †—the whole force did not exceed two thousand men. ‡ A cannonade commenced—the enemy showing but few men, whilst the Americans were in full view, sitting or lying down. The enemy's object appeared to be to dismount our artillery. In its rear, was Captain Smith's Company. A ball struck the ground, and, in its rebound, took off the head of Sergeant Westlay, over the shoulder of Captain Smith.

A column of Hessians drew down towards a ford on the right; and the Regiment marched to meet them. The Hessians seemed to hesitate, and not to be disposed to ford the river; when the British Grenadiers came down, and their Colonel was distinctly heard to order the Hessians to open to the right and left, and make room for the Grenadiers to pass. The [13] Grenadiers crossed the river. It was a gallant sight to see them, steadily, without a falter, march up a very steep hill, exposed to a constant fire of cannon§ and musketry, until they attained the summit. The Americans, overpowered by numbers, were compelled to save themselves, as best they could. Captain Smith being on the left, ¶ was so deeply engaged, that, unapprized of their departure, he escaped with great difficulty—his men saving themselves by his orders. The Officers of the Regiment carried guns; and, in the act of firing, Captain Smith's left arm was struck by a spent ball. He thought it had been broken, but soon found that it was not; and he continued at his post. On his retreat, he stopped with two men,

* Major André crossed the Atlantic with him.—H. B. D.

† General Smith forgot to mention Brooks's Massachusetts Regiment.—H. B. D.

‡ That was about the number engaged.—H. B. D.

§ Compare with Colonel Haslett's Report to Governor Rodney, November 13, 1776.—H. B. D.

¶ As the troops retired by the left flank and the Marylanders were on the right of the line this must be an error.—H. B. D.

* This refers to the Battle of Harlem Plains.—H. B. D.

behind a stone fence; when they took deliberate aim at an advanced party of the enemy. On visiting the spot, afterwards, blood was found. Whilst there, he witnessed a most gallant act, by Captain Lilly of the Massachusetts Artillery. He had planted his guns on a knoll; and the Light-horse made a charge on him. He kept his fire until they were within fifty yards of him; when he discharged his four pieces, and horses and [14] men fell, while those who were left fled;* and he took his guns safe into the lines. General Smith mentioned the fact to the elder Adams, during his Presidency, who gave him a Captaincy in the Provisional Army.

Captain Smith overtook Colonel Smallwood, who had been shot through the wrist; and leaving one man with him, he went with the other to a hay-stack, behind which he collected about a hundred stragglers, and marched them within the lines. In passing, in company with Lieutenant Plunkett—brother of the celebrated Lord Chancellor Plunkett—a New England Regiment, the men eating, a young private rose and said, "I guess you have been in the action?" "Yea." "And may be you have eat nothing to-day?" "No, not for twenty-four hours." The men all rose and would eat no more, until we had satisfied ourselves. General Washington was near by with his suite, which drew some shot from the enemy.

In the action of the White Plains, Smallwood's Regiment lost one hundred and four men, about one-fifth of their number. The baggage having been sent into the interior, the Army followed; and the enemy marched upon Fort Washington. Our Regiment, after a few [15] days rest, crossed the North-river, and on its march met an express from General Greene to Major Gist, then in command of the Regiment, to hasten his march to Fort Lee; thence to cross the river for the defence of Fort Washington—at that time attacked by the enemy. Another order to march to Hackensack came soon after—Fort Washington had surrendered. Fort Lee, on the right bank of the North-river, having been evacuated, crossed and appeared before the Town. The houses, which contained military stores, were fired; and the Regiment retired to Acquaconunk-bridge, where it halted some days. Major Gist, with Captains Stone and Smith, were deputed to wait on General Washington, then at Newark. They informed him that the Regiment and Delaware Battalion were reduced to two hundred and fifty men, who were worn down with fatigue and guard-duty; and requested that it might be relieved by some other corps. The General replied: "I can assign no other Regiment in which I can place the same confidence; and I request you

"will say so to your gallant Regiment." On the answer being reported to the men, formed in a circle for the purpose, they gave three cheers, and declared their [16] readiness to submit to every fatigue and danger.

The baggage having been sent on, the officers had each but one shirt. Captain Smith carried a knapsack, and had two; but lost one at the wash.

On the appearance of a reconnoitring party of the enemy, the Regiment retired, and halted a day or two near Amboy. Here he received a visit from Colonel William Allen, of Philadelphia,* on his return from the North. He observed: "When we entered the service of our country, we meant not Independence. I intend to resign, and advise you to do the same." Captain Smith replied: "Certainly, I meant not Independence when I entered the Army; but I went for the whole, and whatever Congress determines I will obey. Besides, I think the Declaration right and wise." They separated: Colonel Allen resigned and went to England, where he died.

The Regiment continued its retreat to Brunswick; where the main Army then was. The bridges were broken down; and the main body pursued its retreat to the Delaware, leaving our Regiment and the Delaware Battalion to cover the rear. The enemy appeared; and, after some [17] skirmishing, the corps retired at night. The rain fell in torrents, and the march was dreadful. Many of the men were exhausted and remained behind. The night was very dark; the road made deep by the artillery and wagons which had passed. Every step was above the ankles; and many to the knee. The Regiment got to Rocky-hill, about day-light, having marched all night. They halted there a day or two, until the enemy's parties began to appear; when it again retreated, and arrived at Trenton about midnight. The Army had all passed the Delaware, except General Washington, his suite, and guard. He passed the river, and the Regiment landed on the opposite side, about daylight, having eaten nothing all the preceding day. Its numbers by battles, sickness, and desertion, were reduced to ninety men and a few officers.

It may not be improper here to state, that, on the retreat of the Army through New Jersey, it was covered by the Third Virginia Regiment;—it having been the rear Regiment of the main Army, whilst Smallwood's and the Delaware Battalion had always been from six to twelve miles in the rear of the whole.

[18] Congress had ordered each State to supply its quota of troops—Maryland having to furnish

* Compare with Colonel Haslett's letter.—H. B. D.

* Vide Sabine's *Loyalists*, 132.—J. S. S.
† Colonel George Weeden's.

seven Regiments. In the last days of December, 1776—a day or two after passing the Delaware—Captain Smith received a Commission of Lieutenant-colonel of the Fourth Regiment, to be commanded by Colonel Josias Carvil Hall, its Major being the afterwards celebrated Colonel Howard.* Lieutenant-colonel Smith repaired to Baltimore, where he commenced recruiting the new Regiment. Early in the year 1777, he joined the Army. The seven Maryland Regiments, the Delaware Regiment, and that called "The Congress's Own," under Colonel Hazen, formed a Division, under the command of Major-general Sullivan; and were encamped near Morristown, in New Jersey, ten or twelve miles from Elizabethtown.

The main force of the enemy having gone to sea, an Expedition was planned to attack his posts on Staten-island. It was badly executed, by Sullivan's Division. Colonel Ogden, who was nearer the Island, crossed at the Blazing Star-ferry; made some prisoners; and had recrossed by the time the Division had got on the Island, opposite Elizabethtown. Some of the enemy escaped in boats, few were seen, and none were taken.

[19] The Division assembled at the Blazing Star-ferry, and commenced passing. Colonel Smith was in the last boat, leaving Major Jack Stuart, with about one hundred men, who fought a force from New York, most gallantly, until, overpowered by numbers, he was made prisoner, and put on board the dreadful prison-ship. He, however, made his escape by descending silently to the water, and swimming to the New Jersey shore. Colonel Smith was particularly attached to Major Stuart, having fought a duel with him, and becoming, subsequently, on the most friendly terms with him. Having procured a flag of truce, he went with it and gave a Bill of Exchange on London for twenty-five pounds sterling, to a British Officer, who *honorably* conveyed it to a Major Stuart.†

* I have his Commission of Major of Colonel Glat's Regiment, dated the tenth of December, 1776, and signed by "John Hancock;" also his Commission of Lieutenant-colonel of the Fourth Maryland Regiment, dated the first of June, 1779, to take rank as such from the twelfth of February, 1777, signed by John Jay. Now, as these do not coincide with the text, and as he certainly held the rank of Lieutenant-colonel when he was detached to the command of Mud Island, in September, 1777, we must suppose that Commission of Major was recalled, and one of Lieutenant-colonel substituted, as soon as the formation of the seven Maryland Regiments was decided. Still, some further enquiry is necessary. It may be that temporary "Brevets" were given by the State, until the organization of the Regiments took place; and then that these were followed by regular Commissions from Congress. It is clear that he was Lieutenant-colonel when he joined the Army, early in 1777, and when the seven Maryland Regiments were under the command of General Sullivan, and after, at the Battle of Brandywine.—J. S. S.

† Evidently not the Major to whom it had been sent.—E. B. D.

The Division marched, soon after, to join the main Army which had assembled to meet the enemy, just arrived in the Chesapeake. It halted at Chester. Colonel Smith had been Officer of the Day; and on his return to Head-quarters, he found that General Sullivan had assembled the Field Officers of the Division. The General addressed them in a complimentary manner, and said he had been informed that some of them had written to their friends in Congress, [20] censuring his conduct in the attack on Staten-island. No one answered; for they had previously determined to make no reply. Colonel Smith not being apprised of that determination, rose and said: "I wrote to my uncle, William Smith, 'who is a member of Congress, but who, I am certain, has never shown my letters. However, 'I will, if you desire it, state what I thought 'and may have written.' The General expressed his desire to hear the statement. The Colonel, in the strongest terms, but in polite language, gave a full view of the errors which he considered had been committed. From that time, General Sullivan honorably and magnanimously evinced the warmest attachment to Colonel Smith.

The American Army had taken a very strong position at Chad's Ford, and had thrown up some works and field-lines. The enemy approached and marched up the Brandywine. General Knyphausen had been detached, and displayed a force of about five hundred men opposite to Chad's Ford. Colonel Ramsay, of the Maryland line, crossed the river, and skirmished with and drove the Yagers. General Washington had determined to cross the river, and [21] destroy that Division of the enemy; and every Regiment had been prepared to pass over, when he received false information; changed his plan; and, leaving a force to keep Knyphausen in check, he advanced to meet the main body of the enemy, under General Howe. The Battle of Brandywine was fought on the eleventh of September, 1777,* most gallantly, on the right, under the immediate command of General Washington. Sullivan's Division, on the extreme left, were marched through a narrow lane. The First Brigade of it counter-marched through a gateway, to the top of a hill, under a galling fire from the enemy—thus bringing the rear to the front. Pressed by the enemy, they had no time to form, and gave way at all points. The Second Brigade was formed in a valley in its rear. It was said a retreat had been ordered; but Colonel Smith not knowing it, found himself, to his surprise—being on the left of the Regiment—with only Lieutenant Cromwell and about thirty men. See

* In this Battle were Colonel Smith, his brothers, John and William, and his uncle William—the latter volunteers. Another brother, Robert, was at school at Newark, and set off for the field of battle, but arrived too late.—J. S. S.

ing no enemy, he retired deliberately. Colonel Hazen's Regiment retreated in perfect order. In passing through a corn-field, Colonel Smith discovered a flanking party of the enemy, which he checked by two fires from his small number and received one from them, by which he lost one man, [22] who was shot in the heel. Some of the men left him; and he retired, almost alone, to the top of a high hill, on which he halted, and collected nearly one thousand men; formed them into Companies; and remained until near sunset. He tendered the command to General De Barre, a French officer, who had commanded the Second Brigade. He declined the offer; and showed some scratches on his cheek, which he said had been done by the English firing fish-hooks, but more probably by the briars. Colonel Smith applied to a Quaker farmer, to guide him to the road leading to Chester, which he refused; but a pistol having been pointed at his breast, he complied. On being thanked he replied: "I want no thanks, thee forced me." The Colonel got into Chester at eight o'clock at night; and the men joined their respective corps.

The Army remained several days at Chester, and then advanced to the Lancaster road, a short distance from the Schuylkill-bridge. The enemy approached, and an action was expected; when a heavy rain began, and the Army marched at sunset for a ford on the Schuylkill. Sullivan's Division arrived early next morning. The rain had fallen in [23] torrents during the whole night, which had caused the Division to halt. The river had risen, and the men crossed it, up to the armpits. The short men were saved by the mounted Officers, who placed themselves below the passing columns.

The day after, an Officer from Head-quarters called on Colonel Smith, and ordered him to be on the grand parade at eight o'clock that night; that he was to have an honorable command, which might keep him from his Regiment some time; and, therefore, that it would be proper to take his servant and baggage.

On his arrival at the parade, he found a detachment consisting of Major Ballard of Virginia, Major Thayer of Rhode Island, Captain Treat of the Artillery and his Lieutenant, with two hundred Infantry and suitable Company Officers. His guide was Aaron Levering, a respectable farmer of Germantown. The detachment crossed the Delaware at Bristol, and arrived at the night of the next day, at a point which he supposed was that of Gloucester, where it embarked on a raft made of pine logs, with a small tow-boat ahead; and it dropped down the river with the ebb tide. In passing the American frigate,* he

was hailed, and a boat was sent for Colonel Smith by his old acquaintance, Captain Robinson, who sent him, in his best barge, to Mud-island.

[24] On his arrival there, he found a Captain, a Lieutenant, and forty Philadelphia Militia. His own men arrived safe; the raft was secured; and found afterwards of great service. The next day, the Colonel received a visit from Commodore Haslewood, who commanded the State flotilla of row-gallies, mounting heavy guns, and gun-boats, with four-pounders in their bows. The Commodore and Colonel Smith visited Province-island together; and the latter pointed to a high spot, near the dyke, as that which the enemy would probably occupy; but the Commodore replied: "A musquito could not live there under the fire of my guns."

Colonel Smith found himself, at the age of twenty-five years, unskilled in everything relative to the defence of fortifications, having to rely entirely on his own energies for the defence of a Fort walled with freestone on the side opposite the Jersey shore and the approach by the river; stockaded with pine logs, fifteen inches thick, opposite Province-island; and the approach from above flanked by three wooden block-houses, mounting eight-pound French guns, in their upper stories. There was, also, an open platform, [25] on which were mounted eighteen-pounders, pointing down the river, with one thirty-two-pounder, being the only piece that pointed on Province-island, where he expected the enemy would establish himself. His detachment had no Artillerist, except the two Officers mentioned.

Thus situated, he selected sixty of his stoutest men, who were soon drilled to the guns by those Officers. There was a deficiency of every material, powder, ball, &c.,* from which the Colonel concluded that it had not been expected he could hold the post long. He immediately wrote to General Washington that he could hold the place; and requested a supply of what he deemed necessary, and particularly of two Artillery Sergeants. His request was complied with; and the two Sergeants arrived. One of them, Porter,† was a most efficient man, brave and indefatigable. His conduct was such that, on the recommendation of Colonel Smith, he was promoted, continued to rise, and held the Commission of Brigadier-general, during the War of 1812.

The enemy established himself at the hospital on Province-island,—where was his main force, and by [26] detachments, supplied, daily, the battery erected on the spot Colonel Smith had expected—about six hundred yards from the stockade.

* It is probable that Captain Isaiah Robinson, of the *Andrus Doria*, is here referred to.—E. B. D.

* Vide *A Return*, etc., signed by Captain Treat, among the Revolutionary papers, which we shall present in our next number.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

† General Moses Porter of Massachusetts.—J. S. S.

Here he planted one howitzer and a few eighteen pounders. The first shot from the former appeared to alarm the Militia; and thinking they would be of little service, Colonel Smith dismissed them.

A few days after he had received the command, he was visited by Mr. Paine, the Author of *Common Sense*, who observed that the enemy would erect a battery at the brick-house, on the hill, above the meadow, and, with ricochet shot, dismount the guns on our battery. The distance was too great to cause any apprehension; but the idea immediately occurred to the Colonel, that his battery might be enfiladed from Province-island and his guns dismounted. He therefore erected traverses between the guns, with the pine logs of the raft, and filled them with earth, well rammed; which were found to be sufficient, and actually saved his guns from injury. Otherwise they would have been dismounted; for many shot lodged in the first traverse.

He saw that in case of an attack from [27] the ships, there was no place of safety for his men; and he, therefore, caused a work of pine logs, six feet high, secured at each end with similar logs, the whole filled in with earth, well rammed. It was afterwards found a perfect security when attacked by the ships, not a man being hurt, although many shots reached that work, and were buried in it.

The enemy began firing, during the first week, from the battery; and became troublesome. Colonel Smith formed a plan of attack, which proved successful. A squadron of gun-boats, with the boats of the frigate, under the immediate command of Captain Robinson,* attacked the battery, on the right. The thirty-two pounders and eight pounders, from the block-house, played on its center. At the same time, Major Ballard, the father of Commodore Ballard, had crossed over to Province-island, with one hundred men, and assailed its left. It surrendered in half an hour. The British Captain had his arm broken, and was paroled. Two young Lieutenants and a few men were made prisoners. A party of the enemy came down from the heights to retake the battery, as Colonel Smith supposed. He fired on them and stopped them. The [28] Officer on shore sent a boat over, to request that the firing should cease, for that the party was coming down to surrender. The Colonel complied with the request, which he has said he ought not to have done, as he thought, at the time, their coming down to surrender was impossible. The error was soon made manifest. The battery was evacuated, and unpossessed by the enemy. The

two young Lieutenants amused the Colonel. They were kindly treated; totally forgot they were prisoners; and, at dinner, entered into a warm dispute, as if they had been in their own quarters, whether the marching Regiments or the Light Infantry had done the most service during the Campaign. One of them looked earnestly at a double-barrelled fowling-piece. "You appear to look at that piece affectionately." "Yes! it was given to me by my father, when I parted with him;" and a slight tear, on mentioning his father, appeared. The fowling-piece was given to him, with a certificate to protect it. He told him, however, at York, Pennsylvania, where he afterwards saw him, that the certificate was no protection against a Jersey militia-man, who took it from him, soon after he landed on on [29] the Jersey shore.

It occurred to the Colonel that two guns above the enclosure might play on the enemy's battery, with great effect; and two eighteen-pounders from the battery were removed with great labor. The fire was opened, and dismounted one of the enemy's guns. Almost the first shot from him broke off the muzzle of one of our guns; and the second or third silenced the other, by carrying away the trunnions—and thus was our labor lost. Fortunately, the thirty-two-pounders never received the slightest injury. The North-west block-house was blown up twice by shells; and some men who had been there, in violation of positive orders, were killed or dreadfully wounded. The barracks were fired by carcasses falling on the shingles, which were extinguished by wet hides.

In the third week of the siege, (it lasted seven weeks) Major, afterwards Colonel, Fleury, a French officer of great merit, joined us. He was amiable, and the bravest of the brave. He was an officer in the French Army, and possessed general knowledge, which he communicated freely, and was eminently servicable. There was a perfectly good understanding and sincere friendship between him and Colonel Smith. No jealousy, no underhanded practices—all was [30] frank and conducing to the public service.

Colonel Smith was generally awake all night, and slept in the day. He walked on the dyke; put his ear close to the water; and, on a calm night, could hear the dip from the muffled oars, carrying up provisions, as he supposed, to the enemy. Of this he informed Colonel Hazlewood, pressing him to send some of his galleys and four-pound boats to intercept them. His answer was "A shell would sink any of my galleys." "Yea," said the Colonel, "and falling on your head, or mine, will kill; but for what else are we employed or paid?" The galleys were not sent; and Colonel Smith had the mortification to

* He had with him two Volunteers—James Smith, a cousin of the Colonel, and William Barney—who rendered essential service.—J. S. S.

know that the enemy's boats passed, nightly, unmolested.*

The Southern Officers knew the eccentric character of Doctor Skinner, the Surgeon of the Fort, and an intimate friend of Colonel Henry Lee and Colonel Smith. The latter, one morning, had slept late; and, arriving at the platform, he found the Doctor sitting behind one of the traverses, with the sides of a wheelbarrow stuck in one of the interstices, over his head, and his arms closed to his sides; at which the Colonel laughed. "What do you [31] laugh at? You have been asleep and do not know what the damned rascals are doing. I know not how they do it; but I know that hand-grenades fall on the platform. If one takes my barrow-side it rebounds and I am safe." At that moment, two or three fell near us. "There," said he, "you might have been killed. It is *your* duty to brave danger, *mine* to take care of myself. Suppose you had been struck just now, who was to mend you, if I were gone." There is a howitzer in which there are holes in the rim, where hand grenades are inserted. The shell takes its circular course, but the grenades rise to a certain height, lose the impetus, and fall down perpendicularly. An order was therefore given that no one was to go on the platform but the artillerymen, actually engaged. However, very few were afterwards thrown; and they had, in truth, hurt no one, yet they were dangerous, and there was no security against them except the Doctor's side of the wheelbarrow.

Colonel Smith thinks it was in the third week of the siege, that Colonel d'Arandt† appeared as commanding officer of the Fort; and of which Colonel Smith had not been previously apprised. He was a Prussian; a very military-looking [32] man, six feet high, and elegantly formed. Indeed, his whole appearance was that which would commend him to a command, where personal bravery was not required. Colonel Smith, in company with Major Fleury, showed him the Fort and its defences. On their arrival at the North-west blockhouse, he looked up, and asked in French, for he spake little English, "What has happened here?" "It has been blown up twice; and the enemy's fire is frequently directed at it." He immediately sprang into one

window, and out at the other; and got clear of the block-house. Colonel Smith looked at Major Fleury—a look which the latter understood and who answered it by saying: "Par Dieu! c'est un poltron." "Yes," replied Colonel Smith, "and we must frighten him away from the Fort; or he will do more injury than good." However, he had some knowledge.

The Colonel told him that he feared only a night attack; that the enemy might land on the wharf, opposite to the hospital, or on the dykes; and that little obstruction, with the small force in the Fort, could be made. Between the dykes made to keep out the tide—the ground was a perfect level of about four hundred yards by one hundred and fifty or two hundred. He caused the whole to be perforated with trous de loups, (*Wolf Traps*)—[33] that is, holes dug the shape of a sugar-loaf, the small end down, close together, in which sharp stakes were driven—so that the enemy could have approached only, by the dykes. These were not wide enough for more than two men abreast, and would have been swept by the guns of the block-houses and the musketry, through the loop-holes of the stockade. Thus far was well—indeed, excellent. But, for further security, he ordered the dykes to be cut, to cause assailants to halt. About this, Colonel Smith differed in opinion; and said, "If you cut the dykes, a September gale will overflow the island and we shall be up to the middle in water." He, however, persisted: the dykes were cut; and the consequence was that which Colonel Smith predicted, as will, hereafter, be shown.

The Fort at Red Bank, opposite Mud-island, had been occupied by the brave Colonel Greene and his Rhode Island men. His Engineer, the gallant Mauduit du Plessis, found it too large for the force of Colonel Greene, and had cut off a considerable part, leaving the works standing, which deceived the Hessians. On gaining that part, they supposed they had succeeded, [34] and were shot down. Immediately before the attack of Count Donop, a Virginia Regiment, reduced to one hundred and fifty men, under Colonel Sims, on its march to Mud-island, arrived in time to take part in the action, and enabled Colonel Greene to man the lines completely. Donop was mortally wounded, and his party defeated. Colonel Greene, fearing a return of the enemy, sent for cartridges, which Count d'Arandt at first refused, but, on the remonstrances of Colonel Smith and the other officers, at last granted them.

Colonel Smith proposed that he should cross the river and pursue the enemy; but this was peremptorily refused by the Count. The plan of the enemy was well conceived. Had the Fort at Red Bank fallen, Mud-island must have

* Colonel Smith always held the Commodore in great contempt, thinking that he did not discharge his duty with becoming zeal. They had several animated altercations, during the siege; and, after the evacuation of the Fort, the Colonel refused to return his salutation in the streets of Philadelphia. Colonel Smith was walking with Colonel N. Rogers of Maryland, when this insult was offered. And so gross was the insult, that Colonel Rogers expected, confidently, that Colonel Smith would be challenged the next day, and so told his son, my friend, L. N. Rogers, who communicated it to me.—J. S. S.

† See Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, v., 107, 108, concerning Colonel d'Arandt.—J. S. S.

been evacuated, for Officers and men had, for days, only salt herrings, dried in the sun, and ship-biscuit to eat. There was flour, but no *safe* place for baking it. Their spirits, however, had never flagged for a moment.

The enemy having failed in his attempt on Red Bank, determined on his grand attack, and * * * [85] great effort. This was, to cause some of the chevaux-de-frise, which had been sunk to obstruct the channel, about a mile and a half from the Fort, perhaps more, * * * A ship of the line, the *Augusta*, of sixty-four guns, anchored near the obstruction. A frigate also came up and grounded. The *Augusta* commenced firing, which was returned by two squadrons of the flotilla, one commanded, he thinks, by Captain Dickinson, within less than a mile of the ship. Another, some distance in the rear; and a third, under the command of Commodore Haslewood, a little in advance of the Fort, at Red Bank, the guns of the Fort keeping up, nearly a constant fire. In the meantime, a continued discharge on the Fort was maintained, the whole day, from the Hospital and battery, of shot, shells, and carcasses. These are made, about two feet square, filled with combustibles, and having sharp hooks, which keep them fast to the shingles. They were extinguished by raw hides, which had been soaked in water for the purpose. They gave much trouble and no little fatigue.

The *Augusta* took fire from some accident. The men were saved in the boats, except one negro, who dropped from the bowsprit into one of our boats, which had been sent to their assistance. When the *Augusta* blew up, a [86] piece from her fell on the negro, and killed him. No other person was hurt *—a strange fatality.

Before the firing began, Colonel d'Arandt spoke to Colonel Smith in the most confused manner. "He did not understand English; did not know the Officers nor men; the Colonel did;" and he continued, some minutes, in that kind of undertalk. Colonel Smith said: "If I understand you, you mean that I should assume the command for the day." "Yes, sir," was the answer.

The frigate, being aground, was fired on, from a few guns, on the Jersey shore. She was set fire to, and abandoned by the crew. After she was blown up, all firing ceased on both sides. Then Colonel Smith visited his men, who had been secured under the breast-work which he had thrown up for their protection. All were unhurt, except Colonel d'Arandt. He had been with the men, under cover, limped, and said that a ball had struck a piece of stone

from the wall, which had hit him in the groin; and that he had suffered great pain. Doctor Skinner was [87] called, who bled the Count and said: "Sir, there are no accommodations for wounded men; you had better go on shore, where you can be attended to." He agreed, and was sent to a small village, where he confined himself to his room for a week, and was seen no more.

A few days after, Colonel Smith received a reinforcement of one hundred Virginians, under Lieutenant-colonel Green, a brave and gallant Officer, who had been wounded at Throgg's Neck, the preceding campaign. Some difficulty now arose; as Green's Commission was the eldest; but he was infirm, and was prevailed on, by his own officers, to retire. Colonel Smith had distinctly said: "The defence of this post has been committed to me; and I cannot relinquish the command, without a positive order from the Commander-in-chief." Colonel Green answered that he coincided in the opinion; was certain that his coming was with no intention to supercede me; and magnanimously retired, for he could not serve under an Officer of inferior rank. Indeed, Colonel Smith would not have felt at ease while commanding his superior in rank.

A gale of wind having arisen, and a consequent high tide, the result was that the Island was overflowed. [88] There was no dry place, except the barracks and platform. Two feet of water [flowed] over every other spot; and the enemy's battery being similarly situated, all firing had ceased, on both sides.

Colonel Smith saw the favorable opportunity, and wrote a note to Commodore Haslewood, describing the situation of the enemy, and pointing out how a squadron could row to the battery, and take it, with little danger. A squadron came; drew up in line, with the thirty-two-pounders; and began to fire. Colonel Smith went immediately from the barracks, up to his middle in water, hailed, and told the Commodore that he could do no good there, but should row up immediately to the battery,* which had only the howitzer above water, and which could fire only once, before the heads of the galleys would be close to, and destroy them. The answer was, "We will go no nearer."

The precise times of the incidents that happened are not recollected, yet they are nearly in order.

One morning, Colonel Smith and Captain Treat of the Artillery were conversing, near the thirty-two pounder, [89] when a ball, from the enemy, came. It lodged in the traverse. Cap-

* Marshall makes the number greater.—J. S. S.

* This evidently refers to the enemy's battery, on Providence Island, where a howitzer was mounted.—H. B. D.

tain Treat tottered, and was upheld by the Colonel. A slight squeeze of the hand, and he expired. No wound was apparent; and the question is, was it the sensation from the ball that caused the death?

The enemy had erected a battery of one howitzer below the Fort. One morning, Captain Hazzard, of Delaware, was looking out of the window of the block-house, close to the thirty-two pounder. Colonel Smith requested him to come down, that he was exposing himself to unnecessary danger. He answered; "There is no risk." The words were scarcely out of his mouth, when a shell struck in the wood, a foot above his head. It exploded. His head dropped, and he was believed to be killed; but, being brought down, he was bled and recovered, although he completely lost his hearing. He was a brave and honorable man. He resigned because, as he said, "no man ought to hold a Commission who could not perform its duties." He, long after, applied to Congress for a pension, but did not send his petition to his own Senators, preferring General Smith, under whom he had served, and who was then a Senator from Maryland.

The fire of both parties was slackened, and there [40] was only an occasional shot. The enemy was, probably, preparing his razees—large ships cut down to their lower decks, so as to draw little water. That plan was suggested by the Captain of a four-pound boat, who had deserted, and proved ultimately successful.

Brigadier-general Varnum had arrived near Red Bank with two Continental Regiments, with orders to sustain the two Forts. A very cold morning, he sent his Brigade-major, with a note, asking information. Colonel Smith went to the barracks to answer it; after writing which, and in the act of handing it, with his right hand—his left hand being behind him, and his back to the chimney—a ball came through the stockade, the barracks, and two stacks of chimneys: and, nearly spent, it struck him on the left hip and dislocated his wrist. He fell, covered with bricks, by which he was severely bruised; every joint in his body appeared to be loosened.* The Officers present were covered with bricks and mortar, and so astonished as to give no assistance. The Colonel [41] did not lose his presence of mind, and thought fresh air to be essential. He could not rise, but rolled over and over, until he got to the front door, when the Officers joined him. Doctor Skinner came immediately, drew the wrist into its place, and bled him. It was many months before he could use his wrist. The bruises were

numerous; and some, on the bones, gave great pain. He was carried to the boat, for he could not walk, and sent to the Jersey shore. This incident took place one week before the evacuation of the Fort.

A day or two after, a deputation came to General Varnum, from Mud-island. They represented that their numbers were greatly reduced; that officers and men were worn down with fatigue; and they requested that they might be relieved. The Field-officers were assembled, and no one seemed inclined to take the command; on which Colonel Smith said: "Give me the men, and my excellent companion-in-arms, Major Thayer, will, I am sure, take the command, for a few days, until I can return." Major Thayer was of Rhode Island; and Colonel Smith has often said that he was the bravest man he had ever known. He accepted, [42] saying, "there was nothing he would not do, to oblige Colonel Smith." The day after, Colonel Smith and other officers called on Colonel Greene, at Red Bank, to devise the means of supplying the Island with ready-cooked provisions. Commodore Hazlewood was sent for, and told that Colonel Greene would have the provisions cooked; and he was requested to furnish a galley for their transportation. This he refused. Colonel Smith then said: "Colonel Greene has seamen in his Regiment: lend him a galley and he will furnish officers and men. Unless this is done, the men must either starve or evacuate the Island." This was, also, at first, refused; but a galley was ultimately supplied, but whether manned as usual or by Colonel Greene, Colonel Smith cannot recollect.

The razees, already described, came up, and opened its dreadful fire, which was answered by two guns, there being no more that would bear upon her. Many of the men ran below; but the master kept his post and rallied the crew; and, after a most gallant resistance, our men were compelled to abandon their guns. All the works being levelled, and some of the [43] guns dismounted, the garrison evacuated the Island in the night, bringing with them every thing which was portable.

The next day, Colonel Smith bought a horse and repaired to Head-quarters, at White Marsh. Dinner had just been removed. He was received by all the General officers, then present, in the most flattering manner, and by General Washington in his usual cold manner, at first; but, afterwards, with kindness and sympathy, when he observed his arm in a sling. The next year, he offered him a place in his family, as Aide-de-camp, which was declined, as he preferred his Regiment, where there was a better chance for service, in which honor might be gained.

* This occurred on the eleventh of November. See Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, 154, 155. J. S. S.

The place was filled by Colonel Fitzgerald of Alexandria.

Colonel Smith had his quarters at the house of an old friend of his father—Mr. William West, of Philadelphia. A strong party of the enemy came out from that City, with which a smart skirmish, in a wood. Colonel Smith joined his Regiment, though not very fit for duty. It, however, was not engaged. The enemy retired; and the Army went into Winter-quarters, at Valley Forge, about the eleventh of December, 1777. The day it marched, it was met by a violent snow-storm; and the Army bivouacked as best it could. The Fourth Regiment, of which he was Lieutenant-colonel, [44] secured itself from the storm long before night; and the Officers slept soundly on their blankets, with a large fire at their feet. The cover was made with two forked saplings, placed in the ground, another from one to the other. Against this, fence-rails were placed sloping, on which leaves and snow were thrown, and thus made comfortable.

The next day, Colonel Smith was ordered to go to Baltimore, and superintend the recruiting service. He enlisted nearly four hundred men, and joined the Army, early the next Spring. The evacuation of Philadelphia was expected; and the American Army crossed the Delaware.

The evacuation took place on the eighteenth of June, 1778. A Brigade of Light Infantry, under the command of General Scott, was drafted from the whole Army, consisting of three full Regiments. These were commanded by Colonels Cilley, Butler, and Richard Parker. To the latter, Colonel Smith was attached. The Brigade marched; and for two or three days was near the enemy—frequently in sight, putting out their fires in the morning, and black-guarded by their women, who had remained, to collect, as plunder, anything [45] the Officers might have left. No attempt at their rear-guard was made.

Early in the morning of the twenty-eighth of June, 1778, when the Battle of Monmouth was fought, Colonel Mercer, Aide-de-camp of General Charles Lee, came to General Scott, with orders. He detached Colonel Butler to the right—placing it on the left of the British rear-guard, then returning. Morgan, with his rifle-men, was further on. The other two Regiments of General Scott's Brigade were conducted to a wood, on the right of the enemy. The plan of the Battle, by General Lee, appeared to Colonel Smith to be excellent. It was thus: The main-body, at the Court-house, where the attack on it should commence; Butler to fall on his left flank; Morgan on his rear; and Scott's [other] two Regiments on his right flank. A better

disposition could not have been made. It was, however, disconcerted; and he has stated the cause of it thus: Lieutenant Hoops, of his Regiment, joined him, on horseback, from Lancaster, and asked leave to serve with him on that day. It being granted, Mr. Hoops said, "I see a number of General Officers assembled; I will go near to them, and try to bring you information." On his return, he reported, that being near General Lee, the enemy made a sudden halt. He exclaimed, "Damn them, what [46] do they halt for?" and then, looking to the left, he saw our Brigade in the open field. "Damn them," said he, "they have got there already. Whose troops are those?" "Mine," answered General Scott. "Yours! Who ordered them to leave the wood?" "I did," was the answer. "Then, by God, you have ruined me." General Lee took no step to correct the derangement made in his plan; but, governed by passion, as Colonel Smith supposed, ordered a retreat. General Scott's two Regiments (Cilley's and Parker's) retired to an excellent position, whether by order or not, Colonel Smith knew not. The enemy did not see them, but pressed forward on the center, where there was no opposition. In a short time, a firing was heard *behind* the Brigade. In consequence, the Field-officers assembled, General Scott not being present. There was a deep morass on the left, apparently impenetrable for men. The question was—what should be done? Several opinions were given, and Colonel Smith said, "Surely, with such men, we can cut our way through any impediment." The corps then marched to the rear, having the morass [47] on its right, and a sand-hill on its left. The road was very narrow—not wider than for a Platoon to march abreast. Colonel Smith was in the rear. A private came down, and told him that the British Light-horse were cutting down the flanking party; on which Colonel Smith ordered Captain Alexander Smith to mount the sand-hill, and drive them off, which he did, by one well-directed fire.

The Brigade arrived safe where General Washington was; and were soon ordered into action. Colonel Cilley's Regiment attacked and drove a British Regiment on our left. Parker's Regiment flanked the main body of the enemy, who retired to the Court-house, leaving the burying of the dead to the Americans, which gave them the honor of the day.

The enemy had been overpowered by the heat, and were laying down to rest. Colonel Smith sent Captain Trueman (who was afterwards killed by the Indians) to rouse them with three discharges—which they returned—but he performed the duty and received no injury.

A curious fact was related by Captain Norwood, who commanded the covering party, that the American dead were as fair as usual; while the faces and certain parts of the British were quite black. The reason which has been assigned was, the [48] quantity of liquor they had drank—the Americans having had none to drink. He added that he buried twenty or thirty of each, without a wound on them, they having died from the extreme heat. Colonel Smith saw a Highlander kick and jump, like a cock which had been struck in the head. He sent a Sergeant to him, who found him dead, and without a wound. The heat was, no doubt, the cause, also, of his death.

Colonel Smith has always believed that if General Scott's Brigade had mounted the sand-hill and attacked the right flank of the enemy, it might have turned the fortune of the day much earlier. But it had no one whose duty it was to command the whole; and neither of the Colonels chose to assume the responsibility.

Colonel Smith was called as a witness at the Court-martial held for the trial of General Lee; but, as the principal testimony he had to give was hearsay, he was stopped. Mr. Hoops was not summoned; nor would his testimony have saved General Lee, for no sufficient apology could be offered for his not fighting, nor for his answer to General Washington, after his [49] retiring from the field of battle. They were unpardonable.

The Army marched [on] the day after the Battle. General Scott's Brigade was dissolved; and the Officers and men joined their respective Regiments. The stench from the woods was intolerable, they being filled with dead men and horses. The Army crossed the Hudson about the first day of July; and it remained without much activity, except the parties on the lines, with which Colonel Smith had no part.

General La Fayette was ordered to Rhode Island; and he invited Colonel Smith, with whom a friendship had been formed, to go in his family. The invitation was declined, unless a command, equal to his rank, was given to him; but, as these had all been filled, he did not go.

The Maryland Division, during that campaign—and until he was killed at Camden—was under the command of Major-general the Baron DeKalb, a brave and most amiable man. This gave great offence to General Smallwood, who thought he ought to have been made a Major-general, and to have had the command of the Division. It was encamped at Poughkeepsie, in a most delightful country. The usage adopted for [50] furnishing the General's guard was that the two Brigades should supply it, alternately, each a week. The Second

Brigade was, by accident, under the command of Colonel Smith, and had detached the guard for the week. General Smallwood refused to relieve it; but, after an interview with General DeKalb, he complied with the prescribed routine.

The campaign having terminated, Colonel Smith was sent home to superintend the recruiting service. He had, for two years, been engaged to be married to Margaret Speare, the eldest daughter of William Speare, Esq. His pecuniary situation was embarrassing. When he entered the service he was worth nine thousand pounds of his own; and his father was the richest merchant in Baltimore. Their property was almost exclusively in debts due to them by country merchants. These debts were paid in Continental money, which had become worthless in the hands of his father, who had taken no measures for reimbursement. His father-in-law, Mr. Speare, was similarly situated. He found himself, therefore, entirely [51] destitute of means to support an establishment for a family. Thus situated, and no provision * having been made for the Officers after the War should cease, he found himself compelled to resign, which he did, in the latter end of May, 1779.† He sent his letter to General Washington, who returned it with a compliment, on the back of the Commission, signed by Colonel Harrison. This should be carefully kept, as an heir-loom, in his family. The necessity he was under of resigning his Commission, he said, was like tearing his heart out. But he was compelled by circumstances. He had no means for the support of a family; and when he resigned, he had not one hundred dollars left. Neither his own father nor that of his wife could assist him. His pay was then equal to four dollars per month, in specie, the paper-money being twenty to one.

Congress had unanimously voted to Colonel Smith its thanks and a sword for his gallant service in the defence of Fort Mifflin, commonly called Mud-island.‡

[TO BE CONTINUED.§]

* In 1783, Congress, to prevent a dissolution of the Army, agreed to allow half-pay for life to all Officers who would serve until the end of the War; but this came too late for Colonel Smith. J. S. S.

† Vide Colonel Smith's letters of May 10th and July 2d, and General Washington's of May 29, 1779. H. B. D.

‡ Vide Resolutions of Congress, November 4, 1777, and General Knox's letter of May 31, 1786. H. B. D.

§ The papers of General Smith possess so much importance, as material for history, that we shall continue the publication of them, month by month, until we shall have given all of them; and we are sure that they will be welcomed by all who are interested in the history of Maryland and its vicinity.

In our next, we shall begin the publication of the Revolutionary series; and that will be followed by those relating to the War of 1812.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

II.—EULOGY ON GENERAL WASHINGTON, DELIVERED AT SALEM, MASS.,

By REV. WILLIAM BENTLEY, D.D.*

NOW FIRST PRINTED, FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, BELONGING TO MISS MARY R. CROWNSHIELD, CHARLESTOWN, MASS.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS:

On this mournful occasion, we are to contemplate WASHINGTON, our greatest friend, as gone forever. Generous Virtue, in tears, disdains to be a candidate for Fame. Sympathy, when, in the fullness of soul, it mourns, in the deepest affliction, is sure of candor; and no apology can be necessary for the first thoughts our affections inspire. We come to give free indulgence to the most innocent of our passions. Our grief is inexpressible; yet, we remember, to think of the virtues of a WASHINGTON, with love and ad-

miration, is to give not only immortality to his name, but that safety to the public happiness which was the great object of his ambition. We ought not to attribute too much to any man, and forget the concurrence of other means in our national prosperity; yet, when we cannot distinguish the points at which they meet, we may reverence the bold stream by which all their blessings are conveyed into the bosom of our country.

This solemn hour has been the subject of anxious expectation to the wisest citizens of America and to the best friends of mankind. Affection led them to hope that Washington would finish his glorious life in peace; but the history of life and of nature is the same. Many vapors gather when the beams of rising greatness first appear, and seem dispersed, till the clouds of the horizon obscure the setting sun. What may not old age suffer when the darkness comes on; and at what may not feeble nature stumble? He lived in our prayers. He lived in our hearts. He has now finished every thing belonging to our nature; and from death has passed to God. Envy cannot touch him, or affection dread a double death. He has finished, he has well finished; and, from the fields of Mount Vernon, he has entered upon immortality.

But do we celebrate only a Conqueror? Is glory due only to the murderers of mankind? The Armies of Europe have destroyed, in one battle, more than fell in all the victories of Washington. We commend not the destruction of mankind. Were not his victories more glorious than those of modern heroes? Ask, who disarmed Civil War of its greatest terrors? Who gave Independence and the liberty of Law to his Country? Who united, in himself, Colonies divided by interest, manners, names, and Governments? Who confounded the first accents of faction, and disarmed it of its rage? Who preserved order in his own mind, amidst public confusion? Who disbanded an Army, and returned the soldiers as quiet citizens to their homes, contented with the prosperity of their Country? What boasted victory gave the general, the supreme, civil power, not to his ambition, but as a pledge of love? What victory added millions to population, glory to commerce, settlements to a wilderness, and wealth to citizens of every name? What gave a Nation the dignity to fill the highest offices with men who could willingly exchange the greatest honors for a private station? What gave an Hero retirement, without faction? Who, except Washington, ever gained such a victory as this? Can envy point a shaft at it, or ambition imagine higher glory? Willingly would all our modern heroes exchange sieges and battles, their victories gained and lost, their massacres and

* Washington died on the fourteenth of December, 1799; and, on the twenty-fourth, when the sad intelligence reached Salem, "the Selectmen directed the bells to toll the next day, at sunrise and, at times, through the day; requested that the shipping display their colors at half-mast; minute-guns be discharged on the Mall, from three to four o'clock, in the afternoon; and, then, the shops to be closed."

"On Sunday, the twenty-ninth, the virtues of Washington and the public sorrow for his death were the subject of pulpit eloquence in this Town. These performances were published."

"On the thirtieth, the inhabitants assembled and passed several votes in testimony of their high appreciation for his excellence. One was that the residents here be desired to wear badges of mourning for sixty days, commencing the first day of the year. Another, that an Eulogy be delivered the second day."

"Then, a procession was formed at the Court House. It consisted of Revolutionary Officers, noted strangers, Town-officers, and the Clergy, with the Orator, the Reverend William Bentley. The whole were escorted by the Cadets, under Captain Lawrence, who marched in inverted order, with arms reversed and drums muffled. After passing through several streets, they went to the North Meeting-house. There, accompanied with devotional services by the Reverend Doctor Barnard and with occasional dirges from a band, was delivered 'an elegant and classical Eulogy, on the public and private virtues of the deceased.'"

"After the performances were closed, the procession returned to the Court House. The Cadets concluded the funeral honors by three volleys. Their drums were then unmuffled, according to military custom, and the company moved off to the tune of the *President's March*. While the procession was moving, minute-guns were fired by a detachment of Captain Gould's Artillery Company, on the Common."

"This occasion drew together a great collection of people. It was consecrated by the exercise of remembrances, sympathies, and emotions, fitted to improve and honor our nature. Its like, for the scope of affections, enlivened and exalted by one of the noblest specimens of patriotism, whose brightness was still to shine upon the world, though its possessor had been summoned to eternal scenes, will probably never again be witnessed in this or any other portion of our Republic."—*Fell's Annals of Salem*, II, 28, 29.

At the suggestion of our esteemed friend, Captain GEORGE HENRY FENDEL, U. S. N., Miss MARY R. CROWNSHIELD, of Charlestown, Massachusetts, has kindly placed in our hands, for publication, the original manuscript of this Eulogy; and it is now our privilege to present it to our readers, in the following pages—its first publication, in any form.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

confusion, War without issue, and Victory without safety, for the unfading laurels of a Washington. We cannot ask, what have we lost? We ask, what have we not lost, of every thing, in man, that is dear to man? We ought, then, to pay the tribute of our praise and of our tears. If we are not able to do justice to the memory of our departed benefactor, still our gratitude may be our duty, as it is our sublime privilege, to praise God, though he be perfect.

It is hardly possible that so many circumstances should again combine to make any character so dear to America. We admire the bold enterprise of Columbus; but, in the discovery of America, we contemplate only the generous voyager, disappointed in all his laudable ambition. Each State in the Union has its own benefactors and its celebrated names. These were the guardians of our infant years. But when we became a Nation, Washington was our General. When we accepted our Constitution, Washington was our President. When he saw our national establishment, he resigned his power, with the same glory and virtue with which he received it.

On the twenty-ninth of October, 1789, we were witnesses of the public confidence and of the public joy. Then, our hoary fathers, now in the dust, our best citizens, and our lovely children, appeared, to welcome, in our streets, the Father of our Country. We all recollect how sincere was the pleasure; and the lovely day of his birth has repeatedly been honored in our public assemblies. His dignity and ease, we beheld with delight. His paternal love of his country and the lovely testimony of his virtues combined to raise in us the most ardent affection. In every form, his image has been given to our minds. It adorns our walls; exists in our richest apartments; and appears in all the places to which we resort for amusement and pleasure. In our streets, we repeat this name as we pass; and it is remembered in our Towns and Counties. It rises to our thoughts, in the flowing waters of brooks and rivers; and the Capital of the United States is to transmit his fame with the record of our Laws and in the name of the place in which our Government is to be administered. And yet gratitude still speaks, that these honors are not sufficient. These are not flatteries paid only by a fond people. They have the consent of enlightened men and of the greatest nations. Not only have the historians of our own country consented to the highest honors; but, with one voice, have they been approved. The Nation from whom we separated has neglected no accents of praise. Says their historian, in 1785: "He fully answered every hope he had formed. In the course of an arduous War, and in the midst of frequent and severe trials, he completely justified the opinion the world had

"entertained of his valor, conduct, and perseverance." We ought not to forget the tribute of respect, from Poets and Princes. Such honors, while they accord with our own, confirm us in our public gratitude. When we see Dedications, in foreign Universities, "to the greatest and most virtuous character that the new world has ever produced," we ought to recollect it is our own best friend whom the world delights to honor.

Justly to contemplate Washington, we should review the important parts of his illustrious character. We should see him in the happy character of a citizen, possessed of those early honors which entitled him to the suffrages of Virginia, a Colony which first boldly supported the hopes of our Independence; and, by one of its members, first proposed it in the Congress of 1776. In the first Congress, we should observe the virtues which led a Nation to entrust, in his hands, the salvation of their Country. He is thus described by a person who knew him, at this memorable crisis:—"He is dauntless, active, attentive to business, temperate, humane, formed for gaining and securing the affections of Officers and Soldiers, far from being haughty and supercilious, though naturally reserved. His personal appearance is noble and engaging. He certainly possesses strong powers of mind. His being a person of strict honor and probity, was undoubtedly the main reason with Congress for electing him to the chief command of the American Army." When surrounded by faction and intrigue, by envy and War, we are then to remember the steady warrior who maintained our cause, in the greatest dangers which can threaten the national existence of any People. We are to see his calmness, when, firm in the alliance of France, which assisted us more by loans than arms, he gained for us the Independence we sought, with the greatest glory. Then let us recollect a disbanded, discontented Army, made quiet at his pleasure. Let us see him exalted to the highest civil honors. Let us see him sacrificing, to the love of peace, in our negotiations. Then, when the astonished world gaze on the hero, let us be present at the solemnities when he calmly resigned every honor, to retire to the duties of a private citizen. In his undisturbed tranquillity, in which he did not forget his Country, let us see him die in peace. If a character so well supported be not glorious, where shall mortals find a man worthy of glory? If the love and esteem of the friends who consecrated him to the public service; if uniform dignity, in the most arduous undertaking for his Country; if the gift of Liberty and Peace; if the friendship of the Laws, and the mildest Administration; if retirement without faction and private virtues with-

out false ambition, when they meet, and live together, and support a character, will not make it great, farewell, then, to our world, all hope of any thing to love, to esteem, and to praise, as eminent, glorious, and perfect.

But no man is unwilling to pay a tribute, which complete success has made sacred. The great warriors of Europe, who astonish the world with their battles, have a glory like the lightning, which plays in the heavens, but never kindles into the full orb of day. Washington sought for Liberty; and he sought as its friend. He conquered; and Liberty had the Crown. He governed; and the people were blessed. No vice has disgraced the Man, while glory covered the Hero. And while he views his Country happy, he bids a kind farewell, and dies.

The private life of General Washington has been expressed in the opinions of his fellow-citizens, and explained in those virtues which we shall find to be the constant companions of his retirement, when he had deserved well of his Country. His early conduct in the Army had left the memory of him for future contingencies. He had the independant spirit of his own Colony. His character was formed from the ease of condition and the freedom of soul, rather than from any studied theory of Law or Government. He was born free.

On the third of July, 1775, he arrived at Cambridge, to take the command of the American Army. Every thing announced, instantly, the confidence and joy of the Army. All waste of property and licentiousness of manners were prevented. The discipline was not severe; but the authority of character was absolute. Subordination was felt. Military arrangements appeared; and approaches were made. Boston was completely invested; but the inhabitants had nothing to fear from the soldiery. The enemy soon retreated, without an excuse for the destruction of the Town. The Expedition to Canada, encouraged at Cambridge, though unsuccessful at first, terminated in the Convention of Saratoga, an event beyond any expectations in the adventure. The advantage taken of it may be seen in Washington's letter to General Burgoyne: "If the power of his British Majesty's feet and armies has been driven from Boston and Charlestown, cut off at Trenton, expelled the Jerseys, and be now, after almost three campaigns, commencing its operations, this is a power we do not dread."

When we consider the position of the American Army, in the neighborhood of Boston, we shall confess that the little damage done to private property proves how early commenced that attention which marked the progress of the Army, often oppressed by every want, till the close of the War. When the scene of War

changed, the conduct of it was agreeable to the nature of the resources the country could afford. This was of the utmost consequence. The English Generals found that they could not force Washington to action. The movements of the American Army, under General Washington, have been justly contrasted, by a British General, with the movements of the American Army in South Carolina. With great military prudence, Washington withdrew his Army from New York; and he saved his Army by keeping in the Jerseys. He kept, as long as he could, Fort Washington; but he did not attempt to keep Philadelphia. The event in the capitulation of Charleston justified all his operations.

While in his military command, General Washington was obliged to pay a sacred regard to the civil authority, and to prevent any competitions. The Marquis de Chastellux, who was in the French service, has noticed this part of his character, in the manner it deserved, as, by it, he preserved his influence and secured his success. Says the Marquis: "This is the seventh year that he has commanded the Army, and that he has obeyed the Congress. More need not be said, especially in America, where they know how to appreciate all the merit contained in this simple fact." "It will be said of him" he adds "at the end of a long Civil War, he had nothing with which he could reproach himself." This appears in his constant communications with Congress. It is marked in all the conduct he observed to the British Agents, who were able to discern his importance to the American cause. Nothing unofficial was done or received. Never was he more explicit, than when the interference of power could be suspected. This caution explained his full purposes to Congress. In the troubles of Vermont, he sent to the Governor only a *verbal* message, accompanied by the Resolves of Congress, that he might express the utmost sensibility in regard to the Civil authority. In the War, he was obliged to contend with every evil from human passions. Liberty seemed to inspire every exertion; but, in turn, different views appeared. False hopes counteracted the best designs. New events collected strength, and tended to precipitate all measures. The wants of the soldiers were often opposed to their courage; and then want seemed to make them desperate. Poverty was the portion of the Army; but riches were obtained from the sea. Discontents had the most dangerous forms; and the salvation of the Army was, that their General, having the hearts of his soldiers, left no friendship to the enemy.

The letter of Washington, representing the pressing wants of the Army, obtained their relief; and they who mutined, returned to their duty. Not all these discouragements made him

resign his trust; nor could all the proud hopes of his soldiers impel him to action against his own most deliberate purposes. The event has proved that he saved his men and his cause. The event of Trenton, accomplished by his little band, and his generosity to the prisoners, gave fresh spirits to his troops and great reputation to his courage. The Battles of Trenton, Princeton, and Monmouth, though not decisive, yet they prepared for the great event, the success of the American Revolution. And thus, not by splendid victories and the havoc of War, but by military prudence and a sacred regard, not to fame, but the public interest, Washington secretly weakened the enemy and strengthened his friends, and, in the end, Peace returned without destruction of life or desolation of the country. We reverence the man who gave national existence and prosperity to our United States. We may adopt the language of Colonel Humphreys:

"A transient gloom o'ercast his mind,
 "Yet still on Providence reclined,
 "The Patriot fond believed,
 "That Power, benign, too much had done,
 "To leave an Empire's task begun,
 "Imperfectly achieved."

In no attitude is Washington contemplated with greater anxiety, than when about to separate his Army, and in no attitude will he appear more glorious to posterity, than when he accomplished his purpose. To conduct a People, through a Revolution, to an happy political issue, is great. But to prepare the public mind to acquiesce, even in its own choice, after public discontents, is glorious. To disarm the power by which victory is gained and to cause soldiers to be content in the national honor and public happiness, must be the work of him who has great confidence and great reputation. The poet and the politician, the friends of mankind, at home and abroad, have celebrated this event, as bringing immortal honor to the hero. Washington dismissed his troops without the name of a standing Army, and only with a badge of their mutual affections and of their former services for their Country.

With the highest applause for his conduct through the War, Washington was carried by the affections of the people to the highest civil promotion. He had no rival of this dignity. But, in political life, success is more allied to opinion, than in War. Conquest is visible, and victory is known; but happiness is seldom thought to be in any man's possession. Every fear may expel it. Every hope make it future. Political wisdom is often left to the deliberate judgment of remote posterity. Washington made the sure guide of his Administration, the Constitution and the Laws.

He was never betrayed into any extravagance of opinion. He never forsook experience, resisted facts, or was at variance in his thoughts with the true character of mankind. He never gave to any man, an influence in the Nation, not belonging to his powers; and never suffered either his prejudices or his resentments to refuse any man's talents to his Country. He flattered no State, and erected no monument to his own vanity. The friends of the public were his friends, wherever they could be found. Attached to the Agricultural Interest, his fondest habits never led him to point its interest against Commerce, or to separate these twin brothers of the public prosperity. Possessed of Slaves and the friend of Liberty, no theory of life made him forget the progress of the mind and the gradual changes necessary to the best hopes of every condition. Fond of population, he never flattered the rage for emigration; and he never thought to change the manners of men by any change of Climate or Nation. Generous to the public, he was economical in his private affairs. But he never employed his private wealth in speculations which could endanger the public character or private virtue. He governed only to bless the people.

But he who had seen mutiny in the Army, found, from local causes, insurrection in the State. The Scheme of Finance, by Secretary Hamilton, in 1791, had some resistance in Pennsylvania. The evil found no remedy in time; and, in 1794, was hostile to the public peace. The Insurgents dared not to meet the authority of the name of Washington. They might presume to say he was deceived; but they could not say he was corrupted. His Speech, on the occasion, discovers his love of the public peace, restored without military violence.

President Washington never lost confidence, in all the struggles of opinion; and many spectators were more impartial than some sincere friends. His negotiations, the consequences of which cannot yet be developed, were the subject of the highest praise and of the most severe discussion. Says a late traveller: "I shall say that the President found the negotiations not agreeable to his instructions; and that he delayed the communication, till it was known how determined the Senate were to approve them." His consent, then, in so doubtful an affair, was the greatest political prudence, in the then distressed and defenceless state of Commerce. Whatever may be the remote consequences, we are sure that we have escaped the Wars of Europe, for which we cannot pay too high a price in any mistakes which have not oppression as their end and guilt as their means.

The next interesting scene which does immortal honor to Washington is in his resignation. What Painter can dispose of all the beauties of this pic-

ture? What Poet's fancy can make it live before the eye? What Historian can unite the simple and sublime, so that this may be a great lesson of the true glory of power, in all generations? Says a spectator and a foreigner:—"Nothing can be more simple than this ceremony of installation. Yet this simplicity had something of the beautiful, the great, and the antique, which inspires respect and reaches the heart. I speak of the effect I felt. This total change of the Administration, made with so few forms, with so much reflection, and which, with the least possible parade, places a man who was, a few hours before, only a private citizen, in the highest office of State, and which restores to the common class of citizens, the man who had just been chief, is inexpressibly great, and full of true majesty. The presence of the old President, mixed in with the other spectators of this ceremony, added still more to this interesting scene; and rendered the whole complete." What glory is given to the scene, in the mind of every citizen, that this event accomplished the highest wishes of our national benefactor. That this was the Liberty he hoped would be perpetual. That he saw this promotion with all the luxury of enjoyment; and never cast one thought towards the honors he had so gloriously, and with so little ceremony, resigned. Can a more interesting character exist in imagination? External objects instruct us. They teach us to be free, or they make us slaves. How lovely is this simplicity, in religion as well as power.

We follow Washington to his retreat, to his beloved Mount Vernon—a retreat from all public honors, but not from all cares for the safety of his Country. When danger appeared, it was the consolation of America, that Washington was still living. His name gave reputation to the Nation and protection to the people. Yet, again, he could consecrate his grey hairs to the service of the Camp. His acceptance of the military command displays, at once, his duty as a Citizen, his submission to the Laws, and his ardent love of his Country. This single act saved his country from convulsions; awed even the rulers of France; and made all Europe reverence so happy a people. Had Switzerland possessed such a General, it would have been reformed without oppression. Had the Dutch found such a friend, the armed neutrality of the North would have been still more glorious. Yet, all the cares of Washington spake an acquiescence in the national Administration. No courier carried his dictates to the Government. No party found its strength in his secret communications. He was now blessed in the abundance of his fields and in the wealth of his private estate, under its ancient landmarks; and hospitality gave a welcome to all who came to his doors. The Historian will

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not choose to pause, when he resigned the Empire; or wish to consign his hours of retirement to eternal oblivion. Washington returned to the native character which made him dear to the inhabitants of Virginia. He returned to his home; to the banks he had so long enjoyed, and which he relinquished only to serve his Country. The Stranger and the Friend came to visit the Hero of the age, whose greatness appeared in being again the Man and the Friend. Thus, his character has been preserved, with all simplicity, for the full measure of human life; contemplated, admired, and celebrated by great men of every Nation, and revered by those who hold Crowns and Sceptres.

We pay as great reverence to the Man as to the Hero. We shall find, combined in him, all the virtues as well as all the honors of life. His patriotism made us free, and his virtues will preserve our freedom. Would to God, with the legacy of his instructions, he could bestow all his own virtues upon us. Heroes in arms, we may find in every Country: faithful Legislators have been known: but the man who equally deserves well in the Church and the State, as the Soldier and the Citizen, is seldom to be found. But such was Washington. In General Washington, the love of Liberty arose from the independence, full prosperity, and generous ease of Virginia—a Colony to which we were indebted, in the commencement of our Revolution, for the best communications and the best men. They gave us great men; and, in the richness of their gift, they gave us WASHINGTON. To an independent mind, he gave no other restraints than the love of happiness, of virtue, and of mankind will ever impose. He was no wild and unsteady youth, wantoning in full prosperity and boldly sporting with the passions and the fate of mankind. His grounds witnessed to his industry, and his servants to his vigilance; and the beauty of Mount Vernon did not refuse the gifts of Nature. He knew what property was, from economy, as well as from inheritance; and he possessed the virtues which maintain it. The scenes of nature had no confusion in his eyes. He knew how to select and arrange its beauties. He had been abroad from home, the young soldier as well as young gentleman. But no vice returned with him. The love of home was pure enough to enable him to enrich it with all the wisdom he had collected. He thus rose to notice. He only waited to display that character which has astonished the world. We love to see economy throughout. We pursue and are sure to gain. The steps are easy and they are safe. He who cultivates his field, not by bare imitation, but with all the lessons of experience, soon rises in his views, and begins to compare the various effects of character and habits. When we tread the well-arranged field and mark the man of order and economy, we are sure to be

under the eyes which read us at the heart. Our education, our manners, our characters, are open as the flowers, and seen in their progress as the plants of the Garden. Thus Washington became great. But he was also good. Nothing escaped from his light; and like the ray which carries light and heat, too, nothing escaped from his benevolence. For the system of the State, he was not accountable. But he who is pleased with the well-directed industry of the field, will learn to make it cheerful. How good was it to see a servant, born in the same house and in the same year, following his Master through life, with love and gratitude.

He who loves information respecting life and men, will spontaneously indulge in hospitality, not for the gay and thoughtless, but for the well-informed traveller and for the refreshment of the needy passenger. What a joy has the tale often afforded that this blessing was from the hand of Washington, displayed not with pomp, to gain admiration, but with simplicity, to enrich the guest who would bear the memory on his heart. Not with the love of praise, while unconscious of the effect, he left his image in the soul. "There," says the traveller, "I blessed a man, where my 'tongue was never taught to utter my gratitude.'"

How distinguished was the temperance of Washington. Not in a haughty refusal of choice blessings which cheer and invigorate the mind and body of man; not in painful restraints and formal rules. His countenance told it. His calmness told it. From his lips, it was never known. Always the same, he executed as he thought; and his passions knew the health of his heart. How great was his power to deliberate. He followed not the impetus of thought; nor did he delay, to think. He was provided for events; and, so, ready for action. Instant on the occasion, he was still old in reflection. And thus in season, he was never precipitate. Acting from his own resources, he was glorious in success.

But he had a characteristic silence. No pride could betray him, for he honored his own understanding. No passion could disclose the purpose of his mind. While his tongue was silent, his heart was concealed. He was at liberty, for no hasty opinion could enslave him. His last and best thoughts were the first, to the world, in all things he undertook. His silence was accompanied with a reserve, but with a reserve directed by his judgment. He yielded to all the innocent emotions of social life. Enough was given to please and to satisfy us, while we remembered that he could not be betrayed or in our power.

In such habits, he had a sound judgment. The events of the War, the history of his Administration, his private life, and his multiplied cares,

all speak this in his praise. A few, who thought themselves nigh, might think they had discovered something unseen by other men; but they have never yet been able to divulge their secret.

From a mind so well governed, we did expect what we have enjoyed. The Orders of General Washington have been read and admired, not only in America, but in Europe, and even in Asia. The hatred of civil commotion has not prevented men from attention to a man who disarmed it of all its horrors. All have been astonished to see the wisdom of the State and the prudence of the Family united to the discipline of the Camp.

His Speeches have not been less celebrated. His Address to his Army, when disbanded, has had all the charms of moral poetry from the pen of Colonel Humphrey.* His Address to the United States, when he retired, is printed with our Laws, common as our Almanacs, and folded in the leaves of our Bibles.

His Letters have been published, repeatedly, with great approbation. The Statesman finds in them, a knowledge of the country; the Soldier, invention and experience; the Philosopher, events in their causes; the Patriot, the love of Liberty and of mankind; while every reader is pleased with arrangements so glorious in their consequences.

From his pen, we turn to his active life. A Revolution combines the most eccentric men; and it requires the greatest wisdom to manage them. In Washington, they found the man to love, to obey, and to follow to glory. But even God is charged foolishly. The forgiveness Washington displayed is felt by some men, happy in the present Administration. They were admitted for their talents; and they love the man to whom the public good was dearer than any resentment in his power. Still, forgiveness never triumphed over caution. He preserved what was good, and the evil, his wisdom could prevent. Such was the blaze of these virtues, that the public countenance was cheered by them and every citizen rejoiced in them. Hence, he had unbounded influence, such as is given only by generous conviction and the most full experience. We poured our hearts into his bosom. We trusted his prudence, as though informed from heaven. Let us remember how he enjoyed this confidence. His modesty was as conspicuous as if he had received no assurance of favor; and this virtue never forsook him in his greatest prosperity.

His consistency was as eminent. He united the Soldier, the Statesman, and the Citizen. No act belonged to one part of his character, while it did not agree to the whole. No plea in one

* The Marquis de Chastellux, translated, from Humphrey's version.

profession excused the manners in another. His character was equally good, whether he directed the Soldier, honored the Laws, or blessed a Citizen. Yet he could yield. When his own convictions could not readily obtain, he could lead the plans of other men to success. The power he could lawfully employ was always sufficient for any design; and his ambition never looked beyond the end and the means which the public will did appoint. The event has given the greatest glory to his name which can ever be bestowed on man. Where is the man, entitled by his public services to esteem and confidence, who does not join in the public gratitude? The highest honors have been given, while he was yet alive. The sentiments of politicians, however jarring, have been in the concert of his fame. Washington has the first name in the records of his country. Divested of every public honor, he died in the greatest exaltation. When we commemorate our Revolution, when we defend our Laws, while we are virtuous, we can never forget him.

In conjugal life, our illustrious President was so happy, that, by fame, these partners of domestic felicity have been only known together. Happy must death be in this home of happiness.

The sentiments of the President upon Religion are expressed in the wisdom of Virginia. From the just influence of wise men, in that State, their worthy Bishop mentions the cheerful surrender of all the exclusive privileges they enjoyed. In religion, the President was practical. At the Church, devout. In his temper, catholic. The religion established in his own education, he loved. He saw the same religion, under whatever forms disguised, a blessing in the lives of all sincere men. Theology was not his study, but religion was his duty. It imposed laws upon his mind, which he obeyed. It blessed him in the Camp and in the Council. It was his guide in the offices of public and private life; and it spake peace to his dying moments. He lived as a Christian ought to live; and he died resigned to his God. Such a life, and such attention to religious institutions is a more rational defence and a more sure aid of virtue and religion, than all the tests and civil Laws which have confounded the human understanding, oppressed conscience, and divided mankind by hatreds and dissensions.

Could we enter the mind of this dying Hero, what sublime thoughts might instruct us. How glorious the retrospect of a life so useful and so dear to mankind. How exquisite the quiet, and how inexpressible the peace, of a good conscience! Our loss is beyond our conceptions. His fame is immortal! But a dying Father may leave immense riches to prodigality and to waste. His virtues rose upon a generous cultivation. They made him great, and they must live in us,

or he has lived, as to us, in vain. Can we be so ungrateful as to frustrate all his best designs? We shall add new glories to his name, if we transmit his virtues and the blessings they insure, to future generations. A virtuous people will raise up benefactors. But virtue has its means.

Ye Fathers, weep, for he lived for you. Ye Citizens, weep, for he conquered for you. Ye Nations, who love liberty and peace, he was your benefactor, and deserves your tears. This Nation will forever bless his memory. A great man, who has so long enjoyed and so richly deserved the public confidence, is the greatest loss a nation can sustain in man. We justly weep in our families, in our Assemblies, and in our Cities. We weep for him, and we may weep for ourselves. Who would admit the charge of ingratitude? But are not all the citizens who are not virtuous, ungrateful? The good Magistrate, the good Soldier, the good Citizen, and the good Parents, Children, and Servants, are the only worthy mourners at his grave! And are not the good Patriots the true friends of Washington? The men who love the peace of their country, who place deserved confidence in the friends of their liberties, and who prefer no Nation to their own! Will not every sincere mourner seek the true glory of a virtuous character? True greatness dwells in the soul. The name of General was not his glory. The civil honors were not his only promotion. Consummate glory is his, who joins every public honor to his own native greatness!

But if we are Gods on earth, we must die like men. Not all we possess could pay the ransom of a Washington! The higher value we put upon usefulness of character, the more we honor our departed benefactor and the higher value we put upon ourselves. It is a rich consolation to come to our last hour, endeared by every name! When we bid farewell to the best of men, may our virtues embalm his memory. Then may we hope to partake with him in a blessed Immortality.

Farewell! great Washington, farewell, forever. We now fold our hands in sorrow: we will extend them, in the raptures which belong to the blessed, when we unite in Heaven!

III.—REMINISCENCES OF THE CAMPAIGN ON THE RIO GRANDE.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 22.

BY MAJOR GEORGE DEAS, U. S. A.

The true cause of the War was the question of boundary. Had this been decided amicably, which might have been done under the Government of Herrera, War would not have followed.

Mexico, at one time, was willing to treat with us for the acknowledgement of the ancient limits of Texas—the Nueces-river. The Rio Grande, she consistently declared, time and time again, was never the boundary of Texas. But this we claimed; and instructions were given to the General to occupy it with a military force. This, perhaps, was all very well, seeing that we made the claim. Would we have done this with Great Britain? No. Mexico was weak; and hence our arrogance. It has all turned out successfully; and we have acquired an immense amount of Mexican territory; erected an empire on the Pacific Coast; and doubled the wealth of the Nation; but the mode in which the War was begun was mean and unjust, unworthy of a great Nation.

On the receipt of the intelligence of Thornton's disaster, accompanied by General Taylor's requisition for reinforcements, the eyes of the country seemed to be suddenly opened as to the posture of affairs on the Rio Grande. Up to this moment, not a recruit had been sent to the Army. It was supposed that the force was sufficient for the objects in view. But some of the Companies were not more than twenty strong. Here was now a nice question, whether the honor of the Country, the integrity of the Government, and the existence of the Army itself had not been compromised. A most extraordinary scene was exhibited in Louisiana—unparalleled in this or any other country. Men flew to arms, without distinction of age, wealth, or position in society. The Lawyer left his brief, the Judge his Bench, the Merchant his counting-room, the Planter his estate, and, side by side with the daily laborer, enrolled themselves as private soldiers, to rush to the scene of action. Not a moment was lost. In an incredibly short space of time, several Regiments were organized, and fully equipped, and on their way to join the Army. These gallant men were, however, by force of circumstances, denied the satisfaction of proving, upon the battle-field, their devotion. General Taylor was, in a measure, forced to give battle before their arrival. A mistake had been made in mustering them into service for a period (six months) not authorized by law; and they were subsequently returned to New Orleans. Poor fellows! they saw enough of the hardships of a soldier's life, in that short space of time; and very many of them fell victims to the diseases incident to camp life. The enthusiasm displayed by these first volunteers found no abatement during the continuance of the War. It spread itself throughout the land. The Government had no difficulty in finding soldiers; and it is safe to say that had Congress voted half a million men they could have been procured. Such is the martial spirit of a free people, accustomed to the use of arms!

As soon as the field-work had reached its com-

pletion, a garrison was thrown into it, consisting of the Seventh Regiment of Infantry, Lowd's Company [of the *Second Artillery*] and Bragg's Battery of Artillery. Here also the Hospitals were established. With the remainder of his Army, General Taylor broke up his Camp, on the afternoon of the first of May, and marched in the direction of Point Isabel—his object being to procure, at that place, abundant supplies and return to his position, opposite to Matamoras. During the march, no signs of the enemy were visible; but every disposition was made to receive and repel attack from any quarter.

On the second day, at about three o'clock, the Army reached Point Isabel and encamped. Attention was now given to strengthen the work at that place, and to prepare the supplies with which to return. Reconnaissances indicated that the enemy had placed himself between us and Matamoras, in very superior numbers. On the morning of the third of May, at early dawn, heavy firing was heard in the direction of the City. This was the cannonade and bombardment of Fort Brown. The General resolved to march, as soon as possible, to its relief. The reinforcements could not be waited for. The hope was, that Fort Brown would hold out. Here was anxiety. Communication was obtained with the officer in command, Major Brown, who sent a cheering message to the General, that he was able to defend himself for several days. The trains and supplies were now landed, in as short a time as it was possible to do so; and, on the afternoon of the seventh of May, the Army marched to meet the enemy.

The transport-service consisted, during the War, of four-wheeled wagons, each drawn by six mules, and capable of carrying about two thousand pounds. The wagons were covered with a strong canvas top. Operating chiefly in a country destitute of supplies, it may be imagined what large trains were necessary. They were, at times, great incumbrances to the troops, but, of course, could not be dispensed with. The train which accompanied the Army from Point Isabel consisted of upwards of three hundred wagons. There were, therefore, two objects before the General—one to give battle to the enemy, the other to protect this train. A concise Order for Battle, characteristic of General Taylor, was read to the troops, the day before breaking up, at Point Isabel, and was received with cheers.

Approaching battle is always a time of extreme interest; but, in this, our first encounter, the expectation was of the most lively description. But few persons in the Army had ever before been under fire, so that the sensation had a peculiar charm of novelty. The men were in splendid condition. Hardy, strong, and admir-

ably drilled, they presented a force fully equal to every reasonable emergency. The only anxiety was as to the strength of the enemy. With all the General's efforts to obtain information, their exact numbers and their strength in artillery could not be arrived at. All that could be ascertained was that they were vastly superior to to ourselves, especially in cavalry.

On the night of the seventh of May, the Army encamped upon a prairie, near some water-holes; and, at early dawn, resumed its march. The weather was excessively hot. Most of the men wore straw hats; and many had taken off their jackets. The knapsacks, on account of the oppressive heat, were carried in the wagons. At about mid-day, on the eighth, the spies in front came up with the light-troops of the enemy, who fell back; and, shortly afterwards, it was ascertained that the Mexicans were in front, in force. At a little after two o'clock, the head of our column came in view of the whole Mexican Army, drawn up in Order of Battle, distant a little less than a mile. It was a martial sight. The Mexicans, as before remarked, were always clothed in full uniform. On this occasion, there was not a twig between the two Armies. They stood, ready to receive us, the bright sun lighting up their gay caparisons, their horses neighing, pennons fluttering, and music playing. They presented a most formidable obstacle to our advance. Their line extended across the road; and was more than double that of the Americans. The General now halted the head of the column; and the rear came gradually up, the different Regiments and Batteries taking position to the left, as they successively arrived on the ground. The line-of-battle was formed in the following order, right in front: the Fifth Infantry, Ringgold's Battery, the Third Infantry, two eighteen-pounders—drawn by oxen, and familiarly known as "The Bull Battery"—the Fourth Infantry, Duncan's Battery, the Artillery Battalion, acting as Infantry, and the Eighth Infantry, on the extreme left—the Cavalry, two Squadrons of the Second Dragoons, was held ready to act at any given point. The train was parked and remained stationary, during the Battle. The whole force amounted to twenty-two hundred men; while the enemy had displayed before us very nearly three times that number. After a short halt—during which the men satisfied their thirst at the pond, near at hand, and also filled their canteens—the drums and bugles sounded the advance; and the whole line moved forward, in the order above given, over a beautiful level prairie, covered with luxuriant grass and flowers. In rear of the Mexican line was a growth of timber and thick bushes, called "*chapparal*." In this, it was afterwards ascertained, were their reserves, to the number of fifteen hundred, part of them irregular Cavalry, known as "*Banaheros*"

or "*Presidiales*"—fellows ready to do any butchering work, in case of our defeat. The Army continued to move forward, until it had reached a distance of about seven hundred yards from the Mexican line—good range for the Artillery. Here it was halted, the Regiments deploying; and the Artillery, which advanced alighty to the front, came into Battery. In a very short time, the first gun was fired, coming from the Mexican right and taking effect on our left. Not many moments elapsed before our Artillery opened upon them, with terrible effect. So rapid was its practice that it seemed like exaggerated musketry. The Infantry stood fast—it was all it had to do. In about half an hour after the commencement of the Battle, the whole of the Mexican left, which was composed of Cavalry, was observed to be making a flank movement, apparently to turn our right. The General promptly detached the Fifth and Third Infantry, to meet this movement. The Fifth moved to the right, about three hundred yards, and formed a square; the Third took position a little more to the rear, to guard the train. On came the Mexican Cavalry, in splendid order. Making a sweep to the right, they formed opposite our second front, and prepared to charge. The Regiment, standing firm, coolly waited for their onset, expecting, by the show of such superior numbers, to be entirely enveloped. To the surprise of all, however, these gallant horsemen contented themselves with a fusillade, delivering their fire by Squadrons, and then wheeling out, by turns to the rear. In this peculiar manner, they slowly advanced, causing us the loss of several men. The Fifth reserved its fire until the enemy had reached good point-blank range, when, with good effect, it was poured into their ranks, upsetting some forty troopers; scattering their horses, right and left; and throwing the head of their column into serious confusion. With this Mexican Cavalry were two small field-pieces. Abandoning, therefore, the idea of a charge upon the square, they sought to break or annoy it by artillery-fire. But, at this moment, Lieutenant Ridgely, with two of Ringgold's guns, galloped up, in support; and, coming instantly into Battery, saluted the Mexicans with such well-directed discharges of spherical case, that they left the ground precipitately, and rejoined the main body, to the right and rear.

In the mean time, the Battle was raging, without cessation, on our left and center—a continuous roar of artillery. With the exception of the single fire delivered by the Fifth Regiment, not a musket was discharged that day. It was all artillery-work; and General Taylor, for the first time, saw the importance of that superb arm of the service. There was but little manoeuvring, on either side. It was a sort of stand-off fight. The artillery

blazed away till night-fall ; and thus ended the Battle of Palo Alto.

The train was now brought forward, alightly, and closely parked ; and the troops being disposed around it, somewhat in square, lay on their arms, and awaited the coming of the morrow. Although the artillery had told, with effect, in the Mexican ranks, and we had gained ground, on the right ; yet, it could not be said, with confidence, that a victory was won. The close of day had found both Armies on the field of battle. Neither had retreated. It might, therefore, be called a drawn battle. But a different tale was told on the morning following. At early dawn, the whole Mexican Army was observed to be moving in retreat. Following them closely with his spies, the General ascertained that they had taken the main road to Matamoras. An examination of the ground upon which the Mexicans had stood, showed the effects of the artillery. From right to left, their line-of-battle was marked distinctly, by their dead. They lay as they had fallen. They were never buried. The wounded had been taken to Matamoras. Now, the General felt the assurance of a victory ; but, previously to this, he had resolved upon pursuit. A Council of War had been held at an early hour in the morning, at which different opinions were expressed, whether to halt or to advance ; but the General inclined to the policy of following up the enemy. His reconnaissance of the ground, at a later hour, confirmed his intentions ; and, at one o'clock, the Army advanced upon the Matamoras road, leaving the train, closely parked, where it had stood the night before, guarded by a small detachment and the two eighteen-pounders. These were placed in redoubts, at opposite angles of the park. The teamsters also were armed, and could act, with effect, on the defensive. One hundred picked men and Officers, commanded by Captain McCall, of the Fourth Infantry, constituted the advance-guard. The road leading from Palo Alto to Matamoras, passes, at intervals, through thickets called "*chapparel*," so dense that is quite impenetrable. These passes were, therefore, really defiles, and very narrow. Great caution had to be observed, not to be entangled in them. Fortunately, the enemy had taken up a position in advance of these narrow places, at a ravine called the Resaca de la Palma, about six miles from Matamoras. At this point, the advance-guard discovered the enemy to be in force, and then fell back, after some little skirmishing, about a quarter of a mile. Intelligence to this effect was conveyed to the General, while the Army was marching. Closing up his columns and making his disposition for attack, the General advanced.

The ground upon which the troops had to fight, to-day, was very different, in every respect,

from that of the day before. Although the enemy had passed through the thickset woods, to which I have referred, yet they were in position, in a spot covered with trees and bushes, which completely hid them from view until we were close upon them. Hence the very great difficulty in directing our first fire to advantage. Under the circumstances, nothing could have been more admirable than the General's plan of attack. So narrow was the road, that the whole Army was forced to march by the flank. The formation was right in front, exactly as it had been the day previous, in line-of-battle. Arriving within range, but without being able to see anything but tree and bushes, Ringgold's Battery, under the command of Ridgely—Ringgold having been mortally wounded, the day before—was advanced to the front and opened its fire ; while the Fifth Infantry was thrown into the bushes, on the left, and the Third and Fourth Regiments, respectively, to the right and left of the road. The other Battalions (Eighth Infantry and Artillery Battalion) were kept in reserve, a short distance to the rear. The orders to the Infantry were to push on and fight. Formations became impossible. It was all pell-mell, in a very short time. A Squadron of Dragoons, under Captain May, had been advanced a short distance and held in readiness for action. The General, believing that Ridgely's fire had produced its effect, now determined upon using his Cavalry. Captain May was, therefore, directed to charge the enemy's position with his Squadron. Nothing could yet be seen of the enemy, but his fire was severe, and the men were tumbling down, right and left ; and several Officers were wounded. Putting himself at the head of his Squadron, Captain May rode at the enemy, and came upon him near the ravine, upon both sides of which he was posted. Ridgely, limbering up, followed the movement, a short distance, while the Infantry pressed on vigorously. The consequence of this bold dash was important. The enemy was thrown into confusion. Deserting their guns, on the right, they ran into the bushes, panic-struck. On their left and center, they were a little more firm, and were serving their fires when the Infantry came upon them. It is impossible to describe the scenes which ensued. No Officer could keep his men in hand, on account of the undergrowth. Hence the Regiments became mingled up together, the men fighting, in a measure, under the orders of any Officers near them, and, in many instances, on their own responsibilities. There were no tactics used. It was a general free fight, from right to left ; and an infernal din arose, enough to strike terror into braver men than Mexicans. In the midst of this scene, sat the General, as calm as if at a tea-party. After he had once given his orders to advance, fighting, he could do no more ;

for he could not possibly see his troops. Their noise, however, told him what they were about and where they had gone. This desultory kind of fighting was kept up for about an hour and a half—the Eighth Regiment having come up from the reserve—when a general assault was made upon the Mexican position. It was impossible to withstand the impetuosity of our men. After some desperate fighting, the enemy turned and fled, leaving us in possession of their entire camp and of eight pieces of artillery. Even the private effects of Arista, the Mexican commander, fell into our hands, together with a large amount of camp-equipage, mules, and munitions of war. Some two hundred prisoners were taken. The battle-field was strewed with their dead and wounded, bearing ghastly evidence of the fierce struggle which had taken place. The enemy had fled to the river, and crossed it, in utter confusion, large numbers being drowned in their efforts to escape. They were pursued, in some instances, by detachments of our men; but the General was too weak in Cavalry to take complete advantage of the rout of the enemy. The train was still in the rear to be attended to; and so the Army rested on the battle-field.

The loss of the Mexicans, in these two engagements, could not have been less than four hundred killed, and one thousand wounded. The loss, on our side, was Officers and men killed; Officers and men wounded. To account for this great disparity in the numbers lost in the two Armies, it must be borne in mind that the Americans were vastly superior to the Mexicans, in the use of their arms. Ours, also, was a superior musket, of excellent workmanship; while the Mexicans were armed with the old-fashioned English musket, of inferior quality. This gun throws an ounce ball; and their cartridges were enormous, containing twice as much powder as was necessary. The effect of this large load is to produce a severe recoil, seriously affecting the efficiency and aim of the soldier. At Palo Alto, the service of the Mexican artillery was but indifferent; while ours seemed to tell, at every discharge. The spherical case-shot was particularly effective. The Mexicans had nothing of this kind. Their balls and shells were all of copper—the latter in many instances, breaking open without fragments, consequently doing little or no damage.

Our victory was complete. That fine Mexican Army which, but a few days before, had marched to meet us, in all the pride and pomp of War, was now a broken, dispirited rabble—so completely disorganized that days elapsed before the Mexican General could collect the semblance of an Army around him, at Matamoras. So serious had been these disasters, that what remained of the fugitives

from the Battle of the ninth of May, seemed to be demoralized beyond recovery. The Mexican accounts tell a dismal story of these events. From a state of lofty assurance and confidence in the annihilation of their enemies, carried to such an extent that they had actually parcelled out the booty, before-hand, they were, by the boldness of General Taylor's movements and the fierce onslaught of his troops, carried to the depths of despair. Upon the American Army, rough-looking and dirty enough, at times, the Mexicans had, before they felt their prowess, looked with the most supreme contempt. It was difficult for them to comprehend how soldiers, dressed in common blue jackets, and their Officers *en negligé*, could stand before the great appointments of the Mexican Army. And, even to this day, they do not understand it. Beaten in every engagement, no matter what the odds in their favor, they still persist in attributing their discomfiture, not to the superiority of our Officers and men, in the physical and moral qualities of soldiers, but to some misunderstanding, on the field of battle, among their Chiefs, or some untoward accident or other, which turned aside the victory which, by every calculation, should have been for them.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

IV.—PAPERS OF GENERAL JOHN LACEY, OF PENNSYLVANIA.*

I. JOURNAL OF A MISSION TO THE INDIANS IN OHIO, BY FRIENDS FROM PENNSYLVANIA, JULY—SEPTEMBER, 1778.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED, FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

On the Seventh day of the Seventh Month, in the year 1778, I set out with my uncle, Zebulon Herton (who was going to visit the Indians which live to the westward of the Ohio-river), and went to John Parish's, in Philadelphia, where we staid all night. On the eighth, we staid in Philadelphia, my uncle having some business to transact with the Meeting for Sufferings, in reference to his journey, which was finished in the afternoon, and everything got ready to set out in the morning.

On the ninth, we set out, accompanied by sundry Friends, to the river Schuylkill, where we parted with them all, except John Parish, who

* These papers were carefully copied from the originals and communicated to us by the late Doctor WILLIAM DARLINGTON, of Westchester, Pennsylvania, who was, himself, so justly distinguished in both Science and History.

As the son-in-law of the General, Doctor Darlington had taken great pains in securing and illustrating General Lacey's papers; and their importance will be seen by our readers, as they progress in the perusal of them.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

was going with us. We arrived at Robert Valentine's, in Downingtown, in the evening, where we staid all night.

10th. Set out; refreshed ourselves at Jacob Miller's, near Conestoga-road; and got to Lancaster, before sundown, where we staid all night, at Isaac Whitelock's.

11th. Being First day, we went to Meeting, which was not very large.

12th. We pursued our journey; crossed Susquehannah; and got as far as Tobias Hendrick's, where we put up for the night.

13th. Travelled to Carlisle, where we dined, and got our horses shod; and came to William Rippe's, in Shippenstown, in the evening.

This day, we met several people coming from Pittsburgh; one of them informed us he had been among the Indians; and had seen some thousands of them, at Shawneetown.

On the 14th, we set out early, and got to the top of the Blue-mountain, at one o'clock.

This forenoon was showery. When we came to the foot of the mountain, it rained; and the clouds prevented our seeing the top, when we began to ascend. My companions said the ascent of the mountain and hovering of the clouds over our heads made an awful appearance; and I make no doubt that their minds were sweetened with an idea of the appearance recorded in the nineteenth Chapter of Exodus.

Before we had gained the summit of the mountain, the clouds had passed away and the sun appeared in full glory—a welcome favor to us, being wet. When we came to the top of the mountain, every thing was dry; which made us conclude that the clouds had not been as high as the summit thereof. On the mountain, is a hollow cove. The ascent is gradual, but very stony and difficult. There is a spring rises near the top of the mountain, from which we followed the stream until we came to a level, that I suppose to be about two hundred feet below the top of the mountain: here we had a shower of rain. After going near a mile, we again began to ascend; and when we came to the top, on the western side of the valley, every thing was dry; and I am confident no rain had been there this day. We went down on the West side; descent very stony and bad. The road being very bad, we did not get to Fort Lyttleton till after dark; where we put up.

On the 15th, we passed Sideling-hill, Juniata-river, and arrived at Bedford, where we put up at Frederick Nagle's. It being Court time, we were very much crowded.

16th. Left Bedford; crossed the Alleghany-mountains; came to a place called the Shades of Death—a damp and lonesome place—and arrived at Stony-creek, in the evening, where we staid all night.

17th. We had good roads until we came to Laurel-hill; passed Ligonier, a small town surrounded by extraordinary good land; and put up at Larry Irwin's.

18th. We travelled a hilly and swampy road, but the land very good. We arrived at Pittsburgh, before dark, and put up at Sample's.

19th. Concluded to rest ourselves and horses. The people here treated us very kindly.

We had a conference with Captain White Eyes, a Delaware Chief, who was on his return from Philadelphia. He expressed much satisfaction at our arrival, and said he would go with us; but that he was under the necessity of waiting for Joseph Simmons, from Lancaster, who was to bring his goods from there. He informed us that John Gibson, an Indian trader, had set out that morning for Newcomer's Town,* the place we were going to; and advised us to endeavor to overtake him; as he would be a very suitable person to accompany us.

20th. We had made preparations to set out early this morning, in order to overtake the Indian trader; but, upon inquiry, learned that he had returned, and said that John Logan, a Mingo Indian,† was lying in wait to kill him. He had returned to town, among the Indians, for protection. He got Gayashuta, a Mingo Chief, and Captain White Eyes to agree to go and see what was the matter with Logan, and endeavor to pacify him. White Eyes said he would attend us all the way to Newcomer's Town: he thought the behavior of Logan would make us afraid, as he should be were he in our place.

They set out in a canoe; and we, with a Delaware Indian, by land. We crossed the Alleghany branch [*of the Ohio*] in a canoe; and our horses swam by the side. When we came near to a place called Logtown, where Logan lay, our guide stopped and hearkened very attentively, though we could not tell what he was listening at; but, before we had proceeded much further, we heard a great noise. Our guide, who could not speak one word of English, made motions to us to stop and retire. He took us up a hollow, to some water, where we staid while he went to the camp from whence the noise proceeded. He, for our safety, secretly informed George Girty, a trader, where we were. He immediately came to us and conducted us around

* This town was situated on the West side of the Muskingum-river, in the lower corner of what is now Tuscarawas-county, Ohio. I have seen an interesting map of that region, as it was about that time, in the *Lettres d'un Cultivateur Américain*, by Hector St. John De Crèvecoeur, published in 1737.—W. D.

† This Logan was the Chief who made the celebrated Speech preserved and lauded by Jefferson. The John Gibson here referred to, was the person by whom he sent the Speech to Lord Dunmore, in 1774. Logan was named so in compliment to James Logan, Secretary to William Penn, who was a great friend of the Indians.—W. D.

the camp, to the river side. He told us that an Indian had got drunk, and fell in the river, and was drowned; and that Logan suspected Gibson of making him drunk, and killing him. Soon after we came to the river, Captain White Eyes and our Indian guide came with canoes; and we again swam our horses by the side, over the river, to the house of John Gibson. Gayashuta was left to pacify Logan, who was very drunk. White Eyes and our two guides returned to Logan's camp, where they staid all night, leaving us at Gibson's.

21st. In the morning, White Eyes came over to us, and wanted us to proceed on our journey, as he was ready to go with us and Logan had become somewhat quieted; but, uncle Zebulon being a little unwell and White Eyes pretty merry, we thought it best, as Gibson was to go the next day, to remain where we were. White Eyes soon fell asleep. About eleven o'clock, Logan, Gayashuta, and several more Indians, came over to Gibson's. They soon began to talk very loud; while all the others stood around them, with their tomahawks in their hands. However, their differences were soon made up.

22d. We set out; crossed the Ohio with Gibson and White Eyes; came to a Mingo town, where they had Logan shut up in a house. An old Indian advised us to go on; but before we could get off, Logan broke down the door, and came to us in a very good humor, expressing a great deal of sorrow for what he had said yesterday. We came to Beaver-creek, a very fine stream, about fifteen perches wide, with a fine gravelly bottom. We came to Little Beaver-creek about sunset; crossed it; and encamped in a swamp. We were obliged to gather fern and bushes to lie on; yet we slept very well.

23d. This morning, it rained quite hard. We got very wet, as we received a double portion, one from the clouds and one from the bushes. We put up, after travelling all day, at an old Indian cabin.

24th. In the morning, our guide left us, in order to inform the Indians of our coming. We travelled on and came to a Moravian town, on Muskingum-river, where we staid all night. The Indians treated us very kindly.

25th. Our guides met us, a little out of town: they came to conduct us to the King. When we came into the presence of the King, he declared he received us with as great love and friendship as our forefathers and theirs received each other. After giving us a welcome, we were conducted to a house which they had prepared for us, where we were again welcomed. They immediately sent, in the King's name, to the Moravian town, for an interpreter. Gibson followed with his pack-horse and goods.

26th. We breakfasted with Freeman, a trader;

and, about ten o'clock, Captain Kill Buck came and ordered the women to get us some victuals. In about two hours, they brought us hominy boiled in bear's-grease, boiled squashes, milk, and Indian-cake, baked in the ashes. We were visited by the King and his brother. We were told that four white men were travelling through there, a short time before, and had been robbed and murdered by a party of Mingo Indians, at the Scioto-river. Our interpreter, Samuel More, an Indian, came in the evening.

On the 28th, we had a Meeting. Netow Clemon, King, Meek, Kill Buck, White Eyes, Indian Chiefs, and a number of other Indians, attended. John Parish read our Certificates, from the Monthly Meeting; also an Epistle from the Meeting for Sufferings of Friends, at Philadelphia; which being interpreted to the Indians, by Samuel More, they expressed their satisfaction, and said, "Ka-he-lak"—i.e. "Very well!" after which a Meeting for Divine worship was held; in which the Indians behaved with remarkable sobriety and attention. When the Meeting for worship was over, Captain Kill Buck said, if Friends would retire, they would hold a Council, and consider what answer to make, for Friends to take home; on which we withdrew and went to our house. In about two hours, the Interpreter came and informed us they were ready to give their answer, and desired we would attend; which being complied with, and having taken our seats, Captain White Eyes rose, and, after receiving the Belt from the King, spoke as follows:—"We are glad, and rejoice in our hearts, to see our brothers, the Quakers, speaking before us. What you have said, we believe to be right; and we heartily join in with it. Since our Savior came, a light in the world, there has been a great stir among the people about religion,—some for one way and some for another. We have had offers of religion many times; but would not accept of it, until we had seen our Brothers, the Quakers, and heard what they would say to us. And now you have come and opened the road; and we have heard what you have said; and we have felt the grace that was in your hearts conveyed to us—we think the Quakers and Delawares are brothers, brought up together as the children of one man; and that it is our Savior's will that we should be of one religion. Now you have come and opened the road, we expect to see the way, from town to town, quite over to the Great King, over the water. Then our King will know that the Quakers and Delawares are as one man, and of one religion. We are poor and weak, and not able to judge for ourselves; and when we think of our children, it makes us sorrowful. We hope you will instruct us in the right way, both in

"things of this life and of the world to come. "Now, what we have said, we hope to be strengthened to abide by." He then delivered a Belt to Zebulon Herton.

On the 29th, we had another Meeting, which was very orderly; the Indians seemed a great deal affected; and attended to what was delivered, with sobriety.

30th. My companions went down to the river, to a blacksmith's, and got their horses shod. When they returned, we went to see Captain Kill Buck's son, who had just returned from hunting. He had been out seventeen days, and had killed thirty deer. He gave us a fresh ham of venison; which was very acceptable.

8th Month, 1st. Last night, another hunter came to town. He had been out thirty days, and had killed forty-seven deer. This day, we had our last Meeting, which was very sober and affecting. After Meeting, we informed them of our intention of returning. They said they could not let us go, until they held a Council and provided a suitable person to accompany us to Pittsburgh. Captain White Eyes sent a messenger for us to come down the river to his house, as he was not well and would be glad to see us. It was agreed to, much to my satisfaction; as I expected something new and curious from the journey.

2d. We set out for White Eyes town*; crossed Muskingum-river; came to some glades or plains, of vast extent, which made a beautiful appearance, and are extremely rich; stopped at Thomas M'Kee's, who soon got ready and accompanied us. White Eyes received us with love and respect. We dined with him upon very good veal, both roasted and boiled, and cabbage. It is a dish rarely to be met with, among the Indians. After dinner, they held a Council, to which we were invited. After discoursing awhile, it was agreed that the King's brother and White Eyes should accompany us to Pittsburgh. The Council then broke up. We returned to our house, at Newcomer's Town, and got our things ready to set out, in the morning, on our return.

3d. We took our leave of the King and others, who looked very sorrowful at parting; and stood looking after us, until we got out of their sight. Uncle Zebulon and John Parish went up to the Moravian Upper Town; and I staid at the lower one.

4th. My uncle and Parish came to me at eleven o'clock; and, just after dinner, M'Kee and White Eyes joined us, with John Freeman and James Forbes, two traders. We set forward;

crossed Kaalamahong (?)* about seven perches wide, and encamped in the woods.

5th. Travelled about thirty miles; and, at night, encamped in the woods.

6th. Crossed Little Beaver-creek, and came to John Logan's house, on Big Beaver-creek, where we staid all night. Logan being from home, our guides left us and went to Gibson's, at Logtown.

7th. Set out, with one Delamon, an Indian trader; got to the Ohio; swam our horses over; and staid at Gibson's.

8th. We rested this day.

9th. Pursued our return, in company with a man from John Gibson's. Being rainy, we stopped at Captain M'Kee's, an Agent, under Sir William Johnson.

10th. We crossed Shuttee (?) and when we came to the Monongahela, there was a good boat, in which we were ferried over to our old lodgings, at Pittsburgh. My uncle much fatigued.

The uplands, on the West side of the Ohio, are not equal to those on the East side; but the bottoms, and the sides of creeks and rivers, surpass belief for richness. Some places abound with free-stone.

11th. We had a Meeting in the Town.

12th. We rode to Monongahela, eight miles above the Fort; staid all night at Mr. Fisher's, a Friend; and had a Meeting.

14th. We crossed the river, and came to Brad-dock's field of battle, which we viewed, and saw a few human bones. From thence travelled to Joseph M'Deal's.

15th. Being First day we did not travel.

16th. Went to Joseph Blackburn's, a Friend; and held a Meeting, on the 17th, where about thirty Friends assembled. In the afternoon, went to Daniel Hamot's, a Friend, at Youghiaghany, where we staid all night.

On the 18th, our friend accompanied us to Little Redstone, where he took leave of us; and we, continuing our journey, arrived at Josiah Crawford's, a Friend, in the evening.

On the 20th, had a Meeting in a school-house.

22d. I went in a canoe, with several Friends, up the river, to a Meeting, where there were about twenty Friends and a great number of others assembled.

The land on this side of the Ohio, though hilly, exceeds in richness my expectations of it.

On the 25th, we set out, accompanied by J. Crawford, and Benson, who came with us as far

* This town was on the eastern side of the Muskingum-river, some distance below Newcomer's Town, probably within what is now Coshocton-county.

This name on St. John de Crevecoeur's French map is spelled "Cushhaughting."—W. D.

* I am uncertain of the present, or proper, orthography of this name; but I find on Hector St. John's Map, a tributary Creek, on the eastern side of the Muskingum, above Newcomer's Town, and near a settlement on the western bank, called "Mission Morave," which is written "Cacca-loomachen," which may, possibly, be that which is here referred to. I should judge it to be in what is now Tuscarawas-county.—W. D.

as the top of Laurel-hill. Here our friends took leave of us; and we proceeded on to More's tavern. The landlord was from home; and the landlady a proud and ill-natured woman; so that we had an unpleasant time.

26th. Travelled on, a very rainy day. Saw a great many people moving to the new countries.

27th. Staid at Reynold's tavern; were kindly treated.

28th. Came to the South branch of the Potomac, which was very high. We were obliged to swim our horses by the side of a canoe. Got as far as Jesse Pugh's, a Friend, where we staid all night.

29th. Went to Meeting, at Back-creek Meeting-house. In the afternoon, I set out for James Love's, in Loudon-county; and made an appointment to meet my friends in Pennsylvania, the eight day of next month.

On the 8th of the 9th Month, I met my friends again at York; came to Lancaster; and, on the 10th, set out for Philadelphia; where we arrived on the 12th; and got home on the 14th.

V.—OUR HISTORICAL WRITERS,—CON-

TINUED FROM PAGE 8.

JOSEPH BARLOW FELT, LL.D.

BY HON. CHARLES W. UPHAM.

Mr. Felt was born in Salem, Massachusetts, on the twenty-second of December, 1789. His parents were John and Elizabeth (Curtis) Felt. His father, in command of vessels in foreign, chiefly East India, trade, died, at the age of thirty-eight, at Martha's Vineyard, on the twenty-third of August, 1802, after a long and trying passage from beyond the Cape of Good Hope.

The son, soon after, was placed in a store. While engaged in the services incident to that situation, such leisure moments as he could command, were occupied in books; and a taste for intellectual pursuits was thus early formed. The works, within his reach, led him to contemplate the career of distinguished characters who had sought and secured the benefits of learning under disadvantages; and a desire to obtain the means of a superior education was gradually kindled. By the encouraging influence of his excellent mother, the kind assistance of friends, and his own resolute spirit, he was enabled to accomplish his object.

In June, 1808, in his nineteenth year, he made his way to the Academy, in Atkinson, New Hampshire. In a brief autobiography, constructed in the third person, and contributed to an interesting document entitled *Class of Alum-*

ni of Dartmouth College, in 1813, issued from the press of T. R. Marvin, at Boston, in 1854, he gives an account of his arrival at the neighborhood of the Academy, in the following pleasant passage: "While enquiring for the mansion, 'where he expected to board, he was answered: 'Follow the chaise, directly before you.' This was done. It proved an important thread in 'the web of his life. The fair occupant of the 'guiding carriage, unconsciously pre-acting the 'part of a help-meet, became, in after years, his 'betrothed and bride."

Attaching himself immediately to the Academy, he pursued his studies with such vigilant assiduity as to fit himself for College in a year. Travelling in a stage-coach, part of the way, walking from Concord to Salisbury, and hiring a seat in a private conveyance for the residue of the route, he reached Hanover, in October, 1809, and entered Dartmouth College. A severe cold, caught in returning from a town in which, during a winter vacation, he had taught a District School, settled in one of his eyes, producing an inconvenience and disability, from which he suffered, more or less, ever afterward, during life. He was so far disqualified by it from pursuing his studies, as to have to leave College in the Spring of the Senior year; but he was allowed to take his degree with the Class, at its graduation, in 1813.

The necessity which thus broke off his collegiate course, forbade his continuing any literary pursuit. The cherished ambition, which had become an enthusiasm, for a professional life, and scholarly researches, had to be relinquished. The door seemed to be shut against him; and no path left open for any favorite or desirable occupation.

In this stage of his life, as the only alternative, he was led to return to the business to which he had become consigned, at the start. From the document already cited, I take the following: "Without sight enough to continue 'his literary pursuits, and uncertain when he 'might have it sufficiently; weary with having 'nought to occupy his time and attention, for 'a livelihood; and invited by a friend to become 'his partner in a business to which he had been 'formerly accustomed, Mr. Felt concluded to 'make trial of the proffered accommodation; 'but the revulsion which occurred in mercantile 'affairs, while the second War with England 'continued, closed their connection."

This left him again ashore, while the current of life was sweeping by; and no prospect appeared of his being able to embark upon it. At the twenty-sixth year of his age, every attempt to find occupation, either in the fields of literary and professional labor or the operations of active business, had been baffled. But he

was determined not to rest in despondence or idleness. Great as might be the inconvenience to which he was liable, from the injury done his sight, he felt the necessity, and formed the resolution, to encounter it. The result was, that, during his subsequent life, he accumulated by the use of his eyes, weakened and obstructed as was their exercise, an amount of exploration of documents, not easily decyphered or read, such as few men have accomplished.

It had always been the cherished and consecrated object of his wishes to become a Minister of the Gospel. To this he was prompted by a deep religious sensibility; and the calling of a clergyman being especially consonant with the habits of a student, it opened a more congenial sphere for the accompanying gratification of his favorite tastes in antiquarian and historical researches. He turned, once for all, without further concern, as to occasional disability of vision, sight or no sight, to the study of divinity, placing himself under the tuition of the Rev. Samuel Worcester, D. D., of Salem; and was licensed to preach by the Essex Association. In the mean time, he gathered and conducted schools for private tuition. After commencing preaching, he supplied pulpits, as occasions arose, in the neighborhood; and for two years acted as Chaplain of the Salem Almshouse.

On the nineteenth of December, 1821, he was settled in the ministry, at Sharon, Massachusetts. In 1824, he was transferred to another charge, being installed over the Parish of Hamilton, in the same State, as successor of the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL. D., one of the most eminent Ministers, philosophers and public men of the day.

In addition to the faithful discharge of the duties of his profession, Mr. Felt engaged earnestly in various spheres of activity, addressing Masonic Lodges, serving as Chaplain of Regiments, and laboring for the Schools of his Town. As Trustee of the Ipswich Academy, he delivered an Address. He delivered another, in the same place, which was published, to a Masonic Assembly. As Secretary of a Board of Trustees, organized for the purpose, and engaged in that enterprise, he took an efficient part in the establishment of the Mount Holyoke Seminary. His labors were incessant. Not neglecting his paramount pastoral and parochial obligations, his response to every call in behalf of literary, philanthropic, and especially historical interests, was prompt and untiring. A weakness of the lungs, to which he was liable, at length became so serious that, yielding to the injunctions of his physician, he relinquished, for awhile, the work of the pulpit, and finally withdrew from the public labors of the ministry, on the third of February, 1833; and

his connection with the Parish was formally dissolved, on the fourth of the next December. At the opening of the ensuing Summer, he removed to Boston, where he continued to reside during the greater part of his life.

Before leaving the ministry, he had established his reputation as an historical explorer and writer, having been elected a Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in 1830. In 1836, he became a Member of the Committee for editing its Collections; and contributed largely, in labor and materials, to the preparation for the press of four successive volumes of that invaluable publication. He delivered one in each of four courses of Lectures, sustained by that institution. On the twenty-ninth of December, 1836, he was elected its Librarian; and, with a brief interval, held the office for a long period of years. His engagements prevented his accepting a proffered appointment as Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, of which body he subsequently became a Member, by election. Several Societies, abroad as well as in this country, especially engaged in Antiquarian and Historical investigations, placed his name on their rolls. For three years, he was President of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society. He was successively Secretary and Librarian of the Congregational Library Association, in Boston; and, for some years, an active Member of the Board of the Boston Public Schools. During all this time, his labors were diversified as well as abundant. His correspondence with persons engaged in historical undertakings and pursuits was voluminous. He contributed aid in the production of that monument of industry, Farmer's *New England Genealogical Register*. He published, in the *American Quarterly Register*, *Ecclesiastical Statistics of Essex-county*; and in Colman's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, an article on the *Fasts and Thanksgivings of New England*.

The productions of his pen, that appeared in journals especially interested in his favorite studies and on special occasions, are too numerous to be wholly brought to view—such as the *Kidd Papers*, *Sketch of Abigail Brown*, *Genealogical Items for Gloucester*, and also for Lynn, and a discussion of the question as to "Who was the first Governor of Massachusetts;" papers relating to Congregationalism and the Ecclesiastical History of New England; *Memoirs of Roger Conant*, Francis Higginson, and Hugh Peters, also published in a separate pamphlet form. The remarks he made at the Centennial Celebration, in Danvers, on the sixteenth of June, 1852, were published, with those of other speakers, at the time. On the twenty-fifth of August, 1859, he delivered an Address before the Alumni of Atkinson Academy. He was, at several

times, on Committees appointed to examine Classes in Harvard and Dartmouth Colleges and the Willard Seminary, at Troy, New York. He was commissioned, with others, by Governor Everett, in 1838, to attend, in behalf of the State of Massachusetts, and to represent its interests in that Institution, at an examination of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, at Hartford, Connecticut, and wrote the Report of the same. He was called to the charge of Theological and Literary Seminaries, at other places, but declined, preferring to retain his residence in Boston. The Degree of LL. D. was conferred upon him, by Dartmouth College, in 1857.

While his engagements were thus multifarious, special service was demanded and rendered to the interests of history, in the preservation of its materials, which more, perhaps, than all his other works, will be appreciated in coming times. On the twenty-fifth of April, 1836, he was commissioned, by Governor Everett, to arrange the State Archives of Massachusetts.

This may be considered the great work of his life. When we take into view the peculiar nature of the undertaking, it will be apparent that nothing short of a heroic resolution would have encountered it. The amount of work required was truly fearful. The papers were in what seemed inextricable confusion; a vast amount of documents, in the utmost disorder, suffered to accumulate through two centuries before men's eyes were opened to discern their importance. There was extreme difficulty in decyphering many of them; and but few had distinctive or intelligible endorsements. A careful examination of every sentence, and a discriminating minute scrutiny of their import and bearings, were necessary to arrange them where they belonged; and a comprehensive system of classification had to be organized. Nothing short of the patient perseverance and untiring energy of Doctor Felt could have carried it through.

With a brief interruption, it constituted the regular occupation of about ten years of his laborious life. Before its completion, he was sent to England, commissioned by the State Government for the purpose, to look for duplicates of Colonial and Provincial Records and other public papers, of which the originals had been lost; to examine the offices there, procuring leave to copy such documents as he might judge important; and, generally, to obtain whatever would help to perfect the work in which he was engaged, in bringing to view and in reach, the materials of our history, in their authentic fullness. Availing himself of the opportunity, he travelled through Great Britain and Ireland, and made a brief tour on the Continent.

In 1846, the work was accomplished. The papers were divided into appropriate departments; properly classified, according to subjects and dates, carefully and skillfully attached to blank leaves; durably and handsomely bound; titled, with distinct letters and figures; and conspicuously numbered. A General Index was prepared. The shelves of the State Department, present the grand result, in two hundred and forty-one large and thick volumes.

The extent to which the Archives of Massachusetts are thus made available to the historical student, and to legislators, jurists and statesmen, is already demonstrated by the numbers who constantly resort to them; and can only be appreciated by considering the value that will be added to such papers, year by year, through all coming time.

In the several States of this Union, new as well as old, documents accruing in all offices of Record, legislative and judicial, in all municipalities and public institutions, similar measures ought to be taken, without delay, to preserve, and provide a thread to guide to everything that comes to them, from day to day, and especially whatever has thus far survived the ravages of carelessness, ignorance, neglect, and time. We all know how wide-spreading and deepening is the interest taken, every where, already, in the early annals of the different settlements and communities of this great country. Antiquity is beginning to throw its charm upon the details of the first era of our national character and life. In this department of knowledge, truth is found to be invested with the attractions of romance. As the centuries revolve, the interest of the Future in the Past will forever be heightened.

The last years of Doctor Felt were spent in Salem. Like many others, he was attracted back, as life declined and its enchainning labors and cares were removed, to his native spot. He died here, on the eighth of September, 1869, at the age of seventy-nine years, eight months, and seventeen days. During his last three years, he was an invalid, and sunk slowly under a decay of his physical and mental powers.

Mr. Felt was twice married; having been united, on the eighteenth of September, 1816, to the lady who directed his steps, when, a stranger youth, he was seeking his way to his boarding-house, in Atkinson, New Hampshire. She was Abigail Adams Shaw, daughter of Rev. John Shaw, of Haverhill. Her mother was a sister of the wife of Judge Cranch, of the United States Court for the District of Columbia, and also a sister of Abigail, the ever-honored and venerated wife of President John Adams. Mrs. Felt was, therefore, a first cousin of President John Quincy Adams.

She was the sister of William Smith Shaw, who must be ever held in grateful remembrance, as one of the most interesting and valuable characters in the Annals of Boston—an enlightened lover of the Arts and Learning—the friend and patron of all good men and good things—the founder and guardian, from its first inception to the end of his life, of the Boston Athenæum. He stirred all by his enthusiasm, and blessed all by his benignity. In a volume of three hundred and forty-six pages, prepared by Mr. Felt, *Memorials of William Smith Shaw*, the useful life and beautiful personal traits of this true scholar and philanthropist, are presented in passages from his correspondence with the best personages of his day, and of the greatest inherent value. Mr. Shaw died forty-three years ago; but his memory is fresh, and his living lineaments of intelligence and benevolence are clearly reflected on the recollections of all whose privilege it was to visit the Athenæum, while he dispensed its benefits. It was always gladdened by his presence—was, in fact, his only home. He there had opened the Pierian spring; and it was his constant delight to stand by it and administer its pure and sparkling draughts, to all who thirsted for them, particularly to the young. The pleasantest remembrances of school-boy and college days, are of his genial kindnesses attracting me to visit and avail myself of the opportunities within the walls of the Athenæum; and this grateful tribute cannot be restrained.

Mrs. Felt died on the fifth of July, 1859, having been faithful to every duty, and proved herself worthy of being called the help-meet of her husband, particularly by an active and earnest sympathy and cooperation in his favorite fields of study and labor. Mr. Felt's only child, a daughter, died in early infancy.

He was married, on the sixteenth of November, 1864, to Mrs. Catherine Meacham, who survives him. She is a daughter of the Hon. Bailly Bartlett, of Haverhill, Massachusetts, a Member of Congress, from 1797 to 1801, and, for a long period, until his death, High Sheriff of the County of Essex. She is a sister of the late Edwin Bartlett, one of the most eminent merchants and public-spirited capitalists of New York; and aunt of General William F. Bartlett, of the United States Army, so distinguished for his gallantry in the late War. Her cheerful society and watchful care were the Providential blessing of the last years of the subject of this Memoir.

Besides the publications already mentioned, the following works, all in octavo, will be regarded as his most elaborate and valuable productions:

Annals of Salem, from its first settlement, pub-

lished by W. & S. B. Ives, Salem, 1827, pp. 611. A Second Edition, by the same Publishers, 1845, in two volumes, pp. v. 535, vii. 635.

History of Ipswich, Essex, and Hamilton, printed at Cambridge, by Charles Folsom, 1834. pp. xvi. 304.

An Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency, published by Perkins & Marvin, Boston, 1839, pp. 248.

The Customs of New England, published by T. R. Marvin, Boston, pp. 208.

The Ecclesiastical History of New England, comprising not only religious, but moral and other relations. Published by the Congregational Library Association and by the Congregational Board of Publication. Two volumes, pp. (i.) 665; (ii.) 721.

These works show the results of astonishing labor, care, patience, and fidelity. They are particularly noticeable for the value, extent, and minuteness of their materials. The last-named, especially, in full and closely compacted pages, is a monument of industrious and comprehensive exploration.

The writings and labors of Doctor Felt, as a whole, may be safely said to have secured to his name and memory, the gratitude of all who appreciate the importance of American History. They are a vast storehouse of dates, facts, and occurrences, and will be more highly estimated, just in proportion to the degree, in which the truth becomes discovered, that the Past can only be brought back to life, by collecting and grouping the smallest details of its manners, habits, and condition. While the extent to which he indulges, all along, in religious, moral, and general reflections is not usual in works of this kind, they cannot but give to the reader, what all who knew the author experienced, a most pleasing and satisfactory assurance of the simplicity of an amiable and guileless spirit, integrity of purpose, and an honest truthfulness in all statements.

When the unfavorable circumstances, that attended his early efforts to prepare himself for professional and literary pursuits in life, are called to mind—the disappointments that tried his spirit, and the disabilities that obstructed his path—his case must be recognized as a singular triumph over disadvantages; a very remarkable instance of the accomplishment of a purpose against all obstacles and all odds; and a wonderful illustration of the power of a resolute will and patient labor to conquer all things.

His personal character commanded universal respect. His piety was deep-seated and pervaded the life. He was a steadfast believer in the system of Divinity that has ever been recognized as New England Orthodoxy; and a constant,

undeviating supporter of the usages and sentiments of his Church. At the same time, his temperament was genial and liberal. Courtesy, kindness, and a gentlemanly bearing characterized his expressions and deportment, in all the intercourse of society. To the objects that especially interested his thoughts and studies—antiquarian and historical researches—he devoted, with unwavering allegiance, his faculties, so much of his time as could be rescued from specific professional and personal duties, and his means. The income of a moderate but competent estate was freely expended in collecting facts, procuring records and all other evidences, to enable him to bring to light the truths and preserve the materials of our early history. For having been permitted and enabled to accomplish, to such a degree, in this line, the objects, and thus to realize the delights of his life, he was grateful to Heaven, to all who had aided and encouraged him, and to the institutions that had shed their influence upon his maturing mind. As an expression of this sensibility, he bequeathed two thousand dollars to the Academy and one thousand to the College where he had received his education.

By the labors of his life and the usefulness of the materials he gathered for the benefit of future explorers of specific portions of our history, he deserves to be gratefully remembered.

Besides and beyond the services William S. Shaw had rendered to the Boston Athenæum, in its establishment and superintendence for so many years, and the sums he had freely given, from time to time, there was found, at his death, to be a balance of actual indebtedness to him of about ten thousand dollars. Mr. Felt, as the legal representative of his estate, at once executed a release and discharge of the whole claim; the only consideration being his knowledge of his brother-in-law's devoted interest in the object, and his own sympathy in that interest. Their names are thus enrolled together among the most munificent benefactors of that noble Institution.

VI.—A NAVAL HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 43.

By HON. JOHN RUSSELL BARTLETT.

III.

THE BOARD OF TRADE MAKE A COMPLAINT TO KING WILLIAM AGAINST RHODE ISLAND. THE EARL OF BELLOMONT INSTRUCTED TO INQUIRE INTO THE IRREGULARITIES OF RHODE ISLAND. GOVERNOR CRANSTON'S REPLY TO THE CHARGES AGAINST THE COLONY. EXTRAORDINARY LETTER FROM THE KING'S MINISTERS, OR BOARD OF TRADE, TO RHODE ISLAND. LORD

BELLOMONT VISITS NEWPORT. HIS OFFICIAL REPORT. LARGE NUMBERS OF SEA-FARING MEN ENGAGED IN PRIVATEERING. CAPTAIN KIDD IN NARRAGANSETT BAY.

Two months after writing the letter of the twenty-fifth of October, 1698, to the Governor and Company of Rhode Island, the Board of Trade, which consisted of the Duke of Bridgewater, Ph. Meadows, John Pollexfen, W. Blathwayt, and Abraham Hill, made a "Representation," or Complaint, to King William, in relation to Rhode Island, a copy of which was transmitted to the General Assembly of the Colony. It was as follows. We omit those portions of it which do not appertain to naval matters:

Representation to the King about the irregularities in the Government of Rhode Island.

"TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY:

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY:—By the accounts received from your Majesty's Plantations, in America, we have been made sensible of the mischiefs arising there, from irregular trade and piracies; and having thereupon on several occasions humbly offered to your Majesty such things as seemed to us requisite for the redress of those evils, not only in general, but with more particular regard to some of the said Plantations. We further beg leave to lay before your Majesty what has occurred to us, relating to the Colony of Rhode Island, where practices of both of these kinds have been very notorious.

* * * * *

"Their favoring of pirates and carrying on illegal trade has been so often complained of, and the instances hereof are so manifest, that we cannot doubt the truth of it. And this belief we are more particularly confirmed in, by letters from the Right Honorable the Earl of Bellomont; and also from Mr. Randolph, Surveyor General of your Majesty's Customs, intimating that the Governor of that Colony pretending to a right of erecting a Court of Admiralty. And that having seized some pirates with their money, they designed to try them, and probably would acquit them. To which his Lordship adds, that he is well informed what constant encouragement they give to pirates to come in there with their spoils, and likewise what connivance is made at the breach of all the Acts of Trade. From whence it may be concluded, that there will be but very faint prosecutions of those crimes in a Court of Admiralty of their own erecting.

"Whereunto we crave leave to add, that though we do not find that they have any right to Admiralty power or jurisdiction, yet they have frequently granted Commissions of War to

"privateers, which practice has been owned to us, and insisted on as lawfull, in a letter from the present Governor, Samuel Cranston, with relation to one William Mays, of whose piracies we were otherwise informed; and particularly that he assisted Avery in taking the Mogull's ship, the *Gunsway*, saying, 'that the said Mays had his clearings from the Custom House, at Rhode Island, to go on a trading voyage to Madagascar, with a lawfull Commission from the Government, to fight the French, his Majesty's enemies.'

"And we are not only assured that they granted those Commissions, without any lawfull authority (as we conceive) from their Charter, or otherwise, but have reason to believe that they have done it knowingly for very unlawful ends and purposes, of which the trade to Madagascar mentioned by them (as it has been managed by the people of this Collony and others), is a strong indication.

"This being the state of your Majesty's Collony of Rhode Island (as it now appears to us), we humbly offer unto your Majesty, in order to the prosecution of these and other high misdemeanors of that Government, and for the redress of the same, that a Commission of Inquiry be despatched to the Right Honorable the Earl of Bellomont, empowering him to examine upon the place or otherwise, persons or witnesses, in order to the procuring of legal evidences, and requiring him to report to your Majesty the severall informations and proofs that he shall receive thereupon, in order to a Quo Warranto, or such other proceedings for the remedy of those evils, as to your Majesty shall seem meet.

"All which, nevertheless, we most humbly submit.

"J. BRIDGEWATER,
"PH. MEADOWS,
"WM. BLATHWAYT,
"JNO. POLLEXFEN,
"ABR. HILL.

"WHITEHALL, December 21, 1698."

Upon the reading of this "Representation," before the King, in Council, January 5, 1698-9, it was ordered, that a Commission of Inquiry be despatched to the Earl of Bellomont, to procure legal evidence in relation to the charges set forth in said Representation. The Government was furnished with a series of questions to be given the Commission of Inquiry, with a view to the "discovery of Irregularities in Rhode Island," accompanying a Memorial from Jahleel Brenton, who availed himself of this opportunity to make certain charges against men high in office in the Colony. The queries suggested

were incorporated in the Letter of Instructions to the Earl of Bellomont. At the same time, the Board of Trade wrote to the Governor and Company of Rhode Island, under date of February 8, 1698-9, informing them that the Commission of Inquiry had been created. A copy of the "Instructions" accompanied the letter. The satisfactory result of this Commission, adds the Board, will be the "most effectual means of wiping off the ill report which has lain upon Rhode Island for irregularities."

The Instructions to the Earl of Bellomont, which were dated March 9, 1698-9, relate to charges of misdemeanor which had been made against the Colony of Rhode Island. This portion it is unnecessary to recite. With reference to the administration of the Government and the granting of Commissions to privateers, the Instructions say:

"The subjects upon which you are to make more particular inquiries, are the officers in any part of the administration of the Government, and the legality of their qualification for the execution of their respective offices. The constitution of their militia. The Commissions of War, which they have, at any time, granted to commanders of ships, and their conduct in relation to piracy or to persons either known or who might reasonably have been suspected to be guilty thereof; and also in relation to illegal trade and traders."

For more effectually carrying out the Instructions of the Lords Commissioners, the Earl of Bellomont had authority to call to his assistance Francis Brinley, Peleg Sanford, Nathaniel Coddington, Caleb Arnold and Josias Arnold, all of whom were prominent in the Colony. He had authority, furthermore, to appoint or call in the aid of any person or persons whom he might find, upon inquiry, most capable and best disposed to give him "true and perfect information" on the subjects which he was directed to investigate.

Governor Cranston, under date of May 27, 1699, addressed the Board of Trade, in reply to the several charges of misdemeanor, and particularly in vindication of the Colony relative to privateers and piracies, as follows:

"RIGHT HONOURABLE: Your letter bearing date WHITEHALL, October the 25th, 1698, came to our hands the 5th of April last, as likewise the duplicate of the same, we received the same day; wherein your Lordships do signify your observation of the long interval between the date of your letter, the 9th of February, 1698-9, and our answer to the same.

"May it please your Lordships: We shall not justify ourselves, wherein we have been remiss or negligent in that affair; and hope

"your Lordships will not impute any thing of contempt in us for the same; and we shall for the future endeavor to be more diligent and observant in returning your Lordships an answer, and giving an account of the affairs of this Government. But we having no shipping that sails directly from this Colony, and many times we are disappointed for want of timely notice from other places, the which has been a great disappointment to us in the performance of our duty to your Lordships.

"Your Lordships are also pleased to signify that our letter was principally in vindication of our conduct in relation to piracies and pirates, &c. We hope your Lordships will put that construction upon our writing, that we do not vindicate ourselves, wherein we have ignorantly erred or, for want of better knowledge and a right method, we have gone out of the due form and practice your Lordships have now prescribed for us; and wherein we did or do vindicate ourselves, it is in our innocency, and it's said sins of ignorance ought to be forgiven. And we do humbly beg your Lordships' pardon for the same, hoping for the future to be more circumspect. Your Lordships having been so favorable as to give us directions and instructions, the which we accept as a most bountifull favor from you, and shall with our best endeavors follow the same accordingly.

"Your Lordships are also pleased to require a copy of all private Commissions which have been granted to any persons from this Government, with the bonds, &c. And in obedience to your Lordships' command, we have herewith sent copies of such Commissions (if they may properly be so called), they being only defensive, and were granted by the Deputy Governor (contrary to the mind of the then Governor), and he has not known the due form and method in such cases, took no bonds, concluding, as he hath solemnly declared, that they were bound upon a merchandizing voyage; their design being unknown to the authority.

"And may it please your Lordships to accept this further information: that on the beginning of April last, arrived a ship upon our coast, which was, by the men that did belong to her, sunk, as they have since confessed. It was a hagboat, of about four hundred tons, belonging to London, bound for the Island of Borneo, in the East Indies, whereof one Capt'n Gullop was Commander. And at the Island of Polonoys, near the Island of Sumatra, their Commander being on shore with several others, the boatswain's mate of said ship, one Bradish, with several others, combined, and run away with her, leaving their Commander

and severall others on shore, at said Island of Polonoys.

"And for your Lordships' better information, we have herewith sent you the examination of one of the men, now a prisoner in his Majesty's jail in this Government, who, after the sinking of the said ship, distributed themselves into several parts of this country, and are all taken and secured in the severall Governments, except one, with the greatest part of their money that they brought with them, we having in our hands to the value of twelve hundred pounds or thereabouts; all which we shall secure till further orders from your Lordships, we having used all the diligence we can for discovering what more may be distributed about the country.

"We shall always, for time to come, be very observant in following your Lordships' Advice and Instructions, in all cases relating to his Majesty's interest, and once more begging your Lordship's favorable constructions in what of weakness may appear in us. We being a plain and mean sort of people, yet true and loyal subjects to his Most Excellent Majesty, King William, and we hope time will make manifest the same to your Lordships, we being not insensible of the many enemies we have, who hath and do make it their business to render us (to his Majesty and your Lordships,) as ridiculous as they can, and to present things to your Lordships quite contrary to what they are or were. For instance, there is one, Esquire Randolph, who was employed by the Commissioners of his Majesty's Customs, who did publicly declare he would be a means to eclipse us of our privileges; and we know he picked up severall false reports against us. But we do not doubt your Lordships will, in time, have a further insight and knowledge of such men's action; and we humbly beg of your Lordships, that you will not entertain any reports against us, so as to give any determination on the same, to our ill conveniency, till we can have liberty to answer for ourselves; we having commissioned and appointed Jahleel Brenton, Esq'r (his Majesty's late Collector of his Customs in these parts,) our Agent to answer to what shall be objected against us, or in any other matter or thing relating to this his Majesty's Collony, begging your Lordships' favor towards him in what shall appear just and right.

"So, having not further to offer to your Lordships at present, but humbly submitting ourselves to his Most Excellent Majesty's and your Lordships' favorable constructions of what herein shall appear amiss; wishing his Majesty a long and peaceable reign, and your Lordships health and prosperity under his Government.

"Your Lordships' most humble servants,
 "SAMUEL CRANSTON, Governor.
 "NEWPORT, on R., I. the 27th of May, 1699."

To this letter of Governor Cranston, the Board of Trade replied in terms of unusual severity for an official communication. We only extract that portion of it which relates to the issuing of privateers' Commissions:

"TO THE HONORABLE THE GOVERNOR AND
 "COMPANY OF HIS MAJESTY'S COLONY OF
 "RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS IN AMERICA:

"GENTLEMEN: We have received your letter of the 27th of May last, with the severall papers therein mentioned, upon which we have yet something to say. For though you have not at this time been so negligent in writing as formerly, yet things themselves are not altogether as they ought to be.

"We observe what you say upon the subject of private Commissions granted to Captains of ships, of two of which kind you send us copies. But you do not say that those are all that have been granted in that Collony, during the late War, which was the thing we positively required from you; and therefore we cannot but esteem this a wilfull neglect: and we must tell you, that unless you reform all such shuffling in your correspondence with us, you will unavoidably find it turn no less to your prejudice than the miscarriages themselves, that you would conceal.

"However, the things you say, are, that these Commissions were only defensive; that they were granted by the Deputy [Governor] contrary to the mind of the Governor; and that he, not knowing the due form, did omit to take bonds, &c. These answers are so contrary to truth and to your duty, that we wonder how you could write them. The Commissions of which you have sent us copies, give power to take, slay, burn, and utterly destroy his Majesty's enemies' vessells, goods, &c.; and to make prize, &c. Are these defensive Commissions? You know better. But they were granted, you say, by the Deputy [Governor], "contrary to the mind of the Governor; and it was his ignorance that made him omit to take bonds. If it were really so, you ought to have taken better care, that such an ignorant person had not been put into such an office.

"But, however, it is evident, that he has highly transgressed, not only in omitting to take bonds, but in granting any Commission whatsoever, contrary to the Governor's mind, whilst he was in the Collony; yet these are the Commissions, which in your former letter

"you call lawful, and upon the legality of which you would vindicate your proceedings. But, in short, whilst you thus endeavor to excuse and not punish an officer guilty of such notorious misdemeanors, we leave it to you to judge where the fault must necessarily be laid, and what may be the consequence thereof.

"We might observe many things upon the copy that you have sent us of the trials of Cornish, Cutler, Munday and others for piracy, the success of all which is according to what we expected from a people so partial in things of that kind. But it is needless to enter into argument upon any more particulars; we rather choose to exhort you to a thorough reformation of all the abuses that are too notorious amongst you, and to conclude in assuring you that unless such a reformation be sincerely set about, and both speedily and very effectually prosecuted, you will inevitably fall into such inconveniences as will make you sensible of your miscarriages, when perhaps it may be too late. So we bid you hearty farewell.

"Your loving friends,

"PH. MEADOWS,
 "JNO. POLLEXPEN,
 "JOHN LOCKE,
 "ABR. HILL.

"WHITEHALL, August the 11th, 1699."

In September, 1699, the Earl of Bellomont, by virtue of his Commission, visited Newport "to make enquiry and examine into the disorders, irregularities and maladministrations committed and practiced by and within the Government." The result of his inquiries is incorporated in a Report which he made to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Foreign Plantations, dated at Boston, November 27, 1699. His Lordship begins by saying that the people "seem to have wholly neglected the royal intention, and their own professed declaration, recited in their Charter, of godly edifying themselves and one another, in the holy Christian faith and worship, and for gaining over and conversion of the poor ignorant Indian nations." That the generality of the people are shamefully ignorant, and all manner of licentiousness and profaneness does greatly abound, and is indulged within the Government. With reference to naval matters, he says:

"Deputy Governor Greene, during the time of the late War, granted severall sea Commissions under the publick Seal of the Collony unto private men of war (otherwise pirates), expressly contrary to the will of the Governor, then in the actual exercise of the Government; and, notwithstanding his forbidding the same, took no security of the persons to whom the same were granted, nor could he tell by the

"contents of them, who was to execute the same, "being directed in an unusual manner to the "Captain, his assignee or assignees; and other- "wise full of tautologies and nonsense. And "all the vessels whereof the commanders were "so commissioned went to Madagascar and the "seas of India, and were employed to commit "piracy. The said Greene is likewise complain- "ed of for exercising divers other exorbitant "and arbitrary acts of power, under color of his "office.

"The Government is notoriously faulty in "countenancing and harboring of pirates, who "have openly brought in and disposed of their "effects there; whereby the place has been great- "ly enriched. And not only plain breaches of "the Acts of Trade and Navigation have been "connived at, but also manifest and known pi- "racies, and all that has been done by them on "pretence of seizing and taking up of known "pirates, has been so slender, weak and not "pursued to effect, as plainly demonstrates it "was more in show than out of any hearty zeal "or desire to suppress and bring such notorious "criminals to justice, and their care has so lit- "tle therein, that when they had some of the "greatest of those villains in their power, they "have suffered them to escape."

In the journal of his visit to Rhode Island, the Earl of Bellomont says he made inquiry of Governor Cranston, about a man named Gillam, who had been, for some time, on the island; and that he had come as a passenger with Captain Kidd, from Madagascar; but that no complaint had been made against him. Peleg Sanford, however, made a different statement to the Earl, relative to this Gillam, who, he says, was a pirate, and was then in Newport, with other pirates; and that "such men are here countenanced, entertained, "and concealed, as will appear by the evidence "enclosed;" "that for such as are seized and "committed, bonds to the amount of £2000 or "£3000 are forthwith given for them; and hav- "ing thus obtained their liberty, they gave notice "unto their wicked companions, whereby they "know how and where to secure themselves."

IV.

MANY PRIVATEERS FITTED OUT. INCREASE OF SEA-FARING MEN. CAPTAIN KIDD IN NARRAGANSETT BAY. A SPANISH VESSEL CAPTURED AND BROUGHT TO NEWPORT. REFUSAL OF THE JUDGE OF THE ADMIRALTY COURT TO CONDEMN HER. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY JUSTIFY THE GOVERNOR, AND ACKNOWLEDGE HIS RIGHT TO ISSUE COMMISSIONS TO PRIVATEERS. GOVERNOR CRANSTON'S LETTER TO THE JUDGE OF THE COURT OF ADMIRALTY. THE JUDGE'S LETTER

TO THE BRITISH SECRETARY OF STATE, WITH THE PARTICULARS OF THE CASE.

Although it is evident, from the information obtained by Lord Bellomont, in his visit to Newport, that public business in the Colony was not conducted with the regularity that it required, and that, "irregularities" (to use a very mild term,) not only had existed, and did still exist, particularly with the granting of privateers' Commissions, it does not appear that there was any complicity between the authorities of the Colony and the parties engaged in piracy, as might be inferred from his Lordship's Report. The facilities with which Commissions for Letters of Marque were obtained during the Wars with Holland, France, and Spain, induced many adventurers to resort to Rhode Island for that purpose; while the advantages of the fine harbors of Narragansett Bay led the owners of these privateers, not only to fit them out here, but also to return to Newport with their booty. These enterprises, which were then, and, even in our day, are, a part of the system pursued by all nations when at war, induced numbers of sea-faring men to quit their more legitimate professions and resort to privateering; and thus was there raised up a hardy set, of what, in our day, would be termed fillibusters. Originally, they embarked on their voyages with good, or at least legitimate, intentions; but it is apparent that some of them grew to be on too intimate terms with pirates, and may have purchased a share in their booty. The notorious William Kidd was within our waters, where he landed portions of his goods and ill-gained treasure, as appears from the evidence laid before the Earl of Bellamont. Several of his men, charged with piracy, also took refuge here and on the east end of Long Island, where they were sought by the authorities at the instigation of his Lordship. Kidd was taken in Boston; and, although some of his companions were arrested in Rhode Island, most of them eluded all search. The British Government sent a ship to Boston for Kidd and his associates in prison, by which they were taken to England, where they were executed.

At the June Session of the General Assembly, 1704, Governor Cranston announced that a Spanish prize had been brought in by Captain Halsey of the Brigantine *Charles*, a privateer, commissioned by him, against the French and Spaniards, "pursuant to the Declaration of War and the particular commands of Her Majesty, Queen Anne." He stated that Captain Halsey had asked for a condemnation of the prize by Colonel Byfield, Judge of the Court of Admiralty; but that the Judge, after having taken steps towards her condemnation, pretended that she was not taken by a lawful Commission. Byfield furthermore alleged that the Government of Rhode Island had no su-

thority to grant any Commissions to private men-of-war, and, in consequence, suspended the act of condemnation.

Governor Cranston thought the refusal of the Judge of Admiralty, a contempt of the Queen's authority, here established, a detriment to Her Majesty's interests in the Colony, and a great injury to the captors of the vessel. The General Assembly, too, after debating the matter, and considering the privileges granted in the Charter, the Declaration of War, and the several Instructions, from time to time sent to the Government, relative to private men-of-war, did not hesitate to declare that the Governor of the Colony, by permission of the General Assembly, had full power and authority to grant Commissions to such vessels to go against and annoy Her Majesty's enemies. They further declared that the Governors were fully justified in their proceedings in these matters, provided they had taken, and do continue to take, bonds, and do all other things required by law, relating to such private men-of-war. Governor Cranston accordingly addressed the following letter to Colonel Byfield :

"NEWPORT, ON RHODE ISLAND, June 16, 1705.

"SIR :—There being a Spanish prize brought into this port by Captain John Halsey, Commander of the private man-of-war, *Charles*, who was commissioned by myself against her Majesty's enemies, pursuant to her Majesty's Declaration of War and particular command to use our utmost endeavors to annoy the subjects of France and Spain, &c., all which you have been and are well knowing unto, and have made a considerable step towards the condemnation of said prize; but for what reason you defer the full accomplishment thereof, I am not fully satisfied, though I know there was a pretence or scruple made by you, whether said prize was taken by a lawfull Commission, &c.

"SIR :—Since the said prize was taken by my Commission, which has been deemed a lawfull and good Commission by yourself, and is now as good as ever, though otherways pretended, in behalf of Her Majesty, the Lord High Admiral, and captors, I can do no less (deeming myself thereunto obliged) than to require a condemnation of said prize, according to law, and that you give your positive answer thereunto, and if by you declined or delayed, your reasons for the same, that such methods and measures may be taken as the authority of this her Majesty's Collony shall think most proper for her Majesty's service and the interests of her subjects, and encouragement against the common enemy. I am, Sir, your humble servant,

"SAMUEL CRANSTON."

Colonel Byfield addressed the following letter

to Sir Charles Hedges, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, wherein he enters into a full explanation of the capture of this Spanish ship, in question, and of his proceedings in relation thereto. The question of the Governor's authority so issue Commissions to privateers is also fully discussed :

"BRISTOL, [*Rhode Island*] July 19th, 1705.

"RIGHT HONORABLE :—I humbly take leave to inform your Honor that it is now a year since his Excellency, Joseph Dudley, Esq'r. her Majesty's Captain General and Governor of the Massachusetts Bay, &c., sent me her Majesty's Order in Council of the 28th January, 1703, referring to the irregularities practised in the proprietary Collony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, and her Majesty's letter of the 2d March, 1703, to the Governor and Company of that Collony, commanding them to submit to the Court of Admiralty, constituted by the Lord High Admiral, and to the powers of Vice Admiralty vested in Col. Dudley, Governor of the Massachusetts Bay, together with a letter from the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, dated the 17th March, 1703, referring to the said Order and letter from her Majesty; upon receipt whereof I went to the Governor of Rhode Island, and was with him upon receipt of said Order and letters, which he showed to me, and we read them, and he told me he had given a Commission to one Capt'n Lawrence, and if he took any prizes he did expect that his Commission should be acknowledged, and he would grant no more.

"Yet upon the 7th of November last, the said Governor Cranston, granted a Commission to Capt'n Halsey, Commander of the brigantee *Charles*, a private man-of-war, who the beginning of June last, brought a prize into Newport, on Rhode Island, being a ship of one hundred tons, laden with brandy, rum, wine, snush, sugar, paper, and oil, &c., which Capt'n Halsey acquainted me with, soon after his arrival, desiring me to go down to condemn her; and, at the same time, he moved for a Warrant to unload her, she being very leaky.

"Whereupon, I went the next morning to Newport, and gave order for a survey of the ship, and it being reported that the ship was leaky, the cargo was in danger, I made out a Warrant, to unload her, and appointed three men to take charge of the cargo, and to keep each man a lock upon each door, until condemnation.

"And upon the 6th day of June, I held a Court of Admiralty in order to the condemnation, having first told Capt'n Halsey that I had been illtreated of late by Mr. Colman, about the charge of a Court for condemning a prize

"in Boston; and he being one of the owners of Capt'n Halsey's vessel, I expected that somebody should engage for the payment thereof, being five per cent; but nobody would. However, I proceeded in holding a Court; and upon examination of the prisoners, it appeared to be a Spanish ship, manned with Spaniards, and loaded with goods belonging to the subjects of the King of Spain, &c.; but when I found she was taken by Governor Cranston's Commission, granted some months after his receipt of the Queen's commands, I declared I could not proceed to a condemnation upon that Commission, for that I was a witness to the Governor's having received the Queen's commands to the contrary; and adjourned the Court until the next day, to consider, and found the Governor and people much disturbed at my questioning his Commission. And I having taken care to secure the ship and cargo, I adjourned the proceedings unto the 27th June, in order to my taking the best advice I could obtain, in so weighty an affair; I wrote to Mr. Mumpesson, the Judge of the Admiralty in New York, and went down to His Excellency, her Majesty's Vice Admiral of these parts, and when I had advised all I could, I returned home, fully determined to condemn the prize to her Majesty, as taken without any Commission.

"But, upon the 26th June, Colonel Nicholas Page (who is one of the owners of the said private man-of-war) brought me a Petition, which he with the rest of the owners had signed, to his Excellency, the Governor, and his Excellency's advice thereupon, to condemn the prize to the captors, a copy whereof, I shall herewith send to your Honor.

"The next morning, I proceeded to Newport, contrary to the advice of many of my friends, who told me there was a talk that if I do not condemn the prize upon Governor Cranston's Commission, my life was threatened—however, I proceeded.

"And when I came to Newport, the Governor came to me, who I acquainted with what I had heard, and then proceeded to hold a Court of Admiralty. And, in the first place, I did declare, that I had considered Governor Cranston's Commission, on which Captain Halsey founded his information against the prize, and found that the Governor who referred to the Charter in the Commission, had acted contrary thereunto in granting the same, in his own name; when, according to the Charter, it ought to have been in the name of the Governor and Company; and that the Charter itself empowers them to resist, by force of arms, as well by sea as land; and also to kill, slay, and destroy, &c., all such person or persons as, at any time, shall

"attempt or enterprise the destruction, invasion, detriment, or annoyance of that, her Majesty's Plantation, which seems to fall very short of an Admiralty jurisdiction. And her sacred Majesty, in her letter to that Government, of the 2d March, 1708, hath declared, that there is no Admiralty jurisdiction granted in their Charter. So that upon the whole, I could understand no otherwise, but that the prize was taken without a Commission.

"But, having considered the Petition of the owners, in behalf of themselves and Capt'n John Halsey and Company, to his Excellency, setting forth that they had taken a Commission from the Governor of Rhode Island, which they supposed had been a good Commission, but now were made to understand by the Judge of the Admiralty and otherwise, that the Commission was not valid and legal, the Vice Admiralty of Rhode Island being vested in his Excellency, and praying that the owners and captors who had ventured their estates and lives, might have the full reward and benefit of their prize, as if their Commission had been legally granted, together with his Excellency's advice thereupon, and the odd circumstances of things at Rhode Island at this time, I did adventure to condemn her a lawfull prize to the captors, saving to the Lord High Admiral, &c.

"When I had so done, about eighteen lusty fellows drew up to the table where I sat, and one of them delivered a paper to the Register and demanded of him to read it, which he going to do, I took it out of his hand, and told them that no paper should be read there without my allowance.

"They replied that they gave it to him as one of the Council of that Government; and would have it read.

"I told them he was there a Register of that Court, and should read nothing there without my allowance; and ordered the Court to be dismissed. And when we came out, was hooted down the street by those fellows that offered the paper, without any notice being taken by any in the Government there. The paper was directed to Governor Cranston, in justification of his Commission, which I had just before declared illegal and void.

"It is not the first time I have suffered in the service of the Crown, but hope care will be taken that her Majesty's Courts and officers may be treated more agreeably.

"They would not (I do think) have been so absurd in their carriage, had not Mr. Colman (who is Agent for the Lord High Admiral, and one of the Commissioners for Prizes) solicited that Government to hold a Court for the condemnation of the prize, and put them upon

"passing a strange Act in that Government, all which will appear by the copies of Mr. Colman's letters and of Governor Cranston's letter to myself, and of the Act itself; all which are herewith sent.

"I humbly hope that my sincere desire and endeavors to serve her Majesty and her subjects in these parts will be accepted, and that upon the whole, your Honor will see reason favorably to represent me to her Majesty; for I am devoted to her service. And pray that I may be allowed to subscribe myself,

"Right Honorable,

"Your most dutifull humble servant,

"NATH'L BYFIELD.

"To the Right Honorable Sir CHARLES HEDGES,
"her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State.
"These present."

The owners of the Brigantine *Charles*, which captured the Spanish vessel, Nicholas Paige, John Colman, Benj. Gallup, and John Walker of Newport, appealed from the decision of Colonel Byfield to the Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, who, in addition to being Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, was Vice Admiral of the seas and maritime ports of Rhode Island, as well as of these Colonies. Governor Dudley, on the twenty-seventh of June, wrote to Colonel Byfield, at Bristol, stating that "if speedy proceedings and condemnation be not made, all the cargo of the prize will be embezzled or lost;" and that as it was no fault of Captain Halsey's, but an error of Governor Cranston's, in granting the Commission, he advised the condemnation of the prize and cargo; the particulars of this transaction, he said, he would represent to her Majesty, the Queen, and in conclusion, says he is "informed that the Governor as well as the people in that Colony are in such disorder, that he cannot advise any other method of proceeding."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VII.—THE NATIONAL LEGEND OF THE CHAHTA-MUSKOGEE TRIBES.

By D. G. BRINTON, M. D.

THE CREEK or MUSKOGEE Nation was a loose association of a number of Tribes, speaking kindred languages, and inhabiting, at the earliest visits of the whites, the territory now embraced by the States of Georgia, Alabama, and portions of South Carolina, Mississippi, and Florida. They constitute a branch of the CHAHTA-MUSKOGEE family, which includes the Choctaws (*chakta*), Chickasaws, and Creeks (*muskogee*), all of whom use allied tongues.

The survivors of the Creek Nation now reside in the vicinity of Tallahassee Mission, Indian Territory. Their language has been reduced to writing; a number of works, chiefly religious, have been printed in it; and many of the members have been converted to Christianity. Only the oldest men among them have any recollection of the traditions which their forefathers preserved, with superstitious care, and handed down from generation to generation. Soon, even these faint remembrances will be extinguished; and the national legend will be totally forgotten. Fortunately, however, for the student of American antiquity, there exists a very authentic, and a somewhat ancient, version of this legend, which was communicated under circumstances of peculiar solemnity, translated, and written down on the spot, and the buffalo-skin on which it was recorded transferred to the English, and conveyed to London.

The time and place of this interesting occurrence are thus referred to, in *The American Gasetteer* (London, 1762, Volume II, Art. GEORGIA, not paged:)

"In 1735, a ship from Georgia brought over to England, a Speech made there by one of the Indian Kings of Cherrikaw, etc. It was curiously written in red and black characters, on the skin of a young buffalo, and translated into English, as soon as delivered in the Indian language, in presence of about fifty of their Chiefs and of the principal inhabitants of Savannah. The said skin was set in a frame and hung up in the Georgia Office, in Westminster. It contained the Indians' grateful acknowledgments for the honors and civilities paid to Tomochichi, etc."

Tomochichi, I may remark, was Chief of the Yamacraws, a small Creek Tribe, who occupied the bank of the Savannah-river, near where the City of that name now stands. He was taken by Governor Oglethorpe, to England, and assisted the whites materially in founding their Colony. A *Historical Sketch* of his life has been recently written by Mr. Charles C. Jones, Jr., (Albany, Joel Munsell, 1868.)

Mr. Jones refers to the extract I have just given from the *American Gasetteer*, but in a singularly erroneous manner. He says (p. 74:) "A letter was composed by a Cherokee Chief and sent to the Trustees. * * * Upon its receipt this hieroglyphic painting was set in a frame and suspended in the Georgia office, in Westminster." The Cherrikaws, however, were one of the Creek bands, and nowise akin to the Cherokees.

It is evident that Mr. Jones, in his researches, had never seen a translation of this "hieroglyphic painting;" and this is additional evidence to me, that the version of it I am about to give has

remained entirely unknown, even to special students in this field.

This version would be greatly increased in value, if I could connect with it a copy of the "hieroglyphic painting" of which it is a translation. Aware of this, I wrote, in November, 1868, to Mr. Nicholas Trübner, of London, enclosing the extract from the *Gazetteer*, and asking him to pass my letter to some one who would make the necessary searches for this interesting relic. With the greatest kindness, he took this labor upon himself, and wrote at once to the Colonial Office, inquiring for the papers relating to Georgia. These, he learned, are deposited in the Public Record Office, Chancery-lane. "At this office," he wrote me, "I went over two folios of original documents from Georgia, 1784 and 1785, old style, but could not find a letter relating to the transmission to England of the skin. But I saw a letter written by Chekilli, himself, dated in March, 1784, announcing his safe arrival in Savannah, and numerous letters of English Officers in which he plays a prominent figure. The future historian of Georgia will do well to examine these precious documents."

Mr. Trübner then examined the Archives at the Board of Trade, the Department of State, and Home Office, with similar ill success. Mr. Bucknall, of the State Paper Office, writes, in January, 1869, "I suppose the fact really is, that the 'Georgia' Office was the office of the then Crown Agents for the Colony. If so, I should imagine that any attempt to recover the document would be almost hopeless." Finally, the British Museum was questioned; and then my courteous correspondent, who had already done so much more than I could have asked of him, was obliged to abandon the search.

The interest which attaches to this lost document is the greater, as it displays in such mnemonic characters as the native tribes were familiar with, the legendary history of their Nation,—a legend which, for authenticity and purity of form, surpasses any other from the Indian hunting tribes with which I am acquainted. It would appear from Mr. Trübner's letter, that no version of it is among the papers in the State Paper Office, so that, probably, the only one extant is that which I am about to translate. It is found in a work published by Samuel Urlsperger, at Halle, in 1741, entitled, *Herrn Philipp Georg Friederichs von Reck Diarium von Seiner Reise nach Georgien im Jahr 1735*. The author, von Reck, was Commissary of the German emigrants from Salzburg, and visited Georgia in their interest. He wrote his Diary in French, from which language it was translated in manuscript, and published as a part of Urlsperger's *Nachrichten*. It is not the same work of von Reck which was published at Hamburg, in 1777; and, of course,

it is not the earlier production which appeared under his name, in 1782; and it is not mentioned in any bibliographical work. There are very few copies of the *Nachrichten* in this country, which are complete; and I think that von Reck's *Diarium* is one of the portions most frequently missing. This is doubtless because it contains a useful description of the Province of Georgia; and it was, therefore, separated and carried off by emigrants.

Apart from the stamp of accuracy which von Reck's account bears, it is borne out by two later authorities, and shown to be the national legend of the Chahta-Muskokee Nations—their *Itiad* and their *Voluspa*.

One of these is Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, who, about the close of the last and the commencement of the present century, was United States Agent to the Creeks; and was somewhat acquainted with their language, and familiar with their traditions. His *Sketch of the Creek Country* was published by the Georgia Historical Society, in 1846; and a manuscript copy of the same work is preserved in the Library of the American Philosophical Society. The version he gives, was delivered by Tus-se-kiah Mic-co, a Creek Chief, at a Council, about 1800. It is as follows: "There are in the forks of Red-river, '(we-cha-to-hat-che au-fus-ke), West of Mississipp (we-o-coof-ke, muddy water), two mounds of earth. At this place, the Cussetuh, Cowetuh, and Chickasaw found themselves. They were at a loss for fire. Here they were visited by the *Hi-you-yul-gee*, four men who came from the four corners of the earth. One of these asked the Indians where they would have their fire (*tote-kit-cau*). They pointed to a place; it was made; and they sat down around it. One of these visitors showed them the *pas-sau*; another showed them *mic-oo-ho* *yon-eyau*, then the *au-chen-au* (cedar), and *too-loh* (sweet-bay;) the sacred plants, seven in all. After this, the four visitors disappeared in a cloud, going from whence they came.

"After this, some other Indians came from the West, met them, and had a great wrestle with the three towns; they made ball-sticks and played with them, with bows and arrows, and the war club (*au-bus-sau*). They fell out, fought, and killed each other. After this warring, the three towns moved eastwardly, and they met the *Au-be-cuh*, at Coosau-river. Here they agreed to go to war, for four years, against their first enemy. They made shields (*to-po-lux-o*) of buffalo hides; and it was agreed that the warriors of each town should try and bring forward the scalps (*e-cau-hal-pe*) of the enemy and pile them; the *Au-be-cuh* had a small pile, the *Chickasaws* were above them, the *Cowetuh*s above them, and the

"*Cussetuhs* above all. The two last towns raised the scalp-pole (*illo-chate*, red-wood), and do not suffer any other town to raise it. *Cussetuh* is first in rank.

"They then commenced their settlements on *Ovo-saw* and *Tal-la-poo-saw*; and crossing the falls of Tallapoosa, above *Tool-cau-bat-che*, they visited the *Chat-to-ho-che*, and found a race of people with flat heads, in possession of the mounds in the *Cussetuh* fields. These people used bows and arrows, with strings made of sinews. The great physic-makers (*au-lic-chul-gee*) sent some rats in the night time, which gnawed the strings, and, in the morning, they attacked and defeated the flats. They crossed the river at the island, near the mound, and took possession of the country. After this, they spread out eastwardly, and met the white people on the sea-coast."—*Sketch of the Creek Country*, 81, 82, 83.

We have here a tradition which claims to date back long before the Columbian era, for we know that, early in the sixteenth century, the Creeks occupied what is now the State of Georgia, back to a period when they lived far West of the Mississippi; and when the large tumuli and earth-works, still found along the Chattahoochee-river, were occupied by a flat-headed race of warriors, who, it would not be difficult to show, from collateral evidence, were pure-blooded Choctaws.

The importance of substantiating this legend impressed me so much that, last year, (1869) I copied and sent it to Mrs. A. E. W. Robertson, of the Tallahassee Mission, who has, probably, a more critical knowledge of the Muskokee or Creek tongue than any other person living, with the request to examine the original words it contains, and to ascertain whether the Tribe still retains this ancient account. Mrs. Robertson spared the time from her many duties to write me several letters of great interest, and throwing much light on points of the recital, otherwise very obscure. She read the legends to intelligent Creeks, who at once recognized them as versions of others which they had heard from the old men. The explanations of various words and customs, which Mrs. Robertson sent me, I shall insert in the Notes to the older and fuller version given by von Reck. She has adopted the modern orthography of the Muskokee—that found in the printed books, and which was decided upon, in 1853, by a number of Interpreters and Chiefs, under the auspices of the Missionaries, at the Old Agency, in the Indian Territory. I may say of this alphabet, that the letters, vowels and consonants, are pronounced very nearly as in English, except the *c*, which has the sound of *ch*, the *r* which has the sound *hl*, the *a* which is as in *far*, and the *v* which represents the neutral or semi-vowel. Each vowel has a corresponding soft nasal sound.

I shall now proceed to translate, from the Sixth Chapter of von Reck's *Diarium*, appending, in the form of Notes, such explanatory remarks as have suggested themselves.

[THE LEGEND.]

"WHAT CHEKILLI, THE HEAD-CHIEF OF THE UPPER AND LOWER CREEKS SAID, IN A TALK HELD AT SAVANNAH, ANNO, 1775, AND WHICH WAS HANDED OVER BY THE INTERPRETER, WRITTEN UPON A BUFFALO-SKIN, WAS, WORD FOR WORD, AS FOLLOWS :

"*Speech which, in the year 1735, was delivered at Savannah, in Georgia, by Chekilli, Emperor of the Upper and Lower Creeks* [1]; *Antiche, highest Chief of the town of the Cowetas, Eliche, King; Ousta, Head Chief of the Cussetaws, Tomochaw, War King; Wali, War Captain of the Palachucolas, Peepiche, King; Tomehutchi, Dog King of the Euchitaws; Mittakawye, Head War Chief of the Okonees, Twoschiche, King; Whoyavni, Head War Chief of the Chehaws and of the Hohmulge Nation; Stimelacoweche, King of the Osoches; Opithli, King of the Jawocolos; Ewenauki, King; Tahmokmi, War Captain of the Eusantees; and thirty other Warriors.* [2]

"At a certain time, the Earth opened in the West, where its mouth is. The earth opened and the Cussetaws [3] came out of its mouth, and settled near by. But the earth became angry and ate up their children; therefore, they moved further West. A part of them, however, turned back, and came again to the same place where they had been, and settled there. The greater number remained behind, because they thought it best to do so.

"Their children, [4] nevertheless, were eaten by the Earth, so that, full of dissatisfaction, they journeyed toward the sunrise.

"They came to a thick, muddy, slimy river, came there, camped there, rested there, and stayed over night there. [5]

"The next day, they continued their journey and came, in one day, to a red, bloody river. [6] They lived by this river, and ate of its fishes for two years; but there were low springs there; and it did not please them to remain. They went toward the end of this bloody river, and heard a noise as of thunder. They approached to see whence the noise came. At first, they perceived a red smoke, and then a mountain which thundered; and on the mountain, was a sound as of singing. They sent to see what this was; and it was a great fire which blazed upward, and made this singing noise. This mountain they named the King of Mountains. It thunders to this

“day; and men are very much afraid of it.
 “They here met a people of three different
 “Nations. They had taken and saved some of
 “the fire from the mountain; and, at this place,
 “they also obtained a knowledge of herbs and
 “of many other things. [7]

“From the East, a white fire came to them;
 “which, however, they would not use.

“From Wahalle, [8] came a fire which was
 “blue; neither did they use it.

“From the West, came a fire which was
 “black; nor would they use it.

“At last, came a fire from the North, which
 “was red and yellow. This they mingled with
 “the fire they had taken from the mountain;
 “and this is the fire they use to-day; and this,
 “too, sometimes sings.

“On the mountain, was a pole which was
 “very restless and made a noise, nor could any
 “one say how it could be quieted. At length,
 “they took a motherless child, and struck it
 “against the pole; and thus killed the child.
 “They then took the pole, and carry it with
 “them when they go to war. It was like a
 “wooden tomahawk, such as they now use, and
 “of the same wood. [9] Here, they also found
 “four herbs or roots, which sang and disclosed
 “their virtues: *First, Pusaw*, the rattle-snake
 “root; *Second, Micoveanochaw*, red-root;
 “*Third, Sovatchto*, which grows like wild
 “fennel; and, *Fourth, Eschalapootchke*, little
 “tobacco. [10]

“These herbs, especially the first and third,
 “they use as the best medicine to purify them-
 “selves at their Busk. [11]

“At this Busk, which is held yearly, they
 “fast, and make offerings of the first-fruits.

“Since they learned the virtues of these
 “herbs, their women, at certain times, have a
 “separate fire, and remain apart from the men
 “five, six, and seven days, for the sake of puri-
 “fication. If they neglect this, the power of
 “the herbs would depart; and the women
 “would not be healthy.

“About that time, a dispute arose, as to which
 “was the oldest and which should rule; and
 “they agreed, as they were four Nations, they
 “would set up four poles, and make them red
 “with clay, which is yellow at first, but becomes
 “red by burning. They would then go to war;
 “and whichever Nation should first cover its
 “pole, from top to bottom, with the scalps of
 “their enemies, should be the oldest.

“They all tried, but the Cussitaws covered
 “their pole first, and so thickly that it was hid-
 “den from sight. Therefore, they were looked
 “upon, by the whole Nation, as the oldest.

“The Chickasaws covered their pole next;
 “then the Ati'amas; but the Obikaws did not
 “cover their pole higher than the knee. [12]

“At that time, there was a bird of large size,
 “blue in color, with a long tail, and swifter
 “than an eagle, which came every day and
 “killed and ate their people. They made an
 “image, in the shape of a woman, and placed
 “it in the way of this bird. The bird carried
 “it off, and kept it a long time, and then
 “brought it back. They left it alone, hoping
 “it would bring something forth. After a
 “long time, a red rat came forth from it, and
 “they believe the bird was the father of the rat.

“They took council with the rat, how to de-
 “stroy its father. Now the bird had a bow
 “and arrows; and the rat gnawed the bow-
 “string, so that the bird could not defend it-
 “self; and the people killed it. They called
 “this bird the King of Birds. They think the
 “eagle is also a great King; and they carry its
 “feathers when they go to War or make
 “Peace: the red mean War, the white, Peace.
 “If an enemy approaches with white feathers
 “and a white mouth, and cries like an eagle,
 “they dare not kill him. [13]

“After this, they left that place, and came
 “to a white foot-path. The grass and every-
 “thing around were white; and they plainly
 “perceived that people had been there. They
 “crossed the path, and slept near there. Af-
 “terward, they turned back to see what sort of
 “path that was, and who the people were who
 “had been there, in the belief that it might be
 “better for them to follow that path. They
 “went along it, to a creek, called *Coloosehutch*,
 “that is Coloose-creek, because it was rocky
 “there and smoked. [14]

“They crossed it, going toward the sunrise,
 “and came to a people and a town named Coo-
 “saw. [15] Here they remained four years. The
 “Coosaws complained that they were preyed
 “upon by a wild beast, which they called man-
 “eater or lion, which lived in a rock. [16]

“The Cussitaws said they would try to kill
 “the beast. They digged a pit and stretched
 “over it a net made of hickory-bark. They
 “then laid a number of branches, crosswise,
 “so that the lion could not follow them, and
 “going to the place where he lay, they threw
 “a rattle into his den. The lion rushed forth,
 “in great anger, and pursued them through the
 “branches. Then they thought it better that
 “one should die rather than all, so they took a
 “motherless child, and threw it before the lion,
 “as he came near the pit. The lion rushed at
 “it, and fell in the pit, over which they threw
 “the net, and killed him with blazing pine-
 “wood. His bones, however, they keep to this
 “day; on one side, they are red, on the other,
 “blue.

“The lion used to come every seventh day to
 “kill the people. Therefore, they remained

“there seven days after they had killed him.
“In remembrance of him, when they prepare
“for War, they fast six days and start on the
“seventh. [17] If they take his bones with
“them, they have good fortune.

“After four years, they left the Coosaws, and
“came to a River which they called *Nowphaw-*
“*pe*, now *Callasi hutché*. There, they tarried
“two years; and as they had no corn, they liv-
“ed on roots and fishes, and made bows, point-
“ing the arrows with beaver teeth and flint-
“stones, and for knives they used split canes.

“They left this place, and came to a creek,
“called *Wattoolahawka hutché*, Whooping-
“creek, so called from the whooping of cranes,
“a great many being there. They slept there
“one night.

“They next came to a River, in which there
“was a waterfall; this they named the *Owatun-*
“*ka-river*. [18]

“The next day, they reached another River,
“which they called the *Aphoosa phoeskaw*.

“The following day, they crossed it, and came
“to a high mountain, where were people who,
“they believed, were the same who made the
“white path. They, therefore, made white ar-
“rows and shot them, to see if they were good
“people. But the people took their white ar-
“rows, painted them red, and shot them back.
“When they showed these to their Chief, he
“said that was not a good sign; if the arrows
“returned had been white, they could have gone
“there and brought food for their children, but
“as they were red they must not go. Never-
“theless, some of them went to see what sort of
“people they were; and found their houses de-
“serted. They also saw a trail which led into the
“River; and as they could not see the trail on
“the opposite bank, they believed that the peo-
“ple had gone into the River, and would not
“again come forth.

“At that place, is a mountain, called *Motor-*
“*ell*, which makes a noise like beating on a
“drum; and they think this people live there.

“[19] They hear this noise on all sides, when
“they go to War.

“They went along the River, till they came to
“a waterfall, where they saw great rocks; and
“on the rocks were bows lying; [20] and they
“believed the people who made the white path
“had been there.

“They always have, on their journeys, two
“scouts who go before the main body. These
“scouts ascended a high mountain and saw a
“town. They shot white arrows into the town;
“but the people of the town shot back red
“arrows.

“Then the Cussitaws become angry, and de-
“termined to attack the town, and each one
“have a house when it was captured.

“They threw stones into the River, until they
“could cross it, and took the town, (the people
“had flattened heads), and killed all but two
“persons. In pursuing these, they found a
“white dog which they slew. They followed
“the two who escaped, until they came again
“to the white path, and saw the smoke of a
“town, and thought that this must be the peo-
“ple they had so long been seeking. This is
“the place where now the tribe of Palachucolas
“live, from whom Tomochichi is descended. [21]

“The Cussitaws continued bloody-minded;
“but the Palachucolas gave them black drink,
“as a sign of friendship, and said to them:
“Our hearts are white, and yours must be white,
“and you must lay down the bloody tomahawk,
“and show your bodies, as a proof that they
“shall be white.

“Nevertheless, they were for the tomahawk;
“but the Palachucolas got it by persuasion,
“and buried it under their beds. The Palachu-
“colas likewise gave them white feathers; and
“asked to have a Chief in common. Since then
“they have always lived together.

“Some settled on one side of the River, some
“on the other. Those on one side are called
“Cussetaws, those on the other, Cowetas; [22]
“yet they are one people, and the principal
“towns of the Upper and Lower Creeks. Never-
“theless, as the Cussetaws first saw the red
“smoke and the red fire, and make bloody
“towns, they cannot yet leave their red hearts,
“which are, however, white on one side and
“red on the other.

“They now know that the white path was
“the best for them. [23] For, although Tom-
“ochichi was a stranger, they see he has done
“them good; because he went to see the great
“King with Esquire Oglethorpe, and heard his
“talk, and had related it to them, and they
“had listened to it, and believed it.”

[EXPLANATORY NOTES.]

1.—*Emperor of the Upper and Lower Creeks.*

The Creek Nation was divided into Upper and Lower Creeks. The former were settled chiefly on the upper tributaries of the Alabama-river. The latter occupied both banks of the Chattahoochee-river, and extended over the territory between this and the lower course of the Savannah-river. At this period, each of these divisions numbered about twelve hundred warriors. Both were united under one ruler, in whose family, the supreme power was hereditary, in the female line. He is called in the French narratives, *l'Empereur*, in the Spanish, *el Emperador*, and in the German original of von Reck, *der Kayser*. His residence seems to

have been at or near Coosa, on the river of that name. (See Barcia, *Ensayo Cronologico*, Fol. 331). His subjects were divided into four clans or families, apparently a politico-geographical division; and each of these, again, into towns. Nearly every town had its Peace-chief, or King, *mekko*, who exercised civil functions, and its War-chief, who led the fighting men, in times of strife. This distinction is observed in the list which heads Chekilli's Oration. A few towns had no War-chiefs, and were called white or Peace-towns; still fewer had no Peace-chiefs, and were styled, Red-towns.

[2] Of the Nations here mentioned, the Eusantees, or Santees, and, perhaps, the Jawocolos, lived North of the Savannah-river; the remaining eight all belonged to the Lower Creeks. Chekilli and his Warriors represented the Upper Creeks.

3.—Cussitaws.

Von Reck says, in a Note to this passage: "Cussitaw means Sun; the Sun wished that they should be so called."

This is evidently an explanation of the Interpreter. But Mrs. Robertson tells me that this is not a Creek word. Its Creek form is *kusheto*. Rev. James Perryman, an aged Indian, informed her that "in the old Nation, the village of *kusheto* was *A-pv-tá-ye*," which is corroborated by Hawkins's *Sketch of the Creek Country*, 50.

According to a tradition of the Chickasaws, the Cussitaws (*Cush-eh-tah*) were originally a band of their Nation who migrated East, earlier than the remainder. They were subsequently invited by the Chickasaws to return; but they replied, they were tired of moving, and declined.—Schoolcraft's *History and Statistics of the Indian Tribes*, i., 300. Yet Hawkins, throughout, speaks of them as real Muskokee.

This hint leads us to look for the meaning assigned to the word, in the Chahta or Choctaw tongue, which was that spoken by the Chickasaws. According to a manuscript *Vocabulaire Choctaw*, now in the Library of the American Philosophical Society, formerly in the possession of Mr. Duponceau, *cou-tchá* is the rising, the East, *oriens*, as *háché cou-tchá*, the sun-rising. This is clearly the origin of the name Cussitaw, and was applied to the Tribe because it was the easternmost, the nearest the sun-rise, of any of the ancient Chahta Tribes. This is confirmed by a venerable Choctaw tradition, which states that, "The Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws emigrated together from a distant country, far in the West. The Creeks were in front; the Choctaws in the rear; and the Chickasaws between them."—Rev. Alfred Wright, in the *Missionary Herald*, xxiv, 214;

a most excellent authority on Chahta traditions. Moreover, Colonel Hawkins tells us that "Cussetuh and Chickasah consider themselves people of one fire, *to-te-kil-cau humgoce*, from the earliest account of their origin."—*Sketch*, etc. 88.

This traditional identity of these three Nations, is borne out by language, as has been recognized by all who have compared Muskokee and Chahta.—See Buckner's *Muskoke Grammar*, 36; Gallatin, *Transactions American Antiquarian Society*, ii., 405. This identity adds greatly to the interest of the legend of Chekilli.

4.—Their children.

i. a. The children of those who returned eastward. I do not venture to explain what is meant by the earth eating them. The original has a Note, apparently intended to bear upon the question. It is as follows: "According to the French Indians, there is a large city where a blue-lipped people live, of whom they have often heard it said, that if any one tries to kill them, he becomes insane."

By the "French Indians," I presume the Choctaws are meant; but I know of no reference to this singular superstition in their myths. The only other reference I have found to it, is in a tract called, *A State of the Province of Georgia*, published, London, 1741, and included in Colonel Peter Force's *Collection*. The author says: (p. 1.) "The Blew-mouths and other Indians live toward the South Sea."

5.—A thick, muddy, slimy river.

Weokúfke, muddy-water,—from *uow*, water, *okhúfke*, muddy—the usual Creek name for the Mississippi. This fixes the first geographical point in their wanderings.

6.—A red, bloody river.

Wecats rakko, great red water, from *uow*, water, *cate*, red, *rakko*, great, is a name applied by the Muskokee, at present, to both the Arkansas and the Red-river. It is equally suitable to any stream which is colored by a reddish soil. As they were journeying eastward, from the Mississippi, Chekilli could, of course, have referred to neither of these. For reasons which will presently appear, I think the Big Black is the stream meant.

7.—The King of Mountains.

One might suppose, from his description, that Chekilli had seen or heard of a volcano; but his language is more probably to be understood largely metaphorically; and the mountain as the "Hill of Heaven."

It is a striking analogy, that both Choctaw and Chickasaw legends refer the origin of their

civil and social regulations to instructions acquired during their residence at a certain Mountain. The Creeks, as we see, call this Mountain, the King of Mountains, *rona-em-mekko*, or *ekonolwa-em-mekko*, the latter from *ekonv*, land, which may also mean, world; and the compound is translated by Mrs. Robertson "World or land—"king;" and she adds that it is a common expression. The Choctaws and Chickasaws called the Mountain, *nanih waiya*, the stooping or sloping hill.

At this place, they agreed in saying, they learned the properties of the sacred plants, the use of fire, the laws which governed their Confederation and their social life, and such instruction in religious rites and medicine, as the Supreme Being deemed necessary for them. Some legends, indeed, distinctly declared that they were originally created at this mount; and that it was the first part of the earth to emerge from that state of moist chaos, which they hold was the primal condition of things, and which they express by a word now applied to clotting blood, or other similar gelatinous mass. Fortunately their memory served them to locate definitely this venerable elevation. It is in the present State of Mississippi, on the Big Black-river; and is represented to be a very large tumulus, seemingly of artificial origin, connected with the bluffs, a half mile distant, by a high causeway. This is, undoubtedly, as I have elsewhere shown, the same mount which figures in Muskokee tradition—See *Myths of the New World*, 226.

The three Nations whom they met at this point, were the Chickasaws, Atilamas, and Obekaws, as we learn later. Other traditions state that the whole Chahta-Muskokee Tribes were one Nation, divided into two clans, and first separated into several distinct nationalities, at this Mountain. This is probably the significance of the text.—See Wright, as above.

8.—Wahalle.

From Muskoki, *wa-hale*, the South. The four cardinal points are here connected with the four colors, as they were in Central American and Mexican symbolism.—See my *Myths*, 80. They correspond to the four visitors, who brought fire from the four cardinal points, mentioned in Colonel Hawkins's version; and called, by his informant, the *Hi-you-yul-gee*, a cabalistic word, the plural form of *hi-yo-yu*, a charm or invocation, constantly repeated in their sacred chants.

The word for fire given by Hawkins, *tote-kit-cau*, is from *tot-ko*, fire, *etke*, kindled. This element was regarded by all these tribes, with great veneration. The Choctaw songs call fire, *hashtali iticapa*, eldest son or mate of the sun; and they

avoid discreditable deeds before a fire, saying it will tell them to the Sun.

9.—The restless pole.

The pole is mentioned in all the legends of this cyclus. The Choctaws said that when they left the far West, they were guided by a prophet, who carried in his hand the *hobuna*, or sacred bag containing charms, and a long white pole. At every encampment, he planted the pole firmly in the earth, and suspended to it the bag. If, the next morning, the pole was found upright, it was to be the sign that their long journeying was terminated, and that they had reached the seats destined for their permanent abode; but if it was leaning, then they must go forward in the direction it pointed. Every morning, the pole was found inclining toward the East, until they reached *nanih waiya*, where it remained upright; and its "restlessness," as Chekilli called it, was quieted. This they recognized as the sign that they were to live in that region.—Rev. Alfred Wright, as above.

The Chickasaws related that they also were guided by a pole, with no mention of a prophet, which pointed constantly the way they should go. At length, the pole rested in that part of Alabama, South-west of Huntsville, formally known as the "Chickasaw Old Fields."—Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes*, i., 309.

The Creeks still carry with them, when they go to War, the pole, or the War-pole, *otasse*; and Bartram speaks of it as always erected in their town squares. In their sacred dances, they still flourish, as I am informed, the *otassohake*, or image of the pole.

10.—The Sacred Plants.

Mrs. Robertson has taken pains to ascertain for me precisely what these four plants are, and their correct names; *Pusse*, is the button-snake-root; *Eryngium aquaticum*, an active emetic; *Mekko hoyense* (king purger ?) is a variety of willow, probably *Salix candida*; *Sowacko* is described by old Creeks, as an herb about three feet high, with blue flowers, about an inch in length, having a root with a bitter taste. Hawkins says "it has the effect of intoxicating and maddenning;" (p. 78) *esse* or *vase lupocke*, (leaves small) is a small tree found in Georgia.—Hawkins calls it *itch-au-chu-le-puc-pug-gee*; and translates this long name "the old man's tobacco." (P. 77).

11.—The Bush.

This solemn festival was held at the time the green corn became old enough to be fit for use. It commenced with a fast of several days duration, whence the name *posketo*, fasting, from *pos-ke*, to fast, corrupted into *bush*. Colonel Haw-

kins, in his *Sketch*, gives a full description of the interesting ceremonies which took place at this time. By the whites, it was often called "the green corn dance," as saltation was a conspicuous feature in the ceremonies. It is referred to by Laudonniere, who visited the coast of Georgia, in 1562, under the name *toya*.

12.—The Four Tribes.

The fourfold division of the Muskokee Tribes dates from an ancient epoch, and is referred to by several writers; but there is a discrepancy in the names assigned the divisions. The text gives;

Cussetaws.

Chickasaws.

Atilamas.

Obikaws.

Colonel Hawkins differs in one name:—

Cussetuh.

Chickasaw.

Cowetuh.

Aubekuh.

"*Atilamas*," is, I think, a mistake for "*Alibamas*," the name given by the French to a Tribe of the Upper Creeks, and from which the State of Alabama derives its name. *Cowetuh*, *Coweta*, or as spelled by the Spanish, *Coveta*, was a later designation; and is probably the Uchee word, *cohweita*, man or people. The Uchees lived a short distance below the town of Coweta, on the Flint-river.

Mr. Mitchell, a former Indian Agent, gave Mr. Gallatin the divisions, as follows:—

Cussetah.

Cowetah.

Tuckawbatchie.

Osooche.

Transactions American Antiquarian Society, ii., 95. This, however, must refer to the Lower Creeks only, as none of the Upper Creek towns are represented.

It is an important observation, that, in both Chickilli's and Hawkins's divisions, the Chickasaws are mentioned as an integral part of the Muskokee, as it illustrates the unity of these tribes, in early times.

13.—The Eagle.

The Creeks, of to-day, venerate the Eagle, *tomhe*, and regard it as the King of Birds. At the celebration of the *posketo*, they erected a wooden image of it.

When Tomo-chi-chi was presented to the King of England (1734) he held forth several eagle feathers, and said: "These are the feathers of the Eagle, which is the swiftest of birds, and flies all around our nations. These feathers are a sign of Peace in our land; and we have brought them over to leave with you, O King, as a sign of everlasting Peace."—Jones's *His-*

torical Sketch of Tomo-chi-chi, Mico of the Yamacoraws, 64.

The red rat is a figure of speech as difficult to decipher as the famous *rothes Mäuschen* in Goethe's *Walpurgisnacht*. In Muskokee, rat is *esse*, red, *cats*.

14.—Coloosa—hutch.

I am informed that this is not a Creek word. It is, I think, a false orthography of *Tuska lusa hatche*, from Choctaw, *tuska* warrior, *lusa*, black, Mus. *hatchi*, creek; and the reference is to the river, still known as the Black Warrior, or Tuscaloosa. This they had now reached, in journeying eastward, from the upper waters of the Big Black.

15.—Pursuing an easterly course they reached *Cusa*, *Coosaw*, or *Coça*, a famous town, visited by De Soto, in 1540, and the "objective point" of the ill-starred expedition of Tristan de Luna, in 1559. It was situated on the left bank of the river of that name, in northern Alabama. The word is not Muskokee, but probably Choctaw. Hawkins's version speaks of it as the ancestral residence of the Obikaws, which conflicts with the text.

16.—Man-eater or lion—literally, *este pape*, people-eater.

This voracious, and probably mythical, beast, figures extensively in Muskokee legends. His bones are still carried with them on their war-trails, as *horro holaww*, war-medicine. The tradition is briefly given by Hawkins (p. 79.) as in the text.

These bones were mingled with the fragments of the horn of the horned-snake, likewise a mythical animal. The Creek name of this serpent, *chetto yhubbi*, is remarkable for its similarity to the generic term for a poisonous snake in the Cakchiquel of Guatemala, *chitakyagobi*.—*Diccionario de la Lengua Cakchiquel*, MS. in the library of the American Philosophical Society.

No known animal bears either of these names in the Creek tongue, to-day; and they are probably personifications of natural forces, the exact meaning of which can no longer be recognized.

17.—Seven days.

The seven-day period, several times repeated in this legend, is worthy of notice as being one of the few instances among the American aborigines, where any sacredness is attached to this number, so conspicuous for the religious associations which surround it, in early Aryan and Semitic mythology. The Quichuas of Peru, according to Garcilasso de la Vega, were accustomed to alternate in performing services in their temples, every seventh day.

18.--Owatunka.

They had now left the Coosa, and journeying South of East, were approaching the Chattahoochee. The Watunka, from Mus. *uwo*, water, *tomke*, rumbling or falling, is the main branch of the Uchee-creek. *Aphoosa pheeskaw* means "the barked sapling."

19.—Moterell.

This is not a Creek word, and the reference is unintelligible.

20.—This river was the Chattahoochee, a name from the Mus. *cetto*, rock or stone, and *heche*, marked or pictured, so called from some rocks, curiously stratified, found near the falls:

21.—The town of the Palachucolas was on the right bank of the Chattahoochee, four miles below the confluence of the Uchee-creek.

22.—The Coweta town was on the right bank of the Chattahoochee, three miles below the Falls. The Cusitaw town was on the left bank, a few miles farther down stream.

23.—In this last paragraph the symbolic character of the white path is disclosed. Adair remarks of these Indians: "White is their fixed emblem, of peace, friendship, happiness, prosperity, purity, and holiness."—*History of the North American Indians*, 159.

It is important in attempting to follow Chek-illi's meaning, to bear in mind the well-understood symbolism which the tribes he represented attached to different colors. They had definite meanings which often served in place of an alphabet or an interpreter.

[CONCLUSION.]

No doubt there are elements foreign to the Chahta in the language spoken by the Mukokee. But there is also so strong a similarity in verbal and grammatical forms, that the near relationship of these Nations, in ancient times, does not admit of question. The legend which I have here produced goes back to that almost forgotten period when the separation had not taken place. We learn from it, the historical fact that bands of Chahta, under the collective name, Cussetuh, or Eastern People, led the migration from beyond the Mississippi, certainly long before the Columbian era; and following the fertile river bottoms, drove out, destroyed, or absorbed into their own nationality, various tribes previously possessing those regions. By these changes, their language acquired many foreign elements; but their energy and superior skill retained for the Chahta the pre-eminence their valor had achieved, and in time gave them the control of the numerous tribes, affiliated for

the greater part with themselves, which, in later times, were known as the "Empire" of the Upper and Lower Creeks.

As there is independent evidence, which it is needless to rehearse here, showing that the Apalaches and the Caloosas of Florida were also Chahta in language and blood, we have satisfactory proof that, from West of the Mississippi to the Atlantic shore, and from the Mountains to the Gulf, this tribe, the Chahta, controlled the whole territory. When, therefore, we find that they distinctly retained reminiscences of a journey from the West or the South-west, to the abodes they occupied when first visited by the whites, (1540) the inquiry as to where was their previous habitat becomes one of no little importance in the ancient history of America, and one which we may venture upon with fair hopes of success.

VIII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

REV. THEODORE PARKER AND WASHINGTON.—I recollect a strange thing I once heard with my ears, which sounded like, and was regarded by the press as, a reflection against the purity of Washington's moral character.

I had never heard, nor even seen, the Rev. Theodore Parker, though he was so prominent a man and so frequently before the public eye, when, in the Winter of 1858-9, I read the announcement of a lecture on John Adams, by Theodore Parker.

I determined to hear it; and though the inclemency of the weather seemed to forbid the lecture to be delivered on the evening appointed—the snow having fallen so deep as to stop the horse-cars, and still falling and drifting—yet the evening papers announced that the lecture could not be deferred for the weather, Mr. Parker's engagements to repeat the same in other places allowing no other night for its delivery in Tremont Temple.

The audience was small. The lecture was not all that I expected from an eminent historical scholar, on the greatest of New England men. Too much time was given to anecdotes of the courtship of John Adams, and affairs of domestic and perhaps original interest. The passage relating to John Adams's defence of the soldiers indicted for the massacre of the fifth of March, 1770, was worthy of the noble subject, and gave many particulars which those who lately set on foot a celebration of the

hundredth anniversary of that event ought to have heard: it would have saved them from a mortifying back-down. John Adams was taunted with having been paid for his defence of the soldiers. He answered the charge with sneering contempt, and showed exactly how little he received. When Vice-president, he wrote to his wife, "Here I am in the most insignificant office God ever allowed a man to hold."

Mr. Parker at length came to the summing up of the character of John Adams, and reached these remarkable words,—the emphasis which he gave on each of which may be a measure inferred from the comparative size of the types: "John Adams was never *false* to *MAN* or *WOMAN*! and that is *more* than can be said of WASHINGTON HIMSELF."

These last words were uttered in a voice rising louder and louder to the last, which was almost a shriek. Mr. Parker paused with exhaustion, or to await the effect of the words. There was a quick motion in the audience—a rustle—then a looking round to see the impression on others—a few seemed between a laugh and a gape—their mouths opened like a cave or a slash in a fat ham, but no merriment played at the corners, no sudden flush of gaiety in the face.

Mr. Parker resumed his summary in a low voice, broken by a hacking cough; and the next day it was announced that Reverend Theodore Parker was unable, from the state of his health, to fulfil his engagements to repeat the lecture. *He never again addressed an audience; but went to Europe for his health, and died.*—Boston Correspondence of *The Salem Gazette*.

THE CARDIFF GIANT HOAX EXPOSED.

LETTER FROM THE MAN WHO CUT THE BLOCK.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *Chicago Tribune*:

That statement made in the *Tribune*, about one week ago, that the "Cardiff Giant" was manufactured in Chicago, is true. One of Mr. Volk's workmen and myself cut it out of a block of gypsum, in a barn, near Lincoln Park, during the months of July, August, September and October, in 1868. George Hull, one of the former owners of the figure, made an arrangement with Henry Salle, who is employed by Mr. Volk, and myself, to cut out a statue; and he agreed to pay us either one hundred and fifty dollars or allow us a share in the money derived from exhibiting it, after being dug from the earth. We concluded to take the cash; but he has never paid us. Salle received forty dollars; but I did not get one penny. As Hull has not carried out his part of the agreement, I do not think it right for me to remain quiet

any longer; but think the swindle should be exposed.

When Hull came to us, he said he had a block of gypsum, which he had obtained from Fort Dodge, Iowa, and that it was in a barn, near the Park. Salle and myself took our tools to the place and worked at it whenever we had an opportunity; sometimes two days in a week, and on Sundays. We had a model about three feet long. Beer was supplied, and there was no necessity for leaving the place, while at work, for a drink. The stone, I was informed, was furnished by a man named Martin, who is at present interested in the giant. It was about eleven feet in length, four feet wide, by three thick, and worked nicely; did not crumble as some stone does. The figure was pronounced complete in the latter part of October. Hull came occasionally to see how the work progressed. Hair had been carved on the head and a beard on the chin. Hull did not like this, when he saw it, and said he would see about it. When he came, the next time, he told us that he had consulted with a geologist, and was informed that hair would not petrify. So he ordered it to be clipped off; and we shaved the giant.

Several ways were tried to make the figure look old, and, at last, one was invented. Quite a number of needles were placed in lead, with their points, protruding, and the figure was pricked over with this. Two days were occupied in this work, as the chisel left marks on the stone which had to be effaced by this slow process of pricking. Some vitriol, sulphuric acid, and English ink were next procured and rubbed, which gave the antiquated look required. Hull thought, at first, it would be best to put on a clay covering, but concluded it had better not be done, as the clay where the statue was to be buried might be different. He was undecided where to bury it at first, and suggested Mexico, I told him I thought that would be a good place; but finally concluded not to take it there, as the distance was so great.

A box was obtained of a man who makes sashes and doors, on North Clark-street, just South of the entrance to the old City Cemetery. How to get the figure into the box puzzled Hull; but we hit upon a plan which was successful. A derrick was erected; bands were placed beneath the head, legs and body; and when raised to a sufficient elevation, the box was shoved underneath, and the giant was in it in a few moments.

During the course of the next week, a truck was engaged, and the box taken to the Michigan depot. It went over that road, so I was told, and was buried, how or by whom I do not know, on Newell's farm.

Hull, at one time, proposed that we should insert in the figure here and there petrified pieces of wood or stone, so that when geologists called to see it, he could clip off a piece and give it to them to examine. This, however, was not done, as he could not find the pieces.

The figure is well proportioned, in all parts except one, and that is the back. The stone was made up of layers; and while working on the back, one of them got loose and had to be taken off, leaving the thickness of the body six inches less than it should have been.

Hull was in Chicago about two weeks ago, and told me he had sold his interest, and had received notes therefor. Salle and I wrote to Martin about it; and he replied that Newell, another interested party, had the notes and had run away with them. We wrote to Hull and asked him why he had deceived us, and have not yet received an answer.

The beams of which we made the derrick are now in the yard, near the barn; and the bands are in my possession.

If Hull, or the parties now in possession of the giant, deny the truth of what I say, Salle and myself are willing to make affidavit that the facts given are true. Affidavits of other persons who are familiar with the circumstances connected with the making, will also be procured, and the gaint proven to be what it is, as every intelligent person knows—a humbug and a swindle. Respectfully,

F. MOHRMANN.

No. 146 North Water-street.

CHICAGO, Feb. 10, 1870. *Chicago Tribune.*

SHOO FLY!

This ludicrous yet popular song with the masses, and which is on the lips of nearly everybody, is quite old, having been sung by the negroes of Georgia before the War. It is well known that a fire engine bore the name of "Shoo Fly," in Savannah, as far back as 1856, having derived its name from this simple and senseless song. As a matter of curiosity to hundreds who have had the chorus ringing in their ears, on every hand, for several weeks past, we give the words of what may truly be termed the song of the period:

"I think I hear de angels sing,

"I think I hear de angels sing,

"I think I hear de angels sing—

"De angels now are on de wing.

"I feel, I feel, I feel—

"Dat's what my mudder said:

"De angels pouring 'lasses down

"Upon dis nigger's head.

"CHORUS: Shoo, fly! don't bodder me!

"Shoo, fly! don't bodder me!

"Shoo, fly! don't bodder me!

"Shoo, fly! don't bodder me!

"I belong to Comp'ny G.

"I feel, I feel, I feel;

"I feel like a morning star!

"I feel, I feel, I feel,

"I feel like a morning star!

"I feel, I feel, I feel,

"I feel like a morning star!

"If I sleep in de sun, dis nigger knows,

"If I sleep in de sun, dis nigger knows,

"If I sleep in de sun, dis nigger knows,

"A fly come sting him on de nose.

"I feel, I feel, I feel—

"Dat's what my mudder said:

"Whenever dis nigger goes to sleep,

"He must cober up his head.

"CHORUS: Shoo, fly! don't bodder me etc."

We find the following in our exchanges about the authorship of this song. The Philadelphia *Ledger* informs its readers that Charleston now claims the authorship of the "musical gem," to which a correspondent signing himself "Co. K." in the *Bethlehem Times*, replies:—"The above paragraph brought to my memory some facts which may prove, to a certainty, that Charleston, S. C., may justly lay claim to the origination of the above song. The facts are these: while the Forty-seventh Regiment P. V. were quartered in the city of Charleston, in 1865, I was a clerk in the Provost Marshal's Office, under Major Levi Stuber, of Allentown. The Provost Guards were quartered at the Pavilion Hotel, corner of Hazle and Meeting-streets, in which hotel I heard the history of 'Shoo Fly.' One evening, an old colored woman, whom we called 'Auntie,' came in to sell peanuts. The guards were whistling and singing 'Shoo Fly,' or some parts of it, when old Auntie went up to one of them and said: 'Master, you must not sing dat song, dat am a bad song; for her spirits won't rest.' This very naturally excited my curiosity; and, in reply to my question as to who that spirit was, she told in substance the following story: When the Union prisoners-of-war were quartered in the Race-course, in Charleston, it was her habit, with other colored friends, to take food to the starving Union men. One day they were caught throwing some corn-bread over the enclosure; when the rebel guard ran his bayonet through her friend's breast. While she lay, dying, under a blazing sun, myriads of flies swarming over her, she uttered, 'Shoo fly, don't bodder me, for I am goin' to h—l.' These words were set to music by a

"young colored man who lived or worked on East Bay-street, Charleston. This, Mr. Editor, was old 'Auntys' story of 'Shoo Fly,' and 'I have no doubt it can be verified by others belonging to the Forty-seventh Regiment, either in Easton or Allentown.'"—*Doylestown Democrat*.

IX.—NOTES.

AMEDA.—In Cartier's account of his voyage, 1535, he speaks of a tree by this name, having marvellous curative powers, but does not attempt to identify it with any tree known to him or his fellow voyagers.

In Mr. Parkman's valuable *Pioneers of France*, (p. 195) he says "the wonderful tree seems to have been a Spruce." But in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, Edit, 1600, (pp. 227, 234) it is said to be the "Sassafras;" a tree well known to have been in demand, on European shores, for sanative purposes, in early days.

The word is otherwise written by different authors—*Annedda*; *Hanneda*.

BRUNSWICK, ME.

B.

PRIVATEERING IN 1748—121 YEARS AGO.

(From the *Boston Evening Transcript*, Jan. 24, 1854.)

A friend at the State House has loaned us a copy of the *Boston Evening Post*, printed August 29, 1748, by T. Fleet, at the Heart and Crown, in Cornhill—the building designated is now standing, and is occupied by Mr. B. H. Greene, 124 Washington-street, corner of Water.* This paper contains a letter from Captain Isaac Freeman, Commander of the *Bethel*, Frigate, to his owners, in Boston, dated at St. Johns, in Newfoundland, August 1, 1748. It is characteristic of the universal Yankee Nation, for shrewdness, bravery, and daring; and we give it entire. Well might the Spanish Don have said that he "was jockeyed out of a prize," when he was captured by a Yankee Captain, in a small vessel armed with fourteen guns and six wooden ones, with a crew of thirty-seven men, when he himself was Commander of a man-of-war, carrying twenty-six guns with one hundred and ten men, and having a cargo valued at three hundred thousand dollars. Captain Freeman's letter is as follows, which we copy as accurately as modern type will give it:

"My last was from *Leghorn*, of the 9th of April, to which I refer, and have now to add, that we sail'd from thence the 10th. On the

"16th, we took the *St. Joseph*, a Pollaca Pink, from *Salonica* for *Marseilles*, laden with Tobacco, which we carried with us to *Cagliari*, and after performing Quarantine, sold her for 5000 Dollars. We had her condemned at *Port-Mahon*.—The 10th of June we left *Gibraltar*, and the 19th, in Lat. 36. N. off the Isle of *St. Mary's*, we met with and took the *Jesus Maria* and *Joseph*, a Spanish Register Ship, Don *Antonia de Borges*, Commander, from the *Havanna* for *Cadix*, with 110 Men and 26 Guns. Her Cargo we are at loss to know the Value of, as the papers were all hove over-board; but, by the best Account we can get, when she left the *Havanna*, it was valued at 300,000 Dollars: We have found on board her, in Specie, 171,000 Dollars, and her other Cargo is Cochenal, Snuff, Hides, &c. We having such a vast Number of Prisoners to secure, and both Ships to Man, and only 37 Men and Boys on board, were obliged to put into *Fyal*, where we have been most barbarously used, as imprisoning my self and People, attempting to force our Prize from us, &c. In short, must defer Particulars till I have the Pleasure of seeing you, which hope will be in a short Time. We left *Fyal* the second of July, very poorly mann'd as you may easily judge, and arriv'd here the 28th. We have apply'd to the Judge of Admiralty to condemn the Ship, and hope the Affair will soon be determined.

"P. S. The Particulars in taking the Ship are as follows. At 6, P. M., made a Sail, to which we gave Chase, and as we were standing partly towards each other, soon found her to be a large Ship. She took in her small Sails, and hall'd up her Courses, &c. as getting in a Posture to engage us; but we not regarding that, she soon made all the Sail she could pack, in order to get from us; but we having the Heels of her, over-hall'd her a pace, and the Night, tho' very dark, was not able to conceal her from our Sight.—At 12 at Night was along-side, when, after a Serenade of French Horns, Trumpets, &c. demanded from whence she came, and whither bound? when, after a few Equivocations allowable in such Cases, as pretending to be from *Suranam* for *Holland*, &c, she answer'd she was from the *Havanna* for *Cadix*, at which we gave them a Cheer, and order'd her Boat and Captain on board immediately. He begg'd we would stay till Morning, as his Boat was large and leaky, but we threatened him with a Broadside (which he much feared) when he comply'd. At Day-light, we had the last of the Prisoners secured, who were ready to hang themselves for submitting, when they saw our Strength, having only fourteen Guns, besides six wood-

* This building has since been taken down and a new building has been erected on its site, which is occupied by the Erie Railway. The estate adjoins that where the *Boston Journal* is now published.—J. W. D.

"en ones; and you may easily imagine we had "Care and Trouble enough with them, till they "were landed at Fyal."

This is, perhaps, the only Instance since the War began, of so stout a Ship's being taken by so small a Force, without firing a Gun; and the *Spanish* Don may truly be said to have been jockey'd out of a Prize worth the best part of an hundred thousand Pounds Sterling, by the Courage and Art of an honest *New-England* Man.

The Art of fighting, each Commander's Care,
Lies not in Strength, but Stratagems of War.

J. W. D.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.—This Society was established in Baltimore, May 25th, 1843. Rev. Doctor Schmucker was called to the Chair; and Doctor E. Keller acted as Secretary. The object of the meeting was stated by Doctor Passavant. A Constitution was then proposed and adopted. The object of the Society was declared to be: "To make a collection of the published writings of Lutheran Ministers and Laymen in America, whether original or translated; to procure, as far as possible, the Minutes of all the Synods, from their organization, the printed proceedings of all Special Conferences, Church Councils, and other ecclesiastical Conventions, together with regular files of the periodicals, published under the patronage of the Church; decisions in Chancery; Charters of corporate institutions; Constitutions of individual Churches; legal reports relative to Church property; and, in general, to collect all publications, manuscripts and facts, that tend to throw light on the history of the Lutheran Church, in this country." It was, also, determined, that the regular meetings of the Society should be held at the time and place of the Conventions of the General Synod. The Library of the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, was selected for the keeping of the Historical collections.

The first officers of the Society chosen were: S. S. Schmucker, D. D., *President*; J. Bachman, D. D., LL.D., and H. L. Baugher, D. D., *Vice Presidents*; W. A. Passavant, D. D., *Corresponding Secretary*; C. P. Krouth, D. D., *Recording Secretary*; W. M. Reynolds, D. D., *Treasurer*; M. Jacobs, D. D., *Curator*.

A discourse, by some one previously appointed, has usually been delivered during the Conventions of the General Synod. The following gentlemen have so far officiated:

S. S. Schmucker, D. D., in 1845, on *The Patriarchs of the American Lutheran Church*.

W. M. Reynolds, D. D., in 1848, on *The Early*

History of the Swedish Lutherans, in America.

C. F. Schaeffer, D. D., in 1853, on *The Present transition state of the Lutheran Church, in the United States*.

George Diehl, D. D., in 1857, on *The Practical Influence of Religious History*.

M. L. Stoeve, LL.D., in 1862, on *The Fathers of the Lutheran Church, from Halle*.

J. G. Morris, D. D., in 1864, on *The Literature of the Lutheran Church, in the United States*.

S. W. Harkey, D. D., in 1866, on *The History of the Lutheran Church, in Illinois*.

H. N. Pohlman, D. D., in 1869, on *The German Colony and Lutheran Church, in Maine*.

The present officers of the Society are: *President*, S. S. Schmucker, D. D.; *Vice Presidents*, J. G. Morris, D. D., S. Sprecher, D. D., H. N. Pohlman, D. D., H. Ziegler, D. D.; *Corresponding Secretary*, M. L. Stoeve, LL.D.; *Recording Secretary*, W. D. Strobel, D. D.; *Treasurer*, J. A. Brown, D. D.; *Curator*, C. A. Hay, D. D.

The next meeting of the Society will be held during the Convention of General Synod, at Dayton, Ohio, in the year 1871. The speaker selected for the occasion is F. W. Conrad, D. D., of Philadelphia.

GETTYSBURG, PA.

M. L. S.

"STONEWALL."—This cognomen, so appropriately bestowed upon the distinguished Confederate General, was, by a curious coincidence, given to an Indian Chief, more than two hundred years ago. In the *Archæologia Americana*, ii, 1836, in the article on Gookin's *History of the Christian Indians*, p. 440, we find, in a foot-note, the following passage: "It would seem, according to the author of *Letters to London*, that he had been taken prisoner by the forces under Major Talcot; for, after saying that they had killed the old Queen, Quasiapen, and Stonewall John, the writer goes on," etc.

RICHMOND, VA.

T. H. W.

MRS. BETSEY THOMAS.*—The venerable triad, which has long led the advanced guard of our aged native citizens, is broken; and its youngest member, after an affectionate and happy union of more than ninety-six years, has gently part-

* This interesting and important article is particularly so to us, because the writing of it was the last literary labor of our honored friend, the late Hon. WILLIAM WILLIS, of Portland, Maine.

It was printed in *The Press*, published in that city, on Tuesday, the fifteenth instant, [February 15, 1870.] the day before his own death; and only a few hours before his decease and among the closing actions of his honorable life, was the particular interest which he took in directing the transmission of a copy of the paper containing it, to our address.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

ed the chain and ceased to be. The two elder members, at ninety-eight and a hundred years, still keep on their way, calmly awaiting the good Providence which, having ever attended their steps through the century, will kindly remove from them, in its own time, the burdens of accumulated years, and reunite them, in perpetual youth, among the angels of light.

This is one of the most extraordinary cases in the history of longevity. The three I speak of, are the oldest children of Peter Thomas, who was born in Boston, in 1745; came to Portland, several years prior to the Revolution, to pursue the trade of a sailmaker; and died here, at an early age of fifty-two, in 1797. In 1769, he married Kerrenhappuck Cox, daughter of John Cox and Sarah Proctor, a grand-daughter of Anthony Brackett, a descendant of the earliest occupants of this Neck, now Portland. She survived her husband more than forty years, and died at the age of eighty-nine, in 1838. The marriage produced eleven children, all of whom but one survived their father, and four only their mother, viz: the three above-mentioned, and Hannah, the mother of our friend, Charles Rogers.

But, among these general characteristics, which are not without interest to our elderly readers, there is one, more extraordinary still, and that is that these children are lineal descendants of two of the most prominent victims of that Satanic tragedy which occurred in Salem Village, in 1692, by which twenty innocent victims were ruthlessly and remorselessly hurried out of the world, by this diabolical witchcraft delusion. John Proctor, the ancestor of Mrs. Peter Thomas, the family we are describing, was executed for witchcraft, at Salem Village, August 19, 1692; his son, Samuel, was the first immigrant of the name who came to Portland; his daughter, Sarah, married John Cox, by whom he had Kerrenhappuck, the subsequent wife of Peter Thomas, and mother of the remarkable children I am describing.

On the father's side, Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. George Burroughs, who was executed at the same time and place with Proctor, married George Thomas, the first immigrant of his family, from Wales to Boston. Peter Thomas, father of these children, was her grandson; and thus, in these children, are united the blood of two of the most worthy victims of that ferocious tragedy which has left its "damned spot" on the fair escutcheon of New England, which will never "be out."

I will stop one moment to speak of another peculiar fact, which is characteristic of this remarkable historic family. Mr. Peter Thomas was a grandson of Anthony Brackett, who, at one time, owned and occupied nearly the whole of what is now Bramhall's-hill. He was a de-

scendent, in a direct line, from George Cleeves, who, in 1682, was the first occupant and settler of the Neck, now Portland, under the original Proprietor, Sir F. Gorges. Cleeves's only daughter married Michael Mitton; and two of his daughters, Mary and Ann, married Thomas and Anthony Brackett, brothers, who thus inherited immense tracts of land at the West part of this City and in Westbrook, which remained in their families to the close of the last century. What remarkable historic facts concentrated in this single race!

The Rev. George Burroughs was a man of education and respected life. For several years, he was a popular preacher on this Neck. Driven off, in 1676, by the first Indian War which destroyed the Town, he returned with the settlers, about 1680, and preached to the people, in a Meeting-house which stood where the Portland Company's works are. When the second utter overthrow of the Town took place, in 1690, he sought refuge in Salem; where, within two years, he found savages more savage than the wild natives of the forest, and came to an untimely end.

Miss Thomas, the respected subject of our rambling thoughts, has sat under the preaching of every settled Minister of the First Parish, on the Neck, since the death of her great ancestor, Burroughs; and there was less than thirty-five years between his death and the ordination of our good Parson Smith, his successor. She has, therefore, enjoyed the society of the whole series of the Ministers, since the revival of the Parish; has lived through the whole history of the Town, since it formed part of a British Colony, and of the Nation, since it became a Nation; has seen the wonderful changes which free institutions have produced, not only in our own country, but in the blessed influences they have impressed upon the world, in their benignant sway. What a privilege for an intelligent mind to have passed through such a hundred years of grand developments, not only in the institutions of civil, social, and political life, but in those of Art, Science, Literature, History, and, beyond all these, of *Humanity*. Here are three members of one family who have walked leisurely through these eventful years, in their native Town, with open eyes, watching the progress of men and things which have walked along beside them. They were part of the times. The life of our deceased friend has been a brimmer; it has had a continual sparkle. She had a bright, buoyant temperament; and the lights were always superior to the shadows. She was happy in the society of her elders, and her agreeable conversation and perpetual cheerfulness made them happy; she was fond of reading, and her memory not only retained the seed-thoughts which

were dropped in her path, but those which were gathered up by the personal observation of ninety years; and she had the gift of applying them, with an apt and ready wit, in her intercourse with her friends. One of these friends, of thirty-five years standing, observed to me that "her mind was richly stored with long years of attentive reading, and her conversation was always profitable as well as entertaining." By these fine qualities she made herself agreeable in any society; and, while by her presence she added graces to the life that now is, she never forgot that there is another life of higher charms and nobler possessions than any which this can bestow, and which will adorn with new graces and richer beatitudes, those who have attained the highest regards of this. She acted upon the fact that most of the shadows that cross our path, in life, are caused by our standing in our own light. And now, as we bid farewell to this time-honored object of our respect, we must not fail to turn back to the dear and loved companions with whom she has affectionately and tenderly walked through the years of her long life, and whose abrupt parting is the breaking of a heart-cord. Your turn must soon come; you cannot choose when; you move mistily through these bright shadows; you did not choose the time to come into the world; you cannot select the time when you will be taken out of it; it is for you to make the most and best of what remains of life, by patience and a calm submission to the movements of a Providence which you cannot control and to which you must submit; and prepare yourselves to receive, with serenity, the uncertain but blessed decree which shall lift from you the pains, the vicissitudes, and the trials, which no man who has once visited the world can escape or avoid:—

"Let this be the burden of the heart,
 "The burden that it always bore;
 "We live to love; we meet to part;
 "And part to meet on earth no more;
 "We clasp each other to the heart,
 "And part to meet on earth no more."
 W.

X.—QUERIES.

GENERAL McCLELLAN AND THE WAR.

When the history of the Rebellion shall be written, Major-general McClellan will hold a foremost place in its pages. His merits as a commander, will then be decided by his management of the Campaign on the Peninsula; and the historian must then answer these questions:

FIRST.—With the means at his command and his universally conceded superiority in numbers, was it a proof of skill, on his part, to permit the

Confederate Army to remain within sight of Washington, during upwards of six months, without a single attempt to dislodge them?

SECOND.—Is not ample evidence forthcoming, that when the two advance Corps of the Army of the Potomac arrived on the Peninsula, the Confederates were so little prepared for their approach, that Yorktown might have been taken by a *coup-de-main*, with but slight opposition?

THIRD.—Had General McClellan been present on the field of Williamsburg, during the action of the fifth of May, thus insuring accord amongst his subordinates, is it not probable that the repulse of the Confederate Army would have been turned into a total rout?

FOURTH.—When the Confederate Army retreated up the Peninsula and across the Chickahominy, was there any reason whatever why General McClellan should not have immediately followed it over that stream?

FIFTH.—Was it not an unpardonable blunder to divide his Army in twain by a river which might, at any period, become so swollen as to render one portion of his command utterly powerless to assist the other?

SIXTH.—Did he display common foresight, humanity, or generalship, in drawing his lines around the City of Richmond, in a region notorious throughout the country as one of the most unhealthy of the South?

SEVENTH.—Were his enormous parks of artillery of any service to him throughout the Campaign?

EIGHTH.—Did he make use of his Cavalry, except during the retreat?

NINTH.—Commencing with the Battle of Williamsburg, the first on the Peninsula, and closing with the last, that of Malvern-hill, did not General McClellan persistently imperil the safety of his Army by leaving the conduct of the several actions to his subordinates, never appearing on the field, until the close of the engagement?

TENTH.—In discussing the question whether General McClellan were properly reinforced by the War Department, will it not be necessary first to inquire whether he made good and sufficient use of the means already at his disposal?

ELEVENTH.—Did General McClellan use the Army of the Potomac as a weapon with which to crush the enemies of the Union, or as a tool wherewith to build up a sectional political party, thereby seeking his own personal advantage?

Will the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE please answer these queries, now? D.

GENERAL TAYLOR AND CAPTAIN BRAGG.—The old story of General Taylor's order to the celebrated artilleryist, "A little more grape, Captain Bragg," has been declared to be apocryphal,

by one who professes to know: please inform me what is really *known* on the subject?

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

BATTLE OF QUEENSTOWN.—Where can I find a complete and accurate description of the Battle of Queenstown, in which Captains Armstrong and Wool are said to have successively commanded?

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

DID HE DO IT? General Grant is said to have said, on a well-known occasion, he would "fight it out on this line, if it takes all Summer:" without questioning the accuracy of the statement referred to, *did he do it?* Did or did not General Grant change his "line;" and "fight it out" on an entirely different one from that which he occupied when he is understood to have made the promise which I have quoted above?

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

XI.—REPLIES.

FIRE SWOBS, IN BOSTON. (*H. M.*, II, vii, 52.) You will find in Mr. Drake's *History and Antiquities of Boston*, (page 334)—the evident origin of the scrap, on this subject, which you re-produced in your last number—pretty much all that can be said on the subject.

The use of "swobs" is easily explained. In swaby Boston, of 1650, the houses did not exceed a height that required a pole longer than that mentioned in your extract; especially if the person using the swab stood upon the head of a barrel or other similar article.

BOSTON.

D.

PEACH-TREES ON THE FORTIFICATIONS AT PETERSBURG, VA., (*H. M.* II, vi, 248).—The exaggerated accounts, written by the correspondents of Northern newspaper-men, give very incorrect ideas of this and many other vestiges of the late sectional War. So far from there being "a grove" of trees, forty miles long, loaded with fruit, the only peach-trees which exist along the whole line of entrenchments around Petersburg, are to be found near the scene of the explosion of the mine, fired by the United States forces, and which has gone by the name of the "Crater," ever since. The trees do not number more than fifteen or twenty; and, being the growth from stones planted by accident, in 1864, have not yet borne fruit.

It may not be amiss to add, what is not generally known, that out of about eight or ten miles

of earth-works, erected by the Confederates, to protect Petersburg, and which extended around the city, from the Appomattox-river, in the form of a semi-circle, only about one-third of them remain; and this on the eastern side, where there was little or no fighting. The rest have been leveled by the negroes, since the cessation of military hostilities, who dug into them to obtain the leaden balls, which were in great demand among the junk-dealers—a class of merchants unknown in Richmond and Petersburg, until the advent of the Union Army. It is a remarkable fact, that hundreds of negroes made a living by the sale of lead there obtained, for nearly three years after the War.

We may also add, that, although no remains of the Confederate works exist, save at the Crater, on the eastern side of the city, there is still to be seen miles of works, with palisades or chevaux-de-frise, which were erected by General Grant, to protect his rear from the attack of the raiding parties who had previously rendered that portion of his Army uncomfortable, at least.

RICHMOND, VA.

T. H. W.

ROBERT SANDEMAN. (*H. M.* II, vii, 51, 52).—This article was copied entire, by the *Transcript*, to which you have credited it, with slight omissions and a few variations of style, from Mr. Drake's *History and Antiquities of Boston*. In that sadly underrated and unpaid-for volume—pp. 686, 687—you will find a more ample account of the Sandemanian Church than in the re-hash of it, in the *Transcript*.

Walford Butler was the last of the Society, here, as his daughter informed me. She was living here as lately as 1828, or thereabouts; but she subsequently moved to New York, and died there, soon after her removal. She carried on the millinery business.

BOSTON, MASS.

BROMFIELD.

JANE MCCREA (*H. M.*, II, vi., 364, 365).—In reply to the Query of your correspondent, Isaac Smucker, in the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, I would say that, in the *Galaxy*, for January, 1867, there is given a long and detailed account of the Jane McCrea tragedy, which, as I have reason to believe, contains the true and connected history of that event.

WM. L. STONE.

"TURN TO THE LEFT AS THE LAW DIRECTS." (*H. M.*, II, vi., 365).—In some of the Southern States, the old-country custom still prevails, of "turning to the left."

NEW YORK CITY.

R. B.

XII.—BOOKS.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*A narrative of the wonderful escape and dreadful sufferings of Colonel James Paul, after the defeat of Colonel Crawford, when that unfortunate commander, and many of his men, were inhumanly burnt at the stake, and others were slaughtered by other modes of torture, known only to savages.* By Robert H. Sherrard. Printed for J. Drake. Cincinnati: 1869. Octavo, pp. 72.

This very neatly-printed pamphlet purports to be descriptive of the sufferings of a body of volunteers, from Fayette and Washington-counties, Pennsylvania, who, under Colonel Crawford, in the Summer of 1782, moved from Redstone Old Fort, now Brownsville, Pennsylvania, for the purpose of checking the Sandusky Indians and of destroying the Indian settlement at Upper Sandusky. This expedition, numbering four hundred and eighty-two men, was badly defeated, on the sixth of June; and small parties of the fugitives wandered through the wilderness, exposed to the merciless and enterprising savages; and the greater number perished. In one of these parties, James Paul sought to return home; but, of the five composing the party, he alone escaped, and that only by what seemed to be an almost miraculous out-running of those who pursued him.

In this tract, we have what purports to be Colonel Paul's own narrative of both the origin and history of the expedition and his own escape. It is brief, simple, and unadorned; seeming to correct some of the errors which have possibly prevailed, concerning the objects of the expedition; and adding, it may be, to the scanty supply of material for a history of the West, what is both interesting and important. There cannot be too many additions to our local history, of such works as this seems to be; but we know nothing of either its origin or its character for reliability.

2.—*Sketch of the Life and Character of John Lacey, a Brigadier General in the Revolutionary Army.* By W. W. H. Davis, A. M. Privately Printed. 1863. Octavo, pp. 118, (Appendix) 6.

It was our duty, as a writer of the military history of our country, several years ago, to look into the records of the Battle of the Crooked Billet—now called Hatborough;—and, subsequently, we were favored with the personal friendship of the venerable Doctor William Darlington, the son-in-law of the commandant in that affair and, we believe, the custodian of his papers. At that time, were taught to regard, with unusual respect,

the manly virtues of the Quaker General from Pennsylvania, as well as his good qualities as a soldier; and a close perusal of accurate copies of his remaining papers, placed in our hands by the Doctor, threw new light on some points of much misrepresented history.

It seems that, in 1861, our respected contemporary and friend, WILLIAM W. H. DAVIS, Esq., the gallant Colonel of the One hundred and fourth, Ringgold, Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, conceived the excellent idea that the memory of General Lacey and that of his companions in arms who fell at the Billet, should be no longer allowed to remain unrecognized by a monumental stone; and, in order to relieve the State of that ground for reproach, an Association was formed, at Hatborough and its vicinity; subscriptions were collected and a Fair was organized by the ladies, with complete success; a piece of ground, in the upper part of the village, was purchased; a fit monument, some twenty-four feet in height, was erected; and, on the fifth of December, in that year, the memorial was dedicated, with appropriate ceremonies.

At that time, and it may be as an auxiliary to other forms of labor which were required in the collection of funds for building the monument, General Davis gleaned, from the family papers and from other sources, the record of the life, and character, and services, of General Lacey, and published it in "a popular Magazine of the day;" and, as a graceful finish to his patriotic labors, in the handsome volume before us, he has re-produced that record, with an Appendix, descriptive of the monument and of the services with which it was presented to the world.

The narrative of General Lacey's life and services is carefully written, in this little memoir; and his character is estimated, from the testimony afforded by the papers and from the opinions of those who were his contemporaries, at no more than its true value.

The story of the Battle of the Crooked Billet, as it is given in this volume, is very minute and exceedingly well told. The author adopts the American date, (*May 1, 1778*) rather than the English (*May 4th*) with evident propriety; and, he follows Stedman, in describing the route of Simcoe, as the *New York-road*, instead of the *York-road*—correcting our doubt on the subject, in our *Battles*—also, we suppose, correctly.

The great minuteness with which the localities of the revolutionary era, connected with this affair, have been described by General Davis, makes this portion of the volume peculiarly important, as an evidently reliable authority on the subject; and this volume will be sought for, for that reason, by all who examine the history of that period with closeness and fidelity.

The proof-reader, or the compositor, or both,

have sadly marred the beautiful pages of this volume, by leaving several typographical errors uncorrected : with that exception the volume is a very handsome one.

3.—*History of the Hart Family, of Warminster, Bucks County, Pennsylvania.* To which is added the Genealogy of the Family, from its first settlement in America. By W. W. H. Davis. Privately Printed. 1867. Octavo, pp. 129, (Genealogy) 20.

Although not, strictly speaking, a recent issue from the press, we notice this work for the benefit of such of our readers as are interested in genealogical pursuits.

The Hart family, to whom it relates, was from Witney, in Oxfordshire ; emigrated, in the persons of John and Mary, son and daughter of Christopher, probably in company with William Penn, in the Summer of 1682 ; and settled at Byberry. They were Friends ; and John was a member of the first Assembly, representing Philadelphia-county. He married a Rush, who was also a Friend ; but, in 1691, he severed his connection with Friends ; became a Keithian preacher ; and was active and influential in the new connection. When, by the defection of their leader, the Keithians dissolved, John Hart united with the Baptist Church at Pennapeck ; and the family seems to have been generally of that denomination of Christians, from that time to the present. The distinguished Oliver Hart, Pastor of the Baptist Church at Charleston, was a grandson of the founder, John ; and others of the family have been eminently useful, as office-bearers in the Churches at Pennapeck, Southampton, etc.

This volume is not a mere genealogy, but a *history* of the family and, to some extent, of the Baptists of Pennsylvania ; and its diligent author has shown great skill in the management of his very intricate subject.

As a mere memorial of a family which has been very prominent, in each of its successive generations, both as Baptists and as citizens—not unfrequently also as soldiers—this volume is an exceedingly important one ; but its importance is increased from the fact that it occupies no unimportant place, too, as illustrative of the local histories of both Philadelphia and Bucks-counties.

It is very handsomely printed.

4.—1820. 1870. *Semi-centennial of The Providence Journal.* January 3, 1870. Providence : Knowles, Anthony, & Danielson. 1870. Octavo, pp. 20.

"The Golden Wedding" of *The Providence Journal*, on the third of January last, afforded an opportunity to those concerned, to review the Past ; to relate the story of the ups and downs of its half-century life ; to re-call the recollec-

tions of old "boys ;" and to take a fresh start, on the journey of life.

This tract submits that review, tells that story, and revives those recollections. The small beginnings of that influential newspaper are described in its pages ; and the steady progress to power, of *The Journal* and its conductors, are duly noticed. The first Editor of the then penny sheet, the venerable William E. Richmond, Esq., furnishes some *Notes on the early History of the Journal*—such as only he could have written ;—and the accurate pen of the Rev. E. M. Stone sends out the closing paper of the series, in a careful description of *Providence, fifty years ago*.

All these papers probably appeared in *The Journal*, before they were sent out in this form ; yet we must say that the proprietors of that fine printing-office and prosperous journal have taken to themselves very little credit by the issue of this tract. The occasion, the importance of the subjects of the several papers, the care with which those subjects were handled, and the importance to those who shall come after us of the materials for history which they contain, one would have supposed, should have induced Knowles, Anthony, & Danielson to afford a respectable dress for them : as it is, they have been thrown into a large, double-columned pamphlet, part "leaded" and part "solid," which would have reflected no credit on either the skill, as a workman, or the liberality, as a young man of taste, of their very youngest apprentice, after a six-months probation in their office. Such freaks of printers, like other monstrosities, are unaccountable.

The intrinsic value of the contents of this tract are not affected by this strange peculiarity, however ; and Providence has nothing, in the record which it displays, at which she may blush, except the unaccountable disrespect displayed by her well-supported journalists.

5.—*Memoir of Hon. Daniel P. King.* By Charles W. Upham. Read at a meeting of the Essex Institute, held on Monday, April 19, 1869. Salem, Mass. : Essex Institute Press. 1869. Octavo, pp. 51.

Mr. King was a native of Danvers, and was widely and honorably known as a prominent Whig politician and as a Representative in the Congress of the United States, from Massachusetts. He was born to wealth ; knew none of the cares and anxieties which the greater number of young men are subjected to ; was carefully educated ; occupied a large farm, which he married, and enjoyed the proceeds of others which he inherited ; was sent to the General Court and to Congress ; discharged, with credit, the official duties which devolved on him, without unmaning himself by his personal misconduct ; and everywhere exhibited, without being brilliant, a

character for honesty and strong common sense, which is as honorable and as useful as it is uncommon.

Mr. Upham has carefully recounted the various events of Mr. King's well-spent life, in a well-written memoir, and it has been printed in this form, separate from the Institute's Collections, for private circulation.

Like all that comes from the Institute's Press, it is well printed.

6.—*Appeal to the President of the United States for a Re-Examination of the Proceedings of the General Court Martial in his Case.* By Maj. Gen'l Fitz John Porter, with accompanying Documents. Morristown, N. J.: 1869. Octavo, pp. lv, (unpaged) 64.

Reply to the Rejoinder of Maj. Gen. John Pope to the Appeal of Maj. Gen. Fitz John Porter, for a re-examination of the proceedings of the Court Martial in his Case. Morristown, N. J.: 1870. Octavo, pp. 10.

In these two tracts, evidently printed for private circulation, General Porter has presented, in dignified but earnest words, his plea for a re-examination of the proceedings of a General Court Martial which, in 1862, pronounced him guilty of grave Charges and sentenced him "to be cashiered and to be, forever, disqualified from holding any office of trust or honor under the Government of the United States."

We confess that we have never been fully satisfied with the propriety of this judgment; and we should still desire to know more of the subject before we could fully assent to it, in all its parts. The high character of the accused and of those who were under his command, the unquestioned character and ability of those whose adverse testimony is presented in these tracts, and the peculiar terms of the sentence inflicted, indicate, too clearly, that there was something in the case which the great eye of the public was not permitted to look on; and it seems to us that, if for no other reason than to correct the evidently invalid sentence of the Court—than which no sentence has ever been more evidently invalid, in law, nor more certain to be reversed by the Courts of the United States, if it shall ever come before them—such a re-consideration of the case as has been asked might be not only just but expedient.

The pamphlets are very neatly printed.

7.—*Local Law in Connecticut, historically considered.* By William Chauncey Fowler, LL.D. Boston: 1870. Octavo, pp. 32.

This is a historical examination of the settled policy of Connecticut, in support of the local against the pretensions of a national law; and its excellent author has traced that policy through her history, from the beginning until the close of the War of 1812, and exhibited the steady

opposition, by that State, to a centralization of power, in a central Government.

It is very carefully written; was partly read before the Historic-Genealogical Society, in Boston, in December, 1868; and is re-produced, in this form, for private circulation, from *The Historical and Genealogical Register*.

8.—*The Composition of Indian Geographical Names, illustrated from the Algonkin languages.* By J. Hammond Trumbull, President of the Connecticut Historical Society. From the Connecticut Historical Society's Collections, Vol. II. Hartford. 1870. Octavo, pp. 51.

In our last number, (pp. 47, 48,) we presented to our readers a specimen of the great extent of Mr. Trumbull's information concerning the languages of the American Indians; and in this neat pamphlet we have a still more extended specimen of his wonderful knowledge on that subject.

To historical students, our recognition of Mr. Trumbull's peculiar scholarship, both in early New England History and in the Indian languages, will not be fresh information, since the learned President of the Connecticut Historical Society is as well known among them, and as highly regarded, as the best of that little party; but those who are not of that tribe may credit us when we say that we know of one on whom we should more implicitly rely, on all matters on which he pretends to possess knowledge, than on the learned and liberal author of this tract.

In this tract, which seems to be composed of one of the papers contained in a forthcoming volume of *The Connecticut Historical Society's Collections*, Mr. Trumbull analyzes, with great particularity, the structure of Indian geographical names, displaying the origin of many of the well-known local names throughout the Union, and bearing testimony to the better taste of our "savage" predecessors, who never cursed their country, as we have done our country, by giving meaningless and, therefore, inappropriate names to their towns, rivers, and other localities.

The paper is a monument to Mr. Trumbull's patient industry as well as to his extended knowledge of the Indian languages; and it will be welcomed by all who are at all interested in that class of studies.

The pamphlet is a very neat one; and the edition numbered only fifty copies.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

9.—*Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, for April and May, 1869.* S. l. s. a. Octavo, pp. 1-99.

....., for June, July, and August, 1869. S. l. s. a. Octavo, pp. 99-142.

....., for September, October, and November, 1869. S. l. s. a. Octavo, pp. 142-193.

The venerable Society whose published Pro-

meetings, during eight months, are above referred to, have adopted the excellent plan of issuing them in parts, from time to time, instead, as hitherto, of waiting two years for the completion of a volume. In this, it has done well; and if this sensible movement could be extended to other portions of its management and to the general management of many other Societies which pretend to be more practical than this Society desires to be, it would be a public blessing. We rejoice that so good a beginning has been made; and hope it will not end here,

The parts before us contain a journal of a trip from Plymouth to New York, in 1789; the Annual Reports of the Officers of the Society; memoirs of Hon. Levi Lincoln and Isaac P. Davis; and a variety of other papers of great historical interest, besides the record of the Society's doings, at its various business meetings.

The typography, undoubtedly done by Wilson, is excellent.

10.—*The Capture of Ticonderoga, in 1775.* A paper read before the Vermont Historical Society, at Montpelier, Tuesday, October 19, 1869. By Elland Hall. Montpelier: 1869. Octavo, pp. 32.

Our venerable friend, Governor Hall, has kindly sent to us a copy of this paper, prepared by him in response to "a few historical writers in 'New York City,' especially to Mr. De Costa's essay on the subject, published in the *Galaxy*, several months since.

If we except several flings at Mr. De Costa and at New York, which we hardly expected from Governor Hall, we find nothing else in this paper than the old faded green cloth, turned, patched with some of the same piece, and reformed into a Vermont cloak, very well adapted to cover this portion of Vermont's really unprotected historical nakedness.

This matter of Ethan Allen and Ticonderoga is nothing more nor less, after all, than a question of History; and it is to be determined only by evidence, which in its turn, shall be tested by all the recognized standards of authority. Rhetoric, and claptrap, and personal attacks on writers who differ, and sneers at those who happen to live in another State, may serve a purpose among those who love to be ignorant rather than be just, if that justice shall be awarded at the expense of State pride; but they will not remove nor even shake a single fact, nor will they make him a hero or a patriot, who was, in reality, only a blusterer, a thief, and a traitor.

In this paper, Governor Hall admits, flatly, that the idea of the movement against Ticonderoga did not originate in Vermont; that the Vermonters made no movement toward such capture, until they were hired to do so, by the sub-committee from Hartford; that that Committee con-

trolled the movement—as it should, since it paid for it—and that Allen was subordinate to its authority. He does not tell, however—how unjustly we will not say—where this Hartford Committee was originally started nor at whose inspiration; nor does he say—he may know why—that when the expedition moved against Ticonderoga, Benedict Arnold was the only person present who bore a military Commission from Connecticut—he was Captain of her Governor's Guard—at whose cost and under whose nominal authority, if under any, this very movement was made.

But we do not propose to enlist in the controversy; and, with the single additional remark that we regret that Governor Hall has not examined this subject with more candor and disinterestedness than we find in this paper, we close the volume.

It is very neatly printed, by Poland, at Montpelier.

11.—*Essex Institute Historical Collections.* Volume X. Part I. Salem: Essex Institute Press. 1869. Octavo, pp. 104.

The *Collections* of the Essex Institute have ever been distinguished for their importance to students of American history; and the part before us is equal in importance to any which has preceded it. It opens with Mr. Upham's memoir of Mr. King, which we have elsewhere noticed; and a paper by Mr. Rantoul, on *The Port of Salem*, and the *Diary of Rev. Joseph Green, of Salem Village, 1706-1714*, close the volume.

Typographically considered, this is a handsomely-printed volume.

12.—*Historical Sketches of the Disciple Churches in Licking County, Ohio*, being *Pioneer Paper No. 58*, of the Licking County Pioneer Association. By Jacob Winter, Esq. Newark, O.: 1869, Octavo, pp. 7.

In a recent number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, we noticed The Licking County Pioneer Association and its several publications; and the tract before us is No. 4, of its *Pioneer Pamphlets*. It contains a brief sketch of each of the Churches of Disciples—Campbellites—which are seated in or near Licking-county, Ohio; and, as a "local" and as an instrument for elevating the taste of Western readers above the mere trash which overflows the country, it deserves encouragement.

It is the work of a country printing-office; and is not particularly handsome, as a work of art.

13.—*Address of Hon. Abel Rawson, before the Seneca County Pioneer Association, November 6, 1869.* Tiffin, O.: 1869. Octavo, pp. 12.

We do not know who this Mr. Rawson is, but

we have never read a better Address nor one which was better suited for the occasion which produced it.

It is a most graphic description of North-western Ohio, as it was when civilization first approached it; of the original settlement of that country; and of its gradual progress to greatness; and it closes with one of the most interesting of domestic pictures—a portrayal of pioneer every-day life, from morning until night, in the course of which *The Cotter's Saturday night* of Burns is admirably matched in a description of the frontier's-man's evening, in his humble log-cabin, in the West.

Such an Address is the product of no ordinary man; and we shall be glad to learn more of him and see more of his writings.

14.—*Bulletin of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society* Vol. I, No. 1. New York, December, 1869. Octavo, pp. 8.

This is the initial number of a new work, issued by a young Society, probably for the purpose of introducing itself to the public.

It relates the history of the Society and its doings; re-produces its Circulars; records the names of its Officers and Members; alludes to the significance of American Genealogy; notices several books, announces other yet unpublished; etc.; and is very well calculated for the purposes of its publication.

Both the Bulletin and the Society which issues it have our best wishes for their complete success.

15.—*A Sermon preached at the dedication of the Second Congregational Meeting-House, Keene, N. H., on Thursday, September 16, 1869.* By Rev. C. L. Woodworth. Boston: Rand, Avery, & Frye. 1869. Octavo, pp. 19.

This Church is peculiarly organized and peculiar in its workings. *First: The Church*, proper, constitutes the Society; and none, therefore, who are not *professed* Christians, at least, have any voice in any portion of its management. *Second: All monies necessary for its support are raised by contributions*; and there are not, therefore, either begging Sermons or begging Deacons in the place of worship. The Lord is not jostled by the World, within his own house; and those who go there to worship are not reminded, while there, of the littleness and meanness of their neighbors, by the rattle of the coppers or the nickles which they drop in the circulating church-plates. Boxes are placed in the vestibule; and each gives freely, without the influence of others, as he or she shall be disposed to give. *Third: Every thing is free*; and there is, therefore, no hesitation, on the part of any one, to go there and to stay there until the close of the services.

This peculiar system pleases us. It comes up, as nearly as may be, to our notions of what a Church should *be* and what a Church should *do*—notions, we admit, which preclude much worldliness within the Churches; but, nevertheless, notions which are warranted by the teachings of the Savior, as we understand them.

Nor has this Church found any trouble in practically carrying out these ideas. Not an appeal for money has ever yet been made from the pulpit; yet there is not, there, any trouble in raising money. There is no Church in the State, in proportion to its assessed wealth, which has given as much for benevolent purposes, during the three years of its existence; and the Meeting-house and all its properties were paid for before they were dedicated. "The poor come, too, and evidently feel at home;" and, as far as we can see, the great ends for which Churches were originally established are carried out, with more than usual fidelity.

The Sermon before us is an excellent one; well adapted to the purposes for which it was prepared; and well calculated to do good.

We commend the example of this Church to those who, elsewhere, are faint-hearted, time-serving, and idle.

16.—*Review of Ministry in Windsor.* Farewell Sermon, preached in the Congregational Church, Windsor, Vt., Sabbath Morning, September 26, 1869. By Rev. E. H. Byington. Windsor: 1869. Octavo, pp. 16.

This is a very interesting Sermon, whether because of the contrast which it enables us to exhibit of the old style and the new style, as seen at Keene and Windsor, respectively; or as a record of the local church history of Windsor; or as a most touching rebuke of coldness, in church matters, by one who was then retiring, a victim of neglect.

Indeed, we do not remember an instance where in our sympathy has been more freely extended to a stranger than it was to this retiring Pastor, while reading his Sermon, now before us; and we hope the words of parting, overflowing with kindness, yet without concealment of his past sufferings, will enter deeply into the hearts of his hearers, and effect a change where a change is so much needed.

As a "local," merely, this tract is important; and collectors of such material for history will do well to secure copies.

17.—*The American College.* An Address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Marietta College, June 29, 1869. By Rev. Israel W. Andrews, D.D. Marietta, Ohio: 1869. Octavo, pp. 22.

This Address is on "Higher Education;" and it treats of matters in which the great body of our countrymen has no practical interest.

We are tired of hearing, over and over again, in this form and in that, about this "higher Education." Why not tell us how those whose inevitable destiny it is to labor, shall be taught how to make that labor more productive at the same cost; how to produce the same or greater results with less labor than their fathers could; how to be better workmen, more intelligent in the every-day concerns of their lives, and better fathers and mothers, at home? All this preaching about "higher education" will do very well where men have no necessity to work for a living, either at the plow-tail, or at the work-bench, or at the desk, or at the tiller; but it is mischievous, as it commonly goes, and should be heard less frequently among those in whose minds and every-day life it too often breeds discontent, disturbance, and ruin.

18.—*Catalogue of the Officers and Students in Marietta College, 1869-70.* Marietta, Ohio: 1869. Octavo, pp. 30.

The title-page indicates the character of this tract.

19.—*Proceedings of the Vermont State Historical Society, October 19 and 20, 1869.* Montpelier: Poland's Steam Printing Establishment. 1869. Octavo, pp. 15, 32, 15.

This record of the proceedings of the Society contains nothing of unusual interest; but there are appended to it, the paper of Governor Hall, on the capture of Ticonderoga, hereinbefore referred to, and the Eulogy on Rev. Pliny H. White, the lamented President of the Society, which was pronounced by our friend, Henry Clark, of Rutland.

Of the paper by Governor Hall, we have already spoken, in another place: of that by Mr. Clark, we need only say that it is an appropriate and acceptable tribute to the memory of one of the most zealous and best-informed of historical students, and one of the most respected of Vermont's sons.

The pamphlet is a handsome one.

20.—*Bulletin of the Essex Institute.* Vol. I. Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. Salem: May-September, 1869. Octavo, pp. 73-123.

Few associations in the country are more actively employed and more honorably fulfil their mission than The Essex Institute, of Salem; and there is no one which deserves more from the earnest student and the steady citizen.

In the *Bulletin* before us, are articles, well-written and valuable, on the *First Houses in Salem*, a *Notice of the Temperance organizations in Salem*, and *The Fire Clubs* of that City, besides a record of the proceedings of the Institute.

The *Bulletin* is well printed.

21.—*Manual of the Grand Army of the Republic, containing its Principles and Objects together with Memorial Day in the Department of Michigan, May, 1869. List of Officers, etc.* Edited and Compiled by Comrade J. M. Cravath. Lansing: 1869. Octavo, pp. viii, 148.

This "Grand Army of the Republic" is like many others of that class—a political association, disguised by a cloak of assumed and exaggerated benevolence. Like the Tammany Society and the old Washington Benevolent Society, it professes to be organized for *charitable* purposes; but, like theirs, its charity ends there.

In the volume before us, we have an authoritative exposition of its "Principles and Objects," as far as they are allowed to be published; and there are appended to it a record of the proceedings, in various parts of Michigan, on what is known as "Memorial Day," when the "Army" commemorated, on the thirtieth of May, 1869, the deeds of its fallen comrades.

As an interesting memorial of the professed objects and of the doings of one of the controlling political associations of the time, this volume will be quite as important, in days to come, as it is now.

It is printed without any regard to typographical excellence; and it is quite an ordinary affair.

22.—*Two Sermons preached Fifty years from the Building of the "New Meeting-house," for the First Church, Dedham, January, 1870.* By Jonathan Edwards, Pastor. Published by Request. Dedham, Mass.: 1870. Octavo, pp. 22.

"The First Church, in Dedham," was organized in 1639, and embraced within its territorial jurisdiction, some twelve or fifteen modern Towns, where, to-day, there are probably not less than fifty churches, actively engaged in the service of their Master.

In 1818, a dispute arose between the legal and the ecclesiastical Churches—between "the Society" and "the Church"—concerning a Pastor, which the former had employed; and, as the *legal* Church imposed upon the *ecclesiastical* Church a Pastor who was distasteful to it, by reason, evidently, of his heretical doctrines, the latter withdrew, carrying with it the *ecclesiastical* organization, but leaving behind it, the Meeting-house and the legal "Society."

The kernel of the nut having thus been separated from its shell, a new shelter was soon provided, on the opposite side of the street, where the Parsonage had stood; and, on the thirtieth of December, 1819, the "New Meeting-house" which it had meanwhile erected, was dedicated; and on the second of January, 1820, it was first occupied for stated Lord's-day worship.

In the very neat pamphlet before us, this transfer of the body ecclesiastical to its new house of worship, is duly commemorated; and the sub-

sequent history of the Church is very agreeably glanced at, in a survey of its leading departments and of those who have conducted them. There is, also, a very clear and very excellent exposition of the Faith of the Church, as distinguished, evidently, from that of the other Church, across the street, which seems to occupy the old Meeting-house which was left behind; yet, there is not a single unkind sentiment, in any portion of the work. Indeed, with the antecedents to which we have referred, these Sermons may serve as models for dignified forbearance and Christain-like manliness, in this that while they assert, with boldness, the Truth, as it was understood by the preacher and the Church, there is no personal or ecclesiastical unkindness visible in them, toward any one.

23.—*Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Ministry at Large, in the City of Providence*, presented and read at a Public Meeting held in the Westminster Congregational Church, Sunday evening, January 23, 1870. By Edwin M. Stone. Providence: 1870. Octavo, pp. 20.

We have, several times, already called our readers' attention to this excellent institution, in Providence, Rhode Island, and to the fidelity with which its Pastor, Rev. E. M. Stone, discharges his very important duties; and we need not return to the subject, in this place.

The volume before us is the twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Society; and it is evident, therefrom, that, during the year 1869, there has been no faltering, either by the faithful Pastor or by those whose support him.

24.—*Historical Discourses delivered at the Semi-centennial Celebration of Christ Church, St. Louis, On All-Saints' Day, 1868*, by the Rev. Montgomery Schuyler, D.D., Rector. St. Louis, Mo.: 1870. Octavo, pp. 85.

In November, 1819, a small number of Churchmen, residents "in the town of St. Louis, Territory of Missouri," organized the first Protestant Episcopal Church, to the westward of the Mississippi; and, last November, the semi-centennial anniversary of that event was duly honored by the "Rector, Wardens, Vestry, and 'Congregation of Christ Church,' in that City.

The first Pastor was Rev. John Ward, and his first service was held in a small frame building, on the South-west corner of Second and Walnut-streets. Among those who thus associated were those who then were or subsequently became the first Governor of the Territory of Missouri, the first Governor of the State, the first Mayor of the City, the Surveyor-general, the Judges of the Supreme Court and of the Probate Court, and the distinguished Senator, Thomas H. Benton; but, eighteen months after, it was virtually abandoned by its Rector.

In December, 1825, the Parish was again as-

sembled, and, after many discouragements, it invited Rev. Thomas Horrell to become its Rector. In 1829, a new Meeting-house was erected; and, in 1832, Mr. Horrell was succeeded, after much delay, by Rev. William Chaderton, of Philadelphia. In May, 1834, the Church edifice was consecrated by Bishop Smith of Kentucky, now the Senior Bishop in the United States. In 1835, Bishop Kemper, then recently appointed Missionary Bishop for the States of Missouri and Illinois, succeeded Mr. Chaderton. In 1836, the Church edifice was sold and a new structure built; and, in 1839, the latter was consecrated. Bishop Kemper was succeeded, in 1840, by Rev. F. F. Peake; and, four years after, Bishop Hawks became the Rector of the Church. Mr. Schuyler succeeded the Bishop, in 1854; and still occupies that honorable post.

The history of this pioneer Church, in all its parts, is admirably told in this *Discourse*; and the precision of the narrative and its great minuteness will gladden the eyes of those who shall hereafter be called upon to look into the Church-history of the West; while their good taste will not be offended by the style in which it has been presented to the world of letters. In every respect, this *Discourse* reflects credit on the laborious Rector and on the Church of which he has the oversight.

As we have said, the pamphlet is a handsome one, being well printed on tinted paper, with old-style type—in all respects a credit to the mechanics of St. Louis who manufactured it.

25.—*Dedicatory Services of the New Edifice of the Third Presbyterian Church, of Pittsburgh, Penn'a.* With some account of the History of the Church, from its Organization, together with a full description of the present building and its appointments. Pittsburgh: 1868. Octavo, pp. 96.

The Third Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh—an offshoot of the First Church of that City—was organized "early in the year 1833," with a membership of thirty-six persons; and, in June of that year, the Rev. D. H. Riddle was called to the pastorate. In August, 1834, its new Meeting-house—"the most commodious and beautiful Protestant place of worship in the City"—was dedicated. In October, 1857, Doctor Riddle resigned the pastorate and was succeeded by Rev. Doctor Kendall; in 1862, by Rev. Herrick Johnson; and, in February, 1869, by Rev. Fred-eric A. Noble, its present Pastor.

In June, 1863, the beautiful Meeting-house of this Church, to which we have referred, was entirely destroyed by fire; in June, 1866, the corner-stone of a new structure was laid; and, in November, 1868, the latter was dedicated, with appropriate services.

In the volume before us, the Church has re-

corded the interesting events of her history to which we have only briefly referred; and, in a *Historical Discourse*, by her first Pastor, in several independent papers, each more minutely illustrative of some special subject than Doctor Riddle's discourse could be—"The Old Church Building," "Alterations of the Old Church," "The Burning of the Old Church," "Laying of the Corner Stone of the New Church," "The New Church Building," "The Dedictory Services," and "The Organ," forming their respective subjects—and in the Dedictory Prayer and Sermon, all beautifully illustrated, there seems to be very little room for further enquiry on the subject.

But it is not alone in the literary character of this volume that there is evidently a master-hand, guiding the affairs of the Church. As a specimen of fine printing and neat binding, we have pleasure in looking at this elegant volume; and, among the local histories of Pennsylvania, it will continue to occupy a well-deserved place of prominence.

26.—*Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, at the Semi-annual meeting held in Boston, April 28, 1869. Worcester: 1869. Octavo, pp. 79.*

....., at the Annual Meeting, held in Worcester, October 21, 1869. Worcester: 1869. Octavo, pp. 53.

In the first-named of these volumes, beside the Semi-annual Reports of Officers, we find a Report on the date of the Origin of Man, and an elaborate paper, by C. C. Jones, on the ancient Tumuli of Georgia, the latter illustrated with Maps: in the last-named volume, besides the usual Reports of Officers, we find an elaborate Report, by Professor Washburn, in which that distinguished pundit exhibits his littleness, in the most orthodox style.

These volumes form Nos. 52 and 53 of the Society's "Minor Publications;" and they are printed in the usual elegant style of its series.

C.—PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

27.—*Report of the Commissioners on Equalization of the Municipal War Debts. Augusta: Sprague, Owen, and Nash, Printers to the State. 1879. Octavo, pp. 20.*

In our November number, of last year, we noticed the Public Documents of Maine, concerning the recent War; and here is an addition to the series.

In 1868, the Legislature of Maine, as it ought, took measures to reimburse to the towns the expenses to which the latter had been legitimately subjected, in raising the State's quota of men for the recent War; and this is the Report of the Commissioners to whom was referred that arduous and delicate duty.

It is fortunate for the cause of justice and for students of history that this Commission was ordered and appointed; and Maine is entitled to additional honor that such a Report as this can be made in her Capitol and be published to the world. It lifts one corner of the curtain which has hitherto concealed the most monstrous frauds; and it explains how one portion of the Union, controlled by members of one party, came out of the War with more showy records, and less debts, and less outlays of money, than did other portions of the same Union, which were controlled by members of the opposite party. It tells how "a strong Government" works; how a helpless people suffers when the sanctity of the written laws are allowed to be invaded; how the many are impoverished and the few fattened, when the law of "might" becomes the supreme law. It tells how "the mill of the Gods grinds," slowly but surely, for the vindication of the truth and the shame of falsehood and crime.

In Maine, thousands of "paper credits" were sold at four hundred and fifty dollars each, wherein the Towns were "credited" with purchased names of men, obtained from "an individual" who "made his appearance at the State Capital claiming to have come from Washington," and bringing in his pocket a long list of "names, many of them quaint and unpronounceable by an American tongue, and others so very common as to be remarkable," after a faithful officer, who had refused to accept them, as men, had been removed and another substituted, who was less scrupulous about prostituting himself, in the service of infamy. There were, also, "naval enlistments" allowed on many quotas, of names which were openly sold by, among others, "one gentleman of some note and prominence in the State," the character of which names is too obvious.

The Commissioners have evidently attempted to do their whole duty; and they have generally succeeded. Their Report is an exceedingly important one; and, as an addenda to the record which we have already referred to, it will be welcomed by all who study the history of that period, with closeness and fidelity.

28.—*Message of Robert K. Scott, Governor of South Carolina, to the General Assembly, November 24, 1869. Columbia, S. C.: 1869. Octavo, pp. 80.*

A very creditable exhibit of the condition of the State; and very sensible suggestions for its further improvement.

How strange it is, that, in the Message of the Governor of "re-constructed" South Carolina, such a sentence as this is to be found, after so much has been said and done, within the past

few years, to contradict it: "*The State being sovereign*, no action can be brought against it "to enforce payment of claims against it."—Page 5.

30.—*Digest of the Laws of New Hampshire, pertaining to Common Schools*, with Decisions, Forms, and Statutes. By Charles R. Morrison. Concord: B. W. Sanborn & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. 87.

An exceedingly useful work, to those who live in New Hampshire and to those, out of that State, who are interested in Public Education.

30.—*Annual Report of the State Geologist of New Jersey*, for 1869. Trenton, N. J.: 1870. Octavo, pp.

This important paper contains a statement of the Geologist's work, during the year 1869, together with articles on, *First*, the Fertilizers found in the State, and the means of making them useful; *Second*, Marshes and tracts of lands subject to protracted freshets, which article is illustrated with four large maps; *Third*, the Soils of the State; *Fourth*, the Iron Ores; and, *Fifth*, the Fire and Potter's Clays.

The thoroughness of Professor Cooke, in his work, was seen in the elaborate Report which was published last year; and this little paper, therefore, especially in that portion of it which relates to fertilizers found in the State, possesses the highest importance to that class of her citizens who till the soil. It does not, however, neglect other interests in which she is largely interested; and the iron-master, and the potters, and the owners of waste lands, of which there are equal to one-third the area of the State, will find matters therein which merits their very careful consideration.

The Report is very neatly printed; and the maps, by Bien, are excellent.

31.—*Message of Governor Campbell to the First Legislative Assembly of Wyoming Territory, convened at Cheyenne, October 13, 1869.* Cheyenne: 1869. Octavo, pp. 13.

We notice this offspring of "the Far West," for its own sake. It is the *first* Message of the *first* Governor of Wyoming, to the *first* Assembly, of that Territory; and it contains, *First*, a sketch of the organization of what will very soon pretend to be a "sovereign" State; *Second*, a narrative of the principal events which had occurred there, when this Message was written, since its organization; *Third*, a description of the country, thereabouts; and, *Fourth*, an exhibit of its productive capabilities.

It will be seen that, one of these days, this little affair will inevitably become a pretty important "local."

It is pretty fairly printed, all things considered.

32.—*Roll of Honor (No. XX)* Names of Soldiers who died in defense of the American Union, interred in the National Cemeteries at Corinth, Mississippi; Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee; and Jefferson Barracks, Missouri. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1869. Octavo, pp. viii, 400.

....., *No. XXII.* Names of Soldiers who died in defense of the American Union, interred in the National Cemetery at Nashville, Tennessee. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1869. Octavo, pp. 624.

....., *No. XXIV.* Names of Soldiers who died in defense of the Union, interred in the National Cemeteries at Vicksburg, Miss., and New Albany, Ind. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1869. Octavo, pp. 224.

We have so often called the attention of our readers to this sad record, and the title-pages have so fully described the character of these particular volumes, that we have little more to do, at this time, than to notice their issue from the press and cite their titles.

We may be permitted to say, however, that No. XX. contains the record of the burials of nineteen thousand, four hundred, and thirteen bodies; No. XXII, that of sixteen thousand, four hundred, and eighty-five; and No. XXIV, that of eighteen thousand, three hundred, and seventy-five—each, as far as possible, described by name, Regiment, day of death, where originally buried, number of grave, etc.—and that they afford evidence of the jealous care which is exercised, in the collection and re-interment of the remains of our fallen soldiers.

33.—*University of Michigan. A General Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates from its organization in 1817 to 1864.* Ann Arbor: Published by the University. 1864. Octavo, pp. 40.

University of Michigan. Catalogue of the Officers and Students for 1869-70, with a general description of the University. 1869. Octavo, pp. 79.

These well-printed pamphlets tell their own story, by their own title-pages; and we need say little more about them.

Of the noble institution to which they refer, as little need be said, since it is as widely and as favorably known—and as justly so—as any similar institution in the country.

34.—*The School Laws of Michigan, with Notes and Forms:* to which are added Designs for School-houses and styles of Furniture. Published by Authority. Oramel Horsford, Superintendent of Public Instruction. Lansing: 1869. Octavo, pp. 184.

In this volume, we have a collection of the Constitutional provisions and the Statutes of Michigan, concerning her State Schools; with running Notes, illustrative, in many instances, of the utter disregard of the demands of those Laws, by those who are in authority—a state of affairs which extends beyond Michigan, on other matters besides Schools, and with results, both present and prospective, which are any thing but

flattering to our integrity, as peoples, and every thing but promising to the Republic.

This compilation and commentary is followed by a series of Forms for all kinds of School papers; and that by Chapters on School Architecture and School Furniture, copiously illustrated with designs and plans for School-houses of all sizes and descriptions, and for School-furniture of every pattern—some, in the former case, which evidently originated in places where a correct taste was at a heavy discount.

The volume is a useful one to every instructor, either within or without Michigan.

35.—*Eighteenth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Free Public Library of the City of New Bedford*. Printed by Order of the City Council. New Bedford: 1870. Octavo, pp. 32.

An interesting Report of the operations of one of those "Public Libraries" which have been organized in various towns in New England, and which reflect so much honor on that portion of the Union, and are productive of so much good to the public, there.

36.—1869-70. *City Document, No. 2. Annual Report of the School Committee of the City of Providence, June, 1869*. Providence: 1869. Octavo, pp. 187.

We call attention to this Document only because it contains what we consider an admirable Report on the "Right and Duties of Parents, Teachers, and Pupils;" an elaborate plea in behalf of Public Schools,—included in which are historical sketches of Free Schools in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and an elaborate account of the origin of Free Schools, in Providence—and a complete Catalogue of the Teachers and Pupils of the High School of Providence, from 1848 to 1869.

This volume is very handsomely printed.

37.—*Report on the Stockbridge Indians, to the Legislature*. By Charles Allen, Attorney-general of Massachusetts. Boston: White & Potter, State Printers. 1870. Octavo, pp. 23.

We have seldom seen a Public Document which has pleased us as much as this; and Mr. Allen certainly deserves credit from historical students, for his labors in this little piece of Indian history.

It seems that a body of men, representing themselves to be Stockbridge Indians, have been accustomed to foist themselves, once in a while, on the General Court of Massachusetts, for the purpose of obtaining grants of money; and, on the last of these raids, in March, 1869, the subject was referred to the Attorney-general, for his consideration and Report.

It seems that these Indians, so called, insist

that fraud was exercised against their ancestors, in the purchase of their lands; and they pray that an allowance of money may be made by the Commonwealth, in order that that stain may be wiped out. The learned Attorney-general, however, seems to differ from them, in his estimate of the facts; and in support of his particular view, he has entered, very elaborately and very carefully, into an examination of the history of these "Stockbridge Indians," of which we read so much, and of their intercourse with the whites, both in Massachusetts and elsewhere. He traces them, from place to place, from the earliest days of the Colony until now; and he certainly removes, as the case now stands, the censures which have been so liberally cast on the Commonwealth, by those who are using these Indians for the purpose of "raising the wind."

As we shall take early occasion to present some portions of this interesting Document to our readers—the best evidence we can give of our estimate of its value—we will not enter more largely into the subject, in this place.

38.—1869. *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York*. Joseph Shannon, Clerk of the Common Council. [New York: 1870.] Octavo, pp. xvi, 896.

Like the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE and some other works of similar character, the *Corporation Manual* for 1869, is behind time; and this, notwithstanding the City Clerk has no fear of an insufficient treasury before him nor anxious creditors with unpaid bills.

A year behind its date and proper time of issue, the *Manual* is before us, however; reminding us, by its beauty and its portliness, of the growth of the work from the small beginning of 1841, the volume for which year can find a place, comfortably, in an ordinary vest-pocket, until now, when a small carpet-bag would be necessary to shelter the yearly issue.

It has grown in size, too, without deteriorating in quality, notwithstanding the supply of old maps and old views has, since 1841, been almost wholly exhausted; and we are pleased to notice some excellent features in this volume—evidently the offspring of Captain Twomey's matured judgment—which no one but an experienced artizan and one accustomed to handle such materials as are found in this work, might be expected to produce.

The ancient Charter of the City, critically copied from the venerable parchments, opens the volume, as it opened that for 1868; and the usual statistics of the City and a variety of smaller articles of interest to historical students follow, and fill the volume.

As a specimen of book-making, this certainly surpasses any volume of either the old or the

new series of *Manuale*; and we are pleased to witness such continued improvements in the successive issues of this very useful work.

D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

89.—*Pocahontas and her Companions*; a Chapter from the history of the Virginia Company of London. By Rev. Edward D. Neill. Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsell. 1869. Small quarto, pp. 82.

In this very beautiful little volume, Mr. Neill has reproduced the early records and authorities, concerning the little squaw, Pocahontas; and completely overturns the theory which prevails among the people, concerning her character and history; and he also overthrows the pretensions, resting on her name, about which we hear so much.

There is no doubt there was such a little savage as this Pocahontas; that she was neither more nor less than the other squaws of her day; that she frolicked, naked, as other squaws frolicked, with the men and boys among the English settlers; that she was picked up by one, Rolfe, an Englishman, who seems to have had a wife and family then living—she is said to have been married to him; but *where* or *by whom* does not appear—that she went with him to England, where he deserted her; and that she was about to be returned to Virginia, probably by the Company, when she died.

There is one feature, also, which is significant. Pocahontas evidently bore a child to this John Rolfe; yet the Parish Register of Gravesend, where she was buried, describes *what is said to have been her*, as "REBECCA 'WROTHER, wyff of Thomas Wroth, gent.'" Now John Rolfe was so well known that there is little probability that his name would have been recorded, in Gravesend, as "THOMAS 'WROTHER," had he been her legal husband; while the evident existence, at that time, of another Mrs. Rolfe, who went to Virginia in 1610, and was living, a widow, as recently as 1622, throws additional light on the subject.

We may safely say, then, that this young squaw was married at an early age, after the manner of her people and, probably, for an equivalent to her father, to an Indian, named KOCOUM (*Strachey*;) was a lively, shameless savage, ready and willing to cohabit, adulterously, with Rolfe or any other person, and did thus cohabit with him and bore him a son; accompanied him to England, and was there abandoned by him; was considered a Princess, introduced to the Court, and, possibly, married, legally, to one Thomas Wrothe, whose love of the marvellous and of her royal blood had overcome what should have been his abhorrence of her wantonness.

If this Mrs. Pocahontas Kocoum was really Mrs. Pocahontas Rolfe, how could she have been Mrs. Pocahontas Wrothe, Mr. Rolfe being then alive, to say nothing of poor, abandoned Mr. Kocoum? and if Mrs. Kocoum bore a son to Mr. Rolfe, as a result of their evidently adulterous connection, wherein was the glory of having been a descendant of that little wanton, through this bastard, of which the Randolphs were wont to boast?

The volume, as will be seen, is a very important one; and as a specimen of book-making it is very elegant.

40.—*Lady Geraldine's Courtship*, by Elizabeth Barrett Browning. Illustrated by W. J. Hennessy. Engraved by W. J. Linton. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Small quarto, pp. iv. 64. Price \$2.

The text of this volume is an old acquaintance, having been published, many years ago, and received by the reading public of that day with great favor: it is now re-introduced, in most elegant attire, as a holiday-book.

The wood-cuts, by Linton, are pronounced superior by those who claim to be judges, although they do not meet our expectations; but the typography of the volume is very fine, as every one must confess who will carefully examine it. Altogether, it is one of the choicest books of the season.

41.—*The Life of Joseph Addison Alexander, D.D., Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, New Jersey*. By Henry Carrington Alexander. In two volumes. New York: G. Scribner & Co. 1870. Crown octavo, pp. (I.) xli, 1-489; (II) viii. 481-921.

There have been few more learned, among the Clergy of America, than Joseph A. Alexander; and few have wielded a wider influence, at home and abroad.

In the two volumes before us, neatly but evidently very inaccurately printed, we have a well-written biography of this distinguished man. It is the work of an ardent admirer of Professor Alexander; and it deals gently and lovingly with the great peculiarities in that gifted man's character and manners—his extreme fondness for change and his consequent instability, both in his labors and his ideas—peculiarities which, in almost any other person, would have destroyed all his usefulness, both to himself and to others. It will be welcomed by a wide circle of personal and denominational friends, notwithstanding its typographical imperfections.

A number of Book Notices which we had prepared for this number are necessarily laid over for the next.

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THE TRADE

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TO OUR READERS.

We have pleasure in presenting to our readers the anxiously looked-for *Bibliography of Maine* by our late friend, Hon. William Willis; and, although he did not live to give it his final revision, and it is consequently not as perfect as it would have been with his later examinations, it is one of the most important contributions to the history of Maine which has yet been published.

Another of the delinquent numbers which are due to subscribers for 1868—that for October—is nearly finished, and will follow this, in a few days; and, as they are both in the compositor's hands, we hope, before the end of June, to have the remaining two in the hands of our subscribers.

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Vol. VII. SECOND SERIES.]

MARCH, 1870.

[No. 2.]

I.—A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS RELATING TO THE HISTORY AND STATISTICS OF MAINE, OR PORTIONS OF IT.

PREPARED, FOR THIS WORK, BY THE LATE HON. WILLIAM WILLIS, OF PORTLAND, 1869.

[INTRODUCTORY.]

At the time of the Separation of Maine from Massachusetts, in 1820, its literary condition was of a humble character. It had published few works of importance; and had produced a very limited number of authors. Its population was but two hundred and ninety-eight thousand. Some Sermons had been published, and numerous tracts on the subject of the Separation, which had begun to be agitated, soon after the Revolution. On the first day of January, 1785, the first newspaper published in Maine was issued from the press. In 1789, General Benjamin Lincoln, of Massachusetts, who was interested in Eastern lands, published a small quarto pamphlet, entitled *Observations on the Climate, Soil, and Value of the Eastern Townships in Maine*. Another quarto pamphlet, of forty-four pages, on the same subject, was published in 1793, with particular reference to bringing the two million acres of land purchased by William Bingham, of Philadelphia, into the market. In 1816, Joseph Whipple, of Bangor, published a pamphlet of one hundred and two pages, on the resources of the District, with statistical tables; and, the same year, Moses Greanleaf published a work of one hundred and fifty-four pages entitled *A Statistical View of the District of Maine; more especially with reference to the value and importance of its Interior*. This was a Separation document. There were, also, published in the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, historical and topographical notices of several Towns in the District. And Samuel Freeman, the time-honored Postmaster, Clerk of Courts, Register, and Judge of Probate, had issued, toward the close of the last and in the early part of the present century, several du-

odecimo books of legal forms, which, for many years, were guides to the practise in the Courts, at a time when even elementary books were rarely to be found in the District; and, the year after the Separation, he did the State the good service of giving to the public, *Extracts from the Journal of the Rev. Thomas Smith*, under whose preaching he had sat for fifty years, during many of which he had been a Deacon of his Church.

But the most important work, and a really valuable one, was the *History of the District of Maine*, published in Boston, in 1795, by that indefatigable author and most distinguished man, James Sullivan, a native of Maine, a patriot of the Revolution, a distinguished lawyer, Attorney-general, Judge, and Governor of Massachusetts, whose busy and many-sided life, as civilian and politician, closed in 1808, while exercising the office of Governor of the State. Governor Sullivan commenced practice at Georgetown, on the Kennebec, a very insignificant Town; and when inquired of by a friend why he commenced life in so humble a station, he replied, "that as he had to break into the world, he thought he would begin at the weakest place." He was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and its President. Accustomed to travel the Circuit, in Maine, he improved every opportunity to collect materials for his History, from old witnesses, ancient documents used in the trial of causes involving titles, etc. The volume was accompanied by a valuable map, "drawn from the latest surveys, by Osgood Carlton," of Massachusetts, a map-maker of some repute in his day.

The other most considerable writers of the last century in Maine, were the Rev. Moses Hemmenway, D. D., of Wells, and the Rev. Samuel Deane, of Portland.

Doctor Hemmenway was graduated at Harvard College, in 1755, and commenced a ministry of over fifty years, at Wells, in 1759. He was an able controversial writer, maintaining the liberal side of Orthodoxy, with learning and candor. His published works were *Seven Sermons on the Obligation of the Unregenerate to Strive for Eternal Life*; a pamphlet on

the same subject, of one hundred and seventy-two pages, against Doctor Hopkins, founder of the Hopkinsian System; and another, in reply to Doctor Hopkins, of one hundred and sixty-six pages, a treatise on Baptism, an Election Sermon, and a discourse concerning the Church. All these were issued previous to 1798, and gave him an honorable reputation in New England, from two of whose Colleges, Harvard and Dartmouth, he received their honorary degree. He was the most learned theologian which had appeared in Maine. He died in 1811, at the age of eighty-four.

Doctor Deane was also a graduate of Harvard, in the Class of 1760; and was settled over the First Parish, in Portland, in 1764, the beginning of a ministry of fifty years, which ended only with his life. In his last year in College, he contributed an English poem, and it is also thought a Latin one, to the quarto volume presented by the College to George III., on his accession to the throne, entitled *Pietas et Congratulatio Collegii Cantabrigiæ Apud Novanglos*, containing an introductory address and thirty-one other pieces, in Latin, Greek, and English, utterly nauseous, at the present day, by their exuberant adulation. He also wrote other short poems, a Fourth of July Oration, and several occasional Sermons. But his principal work was the *New England Farmer or Geographical Dictionary*, the first work on the subject published in the country, of which two editions, in octavo, were issued—one from the press at Worcester, in 1790, the other in 1797. Doctor Deane paid great attention to Horticulture; and his large and fine garden was a model for that day. He was a man of noble presence, of dignified and formal manners, of general culture, and a ready wit; one of the last representatives of the old-school clergy and gentlemen.

After the Separation, new vitality was given, not only to material improvements, but also to literary enterprises.

In 1821, the Rev. Jonathan Greenleaf published his valuable *Ecclesiastical Sketches of the State*; in 1829, his brother, Moses Greenleaf, published his most laborious and useful work, in octavo form, *The Statistics of Maine*, accompanied by an excellent map, in which he developed all the sources of the growth and future hopes of the State; and, in 1830, George Folsom, lately deceased, then a student at law in Saco, published his full and accurate History of the sister towns of Saco and Biddeford, in which are preserved many interesting and valuable facts and documents, which would otherwise have perished. The next year, 1831, the Maine Historical Society published their first volume, containing the first part of the *History of Portland*, prepared by W. Willis; which was followed, in 1832, by the second part,

completing the work. These two town histories, of Saco and Portland, were the earliest, in a separate form, which had issued from the press in Maine. The same year, 1832, appeared Mr. Williamson's *History of Maine*, a work of great labor and research, and an invaluable contribution to the history of his adopted State. He pursued his investigations with untiring industry, opening a correspondence with every Town in the State, and omitting in his researches no accessible source of information.

The following general description of the State, taken from the Report of Walter Wells, on its Water Power, recently published, will be found to contain valuable information:

"The position of the State influences its water-power in an important degree, chiefly through its meteorological conditions. It is only in the mid latitudes that water-power can generally be counted upon as an available motor. Maine is in the humid draft of the Southwest winds from the Gulf of Mexico, is situated upon the coast, and projects eastward so far as to be largely under the influence of oceanic breezes. The circulation of the cold waters of the Arctic Ocean around her shores, also keeps the temperature low, and prevents evaporation. Maine has an area of thirty-one thousand, five hundred square miles, or twelve hundred square miles less than all the rest of New England combined. Assuming the annual rainfall, upon this breadth of the country, to be forty-two inches, the total amount would be not far from three trillion cubic feet. If forty per cent. of the whole rainfall is removed by drainage, the annual discharge of the rivers would amount to nearly one and a quarter trillion cubic feet, or about three billions, three hundred and sixty-eight million cubic feet per day. The mean height of the surface of the State is about six hundred feet above the level of the sea. The quantity of water, before named, seeking its passage to the sea, along this descent, would yield a gross power of four thousand, four hundred, and twenty-nine horse power for each foot of fall, giving an aggregate of two millions, six hundred and fifty-seven thousand, two hundred horse power, which is equivalent to the working energy of over thirty-four million men, working without intermission, from year's end to year's end.

"The elevation and slope of the lands are favorable. The mountains are insignificant and do not interfere with the volume and constancy of the stream, as is the case in mountainous districts. The valleys also partake of the character of the plain and not of the ravine, allowing the waters to pass off gradually, and affording good locations for railroads.

"The geological features are favorable. The rocks are hard and the streams run in rock-bound conduits that will not wear away, and afford firm foundations for dams. Stone for all purposes of construction is abundant. The granite quarries are unrivalled. The soil is of such a character as to absorb the rainfall to a large extent and allow it to drain off gradually, thus aiding in keeping the streams more constant. Our forests have a beneficial effect, checking the movement of the atmosphere and preventing evaporation. Lakes, as reservoirs, are the most important agents in keeping up a regular supply of water. The lake system of Maine is not equalled, except in three or four districts, on the globe. The number of lakes in the State, not including small ponds, is not less than sixteen hundred and twenty. The Kennebec-river has more lakes connected with it than the gigantic Orinoco; and the Penobscot more than the Amazon. The lake surface of Maine is about three thousand, two hundred square miles. These lakes are all connected with the streams; and their value, for storage, has been tested, with the best results. They gather up the heavy rainfall, in Spring and Autumn, lessening the freshets on the streams, and then giving of their abundance, in time of drought, to keep up the supply in the rivers. Besides the water-power thus far mentioned, there is the tidal power, along the coast, which may be put to profitable use. The amount of it is almost without limit; and it may be operated under as many favoring circumstances, upon our shores, as anywhere.

"The temperature of Maine is low, the average being 41° 65°. This is due mainly to the cold ocean-current from the Northeast. The effect is to promote rainfall by condensation of the moist southern winds, and prevent evaporation, so that a large quantity runs off by the rivers. Our Summers are cooler and Winters warmer than interior places, in the same latitude, a fact which not only aids the water-powers but promotes the health and increases the labor of its operatives. The annual rainfall of the State is about forty-two inches, an amount in excess of that in any other part of the country. And this rain is distributed quite evenly through the seasons, falling in Winter as well as in Summer. The amount of moisture carried off, annually, by evaporation, has not been accurately determined; but it is considered a safe calculation to estimate the amount at .60 of the yearly downfall, which is the same as to say that of the forty-two inches of rain received yearly, 25.20 are re-absorbed by the atmosphere and 15.18 pass off, by the rivers, to the sea."

With these preliminary remarks, I will proceed

to the details of my work. And, first, I will present a Catalogue of the Authors, either native or resident of Maine, distinguishing the natives by N., and the residents by R. I do not include in the list, the writers merely of Sermons, Orations, or fugitive pieces, nor the Editors of papers, whose writings have extended no farther than the columns of a newspaper. The starred * are dead.

ABBOT, EZRA.....	N
ABBOTT, CHARLES N.....	"
ABBOTT, GORHAM D.....	"
ABBOTT, JACOB.....	"
ABBOTT, JOHN S. C.....	"
AKERS, MRS. PAUL, (<i>Florence Percy</i>)....	"
* ALLEN, MRS. FREDERIC.....	R
* ALLEN, REV. JESSE.....	"
ALLEN, REV. STEPHEN.....	N
ALLEN, WILLIAM, of Norridgewock....	R
* ALLEN, WILLIAM, President of Bowdoin College.....	"
ANDERSON, M. B.....	N
ANDERSON, REV. RUFUS.....	"
* APPLETON, JESSE, D.D.....	R
APPLETON, JOHN.....	N
BALLARD, REV. EDWARD.....	R
BARKER, DAVID.....	N
BARKER, NOAH.....	"
BARTOL, REV. CYRUS A.....	"
BARTOL, GEORGE M.....	"
BARTOL, MARY.....	"
BECKETT, SYLVANUS B.....	"
BLAINE, JAMES G.....	R
BOARDMAN, SAMUEL L.....	N
BOURNE, EDWARD E.....	"
BRADBURY, CHARLES.....	N
BRADBURY, OSGOOD.....	"
* BRADFORD, ALDEN.....	R
BROOKS, ERASTUS.....	N
BROOKS, JAMES.....	"
* BROWN, CHARLES F. (<i>Artemas Ward</i>)	"
* BURGESS, BISHOP GEORGE.....	R
BUTLER, JOHN JAY.....	N
* CALDWELL, REV. MERRITT.....	"
CARUTHERS, REV. JOHN J.....	R
CHAMPLIN, REV. JAMES T.....	"
CHANDLER, PELEG W.....	N
CHAPLIN, REV. JEREMIAH.....	R
CHEEVER, REV. GEORGE B.....	N
CHEEVER, HENRY T.....	"
CHICKERING, REV. JOHN W.....	R
CLARK, BISHOP D. W.....	N
CLEVELAND, NEHEMIAH.....	R
* CLEVELAND, PARKER.....	"
COBB, EMMA D.....	N
COFFIN, JOHN H. C.....	"
* COFFIN, REV. PAUL.....	R
COGSWELL, JOHN G.....	"
* COGSWELL, REV. JONATHAN.....	"

COLESWORTHY, DANIEL C.....	N	* HERRICK, JEDEDIAH.....	N
* COLMAN, MRS. SAMUEL.....	"	HILL, JOHN B.....	R
COTHREN, WILLIAM.....	"	HILLARD, GEORGE S.....	N
COX, REV. GERSHOM F.....	"	HITCHCOCK, ROSWELL D.....	"
CRAIG, HENRY K.....	"	HOLDEN, CHARLES.....	"
* CUMMINGS, REV. ASA.....	"	HOLMES, EZEKIEL.....	N
CURTIS, LAURA.....	"	* HOLMES, JOHN.....	R
CUSHAM, REV. DAVID.....	N	HOPKINS, LOUISA PAYSON.....	N
* CUTTER, WILLIAM.....	"	* HUBBARD, JEREMIAH.....	"
DAVIS, A. H. S.....	"	ILSLEY, CHARLES P.....	"
* DAVIS DANIEL.....	R	* INGRAHAM, JOSEPH H.....	"
* <i>Davis</i> DAVIES, CHARLES S.....	N	* JENKS, WILLIAM.....	R
DEAN, JOHN WARD.....	"	JOHNSON, WARREN.....	R
DEANE, CHARLES.....	"	JOHNSTON, JOHN.....	N
* DEANE, JOHN G.....	R	* JUDD, REV. SYLVESTER.....	"
* DEANE, REV. SAMUEL.....	"	KEELEY, GEORGE W.....	R
* DEARBORN, HENRY A. S.....	R	KELLOGG, ELIJAH.....	N
DEERING, NATHANIEL.....	N	* KING, RUFUS.....	N
DOW, NEAL.....	"	KINGSBURY, BENJAMIN.....	R
DRUMMOND, REV. JAMES.....	"	* LADD, WILLIAM.....	"
DRUMMOND, JOSIAH H.....	"	LAMSON, CHARLES H.....	"
DUNNELL, MARK H.....	"	LANCY, S. HERBERT.....	N
DUREN, E. FREEMAN.....	"	* LARABEE, REV. WILLIAM C.....	"
* DWIGHT, REV. WILLIAM T.....	R	* LINCOLN, ENOCH.....	R
EATON, REV. CYRUS.....	"	LOCKE, JOHN L.....	N
ELWELL, EDWARD H.....	N	LONGFELLOW, HENRY W.....	N
EMERSON, GEORGE B.....	"	LONGFELLOW, SAMUEL.....	"
EVERETT, REV. C. CARROLL.....	"	LOOMIS, JUSTIN R.....	"
FISKE, REV. JOHN O.....	R	LORD, REV. NATHAN.....	"
FLAGG, EDMUND.....	N	LUDWIG, MOSES.....	"
FLETCHER, REV. E. B.....	"	MARTIN, MRS. CLARA BARNES.....	N
* FOLSOM, GEORGE.....	"	* MELLEN, GREENVILLE.....	"
FOSTER, JOHN.....	"	* MERRICK, JOHN.....	R
FREEMAN, REV. CHARLES.....	"	MERRILL, S. H.....	N
* FREEMAN, SAMUEL.....	"	Mc DONALD, REV. WILLIAM.....	"
FREEMAN, WILLIAM.....	"	Mc LELLAN, ISAAC.....	"
GARDINER, FREDERIC.....	N	* MIGHELLS, J. W.....	"
* GARDINER ROBERT H.....	R	MILLETT, JOSHUA.....	"
* GEORGE, DANIEL.....	"	MORGAN, JONATHAN.....	R
GEORGE, REV. N. D.....	N	MORSE, EDWARD S.....	N
* GILLETT, REV. ELIPHALET.....	R	MUNGER, REV. CHARLES.....	"
GODDARD, HENRY.....	R	* MURRAY, REV. JOHN.....	R
GOODALE, GEORGE L.....	N	NEAL, JOHN.....	N
GOODALE, S. L.....	"	NEWMAN, MRS. C. W. (<i>Richardson</i>).....	"
GOODWIN, REV. DANIEL R.....	"	* NEWMAN, SAMUEL P.....	R
* GREENE, ROSCOE G.....	R	* NICHOLS, REV. ICHABOD.....	R
* GREENLEAF, REV. JONATHAN.....	"	NORTH, JAMES.....	N
* GREENLRAF, MOSES.....	"	* NOTES, GEORGE F.....	"
* GREENLEAF, SIMON.....	"	OWEN, MOSES.....	"
HACKLETON, MRS. MARIA W.....	R	PACKARD, ALPHEUS S.....	N
HAMLIN, A. C.....	N	PACKARD, ALPHEUS S. JR.....	"
HAMLIN, CHARLES E.....	"	PACKARD, EDWARD N.....	"
HAMLIN, REV. CYRUS.....	"	PAINE, ALBERT W.....	"
HANSON, JAMES W.....	"	PALFREY, REV. CAZNEAU.....	R
* HARRIS, REV. SAMUEL.....	"	* PARKER, ISAAC.....	"
HAYDEN, WILLIAM B.....	R	PARKER, JOHN.....	"
* HEMMENWAY, REV. MOSES.....	"		

PARKER, THOMAS.....	N	* SULLIVAN, WILLIAM.....	N
* PARSONS, USHER.....	"	SWEAT, Mrs. MARGARET J. M.....	"
PARTON, SARAH PAYSON WILLIS.....	"	* SYMMES, WILLIAM.....	R
PATTISON, Rev. ROBERT E.....	R	* SYMONDS, WILLIAM L.....	N
* PAYSON, Rev. EDWARD.....	"	TALBOT, GEORGE F.....	"
PAYSON, GEORGE.....	N	TALCOTT, Rev. D. S.....	R
* PERLEY, JEREMIAH.....	"	TAPPAN, Rev. BENJAMIN.....	N
PERRY, ADELINE.....	"	TEFT, Rev. BENJAMIN F.....	"
PERRY, Rev. WILLIAM STEVENS.....	R	* THATCHER, B. B.....	N
PICKARD, J. L.....	N	THORNTON, J. WINGATE.....	"
* PIERCE, JOSIAH.....	"	* THURSTON, Rev. DAVID.....	R
PIKE, Mrs. M. H. (<i>Ida May</i>).....	"	THURSTON, Rev. STEPHEN.....	"
* PIKE, Rev. RICHARD.....	"	TRUE, Doctor N. T.....	N
PIKE, Mrs. RICHARD. (<i>Atherton</i>).....	"	UPHAM, THOMAS C.....	R
PLACE, EDWARD R.....	"	VAUGHAN, BENJAMIN.....	"
POND, Rev. ENOCH.....	R	* WAIT, THOMAS B.....	"
POOR, HENRY V.....	N	WAKEFIELD, A. G.....	"
POOR, JOHN A.....	"	WARE, ASHUR.....	"
PREBLE, GEORGE.....	"	WARREN, Rev. WILLIAM.....	"
* PREBLE, WILLIAM P.....	"	WEBB, J. W.....	R
PRENTISS, Mrs. ELIZABETH PAYSON.....	"	WELLS, WALTER.....	"
PRENTISS, Rev. GEORGE L.....	"	WESTON, EDWARD P.....	N
PRINCE, GEORGE.....	"	WESTON, Rev. ISAAC.....	R
* PUTNAM, HENRY.....	R	WHEELER, WILLIAM A.....	N
RAND, WILLIAM WILBERFORCE.....	N	* WHIFFLE, JOSEPH.....	R
RAY, ISAAC.....	R	WHITE, WILLIAM.....	N
REDDINGTON, ASA.....	N	* WHITMAN, EZEKIEL.....	"
RUSSELL, EDWARD.....	"	* WHITMAN, JASON.....	"
SABIN, Rev. ELIJAH R.....	N	WHITMAN, W. E. S.....	"
SABINE, LORENZO.....	"	* WHITTAKER, NATHANIEL, D.D.....	"
* SEWALL, DANIEL.....	"	WILCOME, Mrs. M. D.....	"
* SEWALL, DAVID.....	"	* WILLARD, Rev. JOSEPH.....	N
* SEWALL, JOSEPH.....	"	* WILLARD, Rev. SAMUEL.....	R
SEWALL, Rev. JOTHAM B.....	"	WILLEY, BENJAMIN G.....	N
SEWALL, RUFUS KING.....	"	WILLIAMSON, JOSEPH.....	"
* SEWALL, WILLIAM B.....	"	* WILLIAMSON, WILLIAM D.....	R
SHELDON, Rev. DAVID N.....	R	* WILLIS, NATHANIEL PARKER.....	N
* SHEPARD, Rev. GEORGE.....	"	WILLIS, RICHARD STORRS.....	"
SHEPLEY, Rev. DAVID.....	"	WILLIS, WILLIAM*.....	R
SHEPPARD, JOHN H.....	"	* WISE, Rev. JEREMIAH.....	"
SIBLEY, Rev. JOHN L.....	N	* WOOD, Mrs.....	N
SMITH, E. C.....	"	WOODMAN, CYRUS.....	"
SMITH, Mrs. ELIZABETH OAKES.....	"	WOODS, Rev. LEONARD.....	R
SMITH, FRANCIS O. J.....	R		
SMITH, GAMALIEL E.....	N		
SMITH, Rev. HENRY B.....	"		
* SMITH, SEBA.....	"		
SMYTH, EGBERT C.....	"		
* SMYTH, WILLIAM.....	"		
* SOUTHER, Rev. SAMUEL.....	"		
SOUTHGATE, Rev. HORATIO.....	"		
SOUTHGATE, Rev. WILLIAM S.....	"		
SPRAGUE, PELES.....	R		
STEARNS, O. S.....	N		
STONE, Rev. THOMAS T.....	"		
STORER, Rev. HENRY G.....	"		
STORER, D. HUMPHREYS.....	"		
STOWE, Rev. CALVIN E.....	R		
* SULLIVAN, JAMES.....	N		

The examination of this list of authors cannot fail to impress the reader, not only by its large number, but by its high quality. Many of the *native* writers have attained a degree of eminence, which has given them a world-wide reputation. We need only to recall the names of a few of the most prominent among them, to place the State in a position of commanding literary influence. The Abbots, Rufus Anderson, Bartols, Charles Deane, John Ward Dean, Emerson, Folsom, Goodwin, Hillard, the Longfellow,

* Since this was written by the distinguished author, he, too, has been taken from us; but we leave his name unstarted.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Lord, Neal, the Packards, Parsons, Sabine, Sullivan, James and William Wheeler, and N. P. Willis. From the *Residents*, too, a list of equally distinguished authors may be selected.

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..... A briefe Narration of the originall undertakings of the advancement of Plantations into the Parts of America. Especially shewing the beginning, progress, and continuance of that of New England. Written by the right Worshipfull Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight and Governor of the Fort and Island of Plymouth, in Devonshire. London: Printed by E. Brudenell, for Nath. Brook, at the Angell in Cornhill. 1658. *Republished*, *Maine Historical Collections*, ii. 1.

This valuable tract was not published until after the death of its author, and was then included in the more general work, whose title is given first above, published by his grandson. Many of the facts contained in the publication of the grandson relate to other countries than New England; and many of those peculiar to the latter country are taken from Johnson's *Wonder Working Providence*, and other sources within the reach of the compiler.

The work described in the first article of this Catalogue also contains *A briefe description of Laconia, a Province in New England*; also a short description of Gorges' "Province of Maine." The author makes Laconia, which he says is "so called by reason of the great Lakes therein," to be on the Northeast side of the rivers Sagadahoc and Myrambeck; but his description is so vague and indefinite, that it cannot be located. His information seems to have come from the Indians.

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A history of this city and neighborhood is in preparation by a gentleman of that place, an accurate historical scholar, and fully competent to do ample justice to that interesting locality.

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..... Sketch of. By S. *Maine Evangelist*, June 7, 1858.

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BINGHAM Lands. By William Allen. *Somerset Reporter*, July 17, 1868.

BIOGRAPHICAL Notices of Maine Authors. See *Allibone's Dictionary of Authors*.

..... Ministers and prominent men. Allen's *Biographical Dictionary*; *New American Cyclopædia*; *American Quarterly Register*; and other Biographical works.

..... of Maine Lawyers. Allen, in *Maine Historical Collections*, vi, 38; and Willis's *History of the Courts, Law, and Lawyers of Maine*.
..... See Eulogies.

BIRDS found in the vicinity of Waterville, Kennebec-county. By A. C. Hamlin. *Agricultural Report* for 1865.

BLACK POINT, Blue Point, and Falmouth. Their Submission to Massachusetts, in 1658. *Maine Historical Collections*, i., 290; Willis's *Portland*.

BLOOMFIELD, Skowhegan, and Starke, included in the towns of Norridgewock and Canaan. By J. W. Hanson. 1849. *Duodecimo*.

BOOTHBAY. Centennial Discourse at. By Rev. L. S. Coan. Boston: 1866. *Octavo*, pp. 26.

BOWDOIN COLLEGE. Charter of Bowdoin College, together with various Acts of the Legislature, and the decision of the Circuit Court and the By-laws of the Overseers. Brunswick: 1860. *Octavo*, pp. 60.

The case before the Circuit Court, above referred to, was, William Allen, the President of the College, vs. Joseph McKeen, the Treasurer, for certain perquisites; and was ably argued by Simon Greenleaf for the Plaintiff, and Stephen Longfellow for the Defendant. The case involved, among other points, the constitutional power of the Legislature over the College. Judge Story, in his learned opinion, clearly defined the authority of the Legislature in the case.

..... "Our Alma Mater." An Address delivered before the Alumni of Bowdoin College. By Alpheus S. Packard, on the fifth of August, 1858. Brunswick: 1858. *Octavo*, pp. 49.

..... Address before the Alumni, 1861. By Rev. George L. Prentiss.

..... Religious History of. By E. C. Smyth.

..... in the War, 1861-1865. Bowdoin College Roll of Honor.

BOWDOIN, JAMES. Eulogy illustrative of the life and commemorative of the beneficence of the late Honorable James Bowdoin, with notices of his family, pronounced at Brunswick, Me., at request of the Trustees and Overseers of Bowdoin College, September 2, 1812. By William Jenks. Boston: 1812. *Octavo*, pp. 40.

BOWDOIN POETS. Edited by Edward P. Weston. Brunswick: 1849. *Second Edition. Duodecimo*, pp. 180.

BRADFORD, Alden. A description of Wiscasset and of Sheepscot-river. By Alden Bradford. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vi.

BRIDGETON. An Address delivered by Honorable Marshal Cram, at the Dedication of the Town-house in Bridgeton, on the eighth of January, 1852. With an Appendix. Portland: 1852. pp. 42.

BRISTOL, Boothbay, Newcastle, Edgecomb, and Nobleborough. Petition and Memorial of the Towns of, in the County of Lincoln, to the General Court of Massachusetts. 1810. *Octavo*, pp. 24.

This relates to the conflicting titles to land in that extensive district. The Legislature passed an Order, ap-

- pointing "Commissioners to investigate the Causes of the Difficulties in the County of Lincoln." The Commissioners made a full and able Report, giving the history of all the titles from the Indians and the English Proprietors, from the earliest period of the settlement, with the various occupations under them, depositions of old settlers, etc. A very interesting and valuable document. *Octavo*, pp. 174.
- visit to. By William A. Drew. *Gospel Banner*, August 26, 1854.
- Ancient Pemaquid. *Boston Traveller*, two numbers. 1848.
- BRUNSWICK.** Report of a Survey of the Water Power and Falls. By Loammi Baldwin. With Plan. 1836.
- [..... Three Discourses upon the Religious History of Bowdoin College. By Egbert C. Smythe. Brunswick: 1858. *Octavo*, pp. 80.]
- In 1802. By J. McKeen. *Brunswick Telegraph*, July, 1859.
- A Description of Brunswick, in Letters. By a gentleman of South Carolina, to a friend in that State. Brunswick: 1820. *Octavo*, pp. 28. The writer was Henry Putnam, a lawyer in Brunswick. He graduated at Harvard College, 1802; and died in Massachusetts, 1837.
- See *New American Cyclopadia*, Hayward's *Gazetteer*, Mansfield and Coolidge's *New England*.
- CONVENTION. See title, *Journal of Brunswick Convention*.
- PROPRIETORS, Their title. See title, *Plymouth and Pejepscot*.
- BURGESS, GEORGE.** A Discourse delivered before the Maine Historical Society, at Brunswick, August 2, 1854. By George Burgess, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maine. *Maine Historical Collections*, iv., 63.
- The Right Rev., the first Bishop of Maine. Memoir of. Edited by the Rev. Alexander Burgess, D. D., Rector of St. John's Church, Brooklyn, Long Island. Philadelphia: 1869. *Octavo*, pp. 500.
- Notice of. By William S. Bartlett, in *Church Monthly*. 1867.
- BURROUGHS, Rev. George,** the Witchcraft Martyr. Willis's *History of Portland*; Upham, in the *Historical Magazine*; Calef.
- BURBOWS** and Blyth, Commanders of the *Enterprise* and *Bozer*, in the sea-fight, September 5, 1813. Buried in Portland. Lossing's *War of 1812*; Willis's *History of Portland*.
- BUXTON.** Records of the Church of Christ in, during the pastorate of the Rev. Paul Coffin, D. D. Cambridge: 1868. *Octavo*, pp. 88.
- History of the Narragansett Towns, by Charles Coffin. See *Narragansett*.
- An Address delivered at Buxton, Me., being the First Centennial Celebration of the Settlement of this Town, 1850. By Rev. Nathaniel West Williams. Portland, Me.: 1850. pp. 84.
- CADILLAC, M. DE LA MOTHE,** Grant to, of Mount Desert Island and adjoining main land, by Louis XVI., 1691, confirmed in part to his grand-children, by Massachusetts, 1787. *Maine Historical Collections*, vi. 273; *Massachusetts Statutes*, 1787.
- Memoir of. By W. Willis. *Maine Historical Collections*, vi. 275.
- CALAIS.** City Charter, 1850, and Ordinances. See *Coolidge and Mansfield's New England*.
- CAMDEN.** Sketches of the History of the Town of Camden, Maine, including incidental references to the neighboring places and adjacent waters. By John L. Locke. Hallowell: 1859. *Duodecimo*, pp. 235.
- [..... Address delivered there, September 11, 1855, at the expiration of half a century from the organization of the First Congregational Church. By B. C. Chase. Boston: 1855. *Octavo*, pp. 28.]
- CAMPAIGNS** of the First Maine and the First District of Columbia Cavalry, 1861-1865. By J. H. Merrill, Chaplain. Portland. *Duodecimo*,
- of the Seventeenth Maine Regiment, 1862. By E. B. Houghton.
- CANAAN,** History of. See *Norridgewock*.
- CANADA-county.** Earl of Sterling and others' Petition for, 1760. See *Sterling*.
- Invasion of. By Benedict Arnold, 1775, across the wilderness of Maine. By Edwin M. Stone. 1867. *Journal of Captain Simon Thayer*.
- Arnold's Expedition across Maine, 1775, to Quebec. By William Allen. *Maine Historical Collections*, i. 387.
- CARRABASSET.** A Play, on Indian Traditions, By N. Deering.
- CARTHIA AMERICANA,** a habit of. By A. C. Hamlin. *Boston Journal of Natural History*, x., 80.
- CASTINE,** Journal of the Siege of, in 1779. By J. C. (John Calef). London: 1781.
- Calef had been a Physician, in Ipswich, Massachusetts; became a Loyalist; and was Chaplain to the English Forces.
- A series of Historical Articles, By S., in *The Telegraph and News*, during July and August, 1855.
- Notice of. By Joseph Williamson. *Maine Historical Collections*, vi. 105. Also in *The Belfast Signal*, 1851; and in *The Bangor Daily Whig*, September 9, 1868.
- Articles in *Boston Post*, October, 1853. By George B. Moore.
- Coins found at. As above.
- Baron de, St. Memoir of. As above.
- CATALOGUE** of Original Documents in the English Archives, relating to the early History of the State of Maine. New York: Priv-

ately printed. *Royal octavo*, pp. 187.

The copy from the Archives and the printing of this valuable book were paid for, wholly, by the Hon. George Folsom, of New York, whose interest in the history of Maine, his native State, time, and distance, and residence in foreign lands, did not abate. He died in Rome, March, 1869.

CATALOGUE of the Portland Institute and Public Library. Portland: 1869. *Octavo*.

CATHOLIC Missions in Maine. By Enoch Lincoln. *Maine Historical Collections*, i., 323.

..... See *Missions of the Jesuits*, etc.

CATHOLIC, Roman, Statistics of. In *Annual Almanacs*.

CENTURY of Episcopacy in Portland. Centenary Sermon in St. Stephen's Church, Portland, November 1, 1863. By the Rector, Rev. William Stevens Perry.

CHARTERS and Grants of Territory in Maine—Colonial and Provincial.

..... 1603, November 8. Lettres Patentes from Henry VIII, to Sieur de Monts, Lieutenant-general à l'Acadie & pays circonvoisins. *L'Escarbot*; Hazard's *Historical Collections*, i. 45.

This embraced the country, from Latitude 40° to 46°, North, that is, from Philadelphia to Newfoundland. The eastern border of Maine was occupied by de Monts, under this Charter, in 1604; and was the first attempt at Colonization, in Maine.

..... 1606, April 10. Charter to the Virginia Company, by James I., of that part of America lying between 34° and 45°, North Latitude, with the Islands within one hundred miles of the Coast. The Territory, by the Charter, is divided into two parts, called the Southern, or London, Company, and the Northern, or Plymouth, Company. Hazard's *Historical Collections*, i. 50.

Under this Charter, Virginia was colonized, and the Popham Colony, in 1607, planted itself at the mouth of the Kennebec, taking possession of the country under the Charter. *Popham Memorial Volume*; Gorges's *Brief Narrative*; *Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 1.

..... 1620, November 3. James I. to the Council established at Plymouth for the planting, ruling and governing New England, in America.

This Patent embraced "all the Circuit, Continent, Precincts and Limits, in America," from the forth to the forty-eighth degree of North Latitude, and from Sea to Sea. Hazard's *Historical Collections*, i., 108; *Popham Memorial Volume*, Appendix.

The Council of Plymouth, under this Charter, proceeded immediately, to parcel out the country. In 1621, they relinquished to Sir William Alexander, all the territory lying East of St. Croix-river, now New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

The following Grants, in Maine, were made by the Council, for particular notices of which, I refer to Sainsbury's *Colonial Calendar*; *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, April, 1867; S. F. Haven's *History of Grants*; *Catalogue of Original Documents relating to the State of Maine, in the English Archives*, procured by Honorable George Folsom, and printed in 1868; and Willis's *History of Portland*:

..... 1621, June, 1, to John Peirce. See Bradford's *History*—Deane's Edition.

..... 1622, July 24.

The Council ordered that the Duke of Lenox, Secretary Calvert, and the Earl of Arundel should have Grants on the Saco and Kennebec-rivers; but we have no evidence that Patents were issued or possession taken.

..... 1622, August 10, to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason, from the Merrimac to the Kennebec-river.

In this Patent, it is recited that the Patentees "intended to name it the Province of Maine."

..... To Sir Robert Mansell.

The same year, an Order was passed for a Patent to Sir Robert Mansell, for Mount Desert, to be called Mount Mansell; but nothing seems to have come from it.

..... In 1622, Abraham Jennens bought an interest in Pemaquid, and Monhegan, of the Council.

..... In 1614, Captain John Smith, occupied Monhegan. Prince's *New England Chronology*; Smith's Letter to Lord Bacon; *The Popham Memorial Volume*; *Historical Magazine*.

..... 1622, April 20, and November 16, 1626, to John Peirce. Location uncertain, probably in Maine. *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, April, 1867, 91.

..... 1623, May 5, to Christopher Levett, six thousand acres to be selected by him.

He ranged the coast of Maine, from Piscataqua-river to Pemaquid, and made a location in Casco-bay, near Portland, and built a house on it. *Maine Historical Collections*, ii.; Willis's *Portland*.

..... 1626, November 6, to the Plymouth people, land on the Kennebec-river, enlarged in 1628; and defined, January 30, 1630, of fifteen miles on each side of Kennebec-river. Prince's *New England Chronology*, i. 196; Haven's *Grants*; Hazard's *Historical Collections*, i. 588.

The titles are held under this Grant, at the present day. It has gone under the name of the Kennebec Purchase, in which it came in contact with the Pejepscot Purchase and the Waldo Patent, and a violent controversy, of many years standing, ensued. See E. H. Gardner's History of "Kennebec Purchase,"—*Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 969; John McKen's Account of the Early Settlements at Sagadahoc—*Maine Historical Collections*, iii. 311; and Grant to Richard Wharton, *Ibid.* 335.

A large collection of Documents, printed and in manuscript, relating to these Grants and the controversy, throwing a flood of light upon this central portion of Maine, are preserved in the archives of the Maine Historical Society, and have been methodically arranged and indexed by the learned Secretary, Edward Ballard, D. D.

..... 1630, February 12. By Plymouth Council, to John Oldham and Richard Vines, four miles by eight miles, on the West side of Saco-river.

..... to Thomas Lewis and Richard Bonighton, the same quantity, on the East side of Saco-river. *York Records*; Haven's *Grants*; Folsam's *Saco*.

These Grants constitute the present Titles of Saco and Biddeford.

..... 1630, March 18, to John Beauchamp and Thomas Leverett, ten leagues square on the West side of the Penobscot-river, now called the Lincoln or Waldo Patent. Prince's

New England Chronology, i., 203; Hazard's *Historical Collections*, i., 318; and *Maine Historical Collections*, vi.

..... 1680. To John Dye and others, the Plough Patent, called the Province of Ligonis, lying between Cape Porpus and Casco-bay, and extending back, forty miles. *York Records*; Sullivan's *History*; and *American Antiquarian Society's Proceedings*.

This was afterwards sold to Sir Alexander Rigby; and Government, for a time, exercised under it, in Cromwell's time. Willis's *History of Portland*.

..... 1681, November 1. To Thomas Cammock, one thousand, five hundred acres, on Black Point and Scarborough. *Ibid*; Southgate's *History of Scarborough*; and *Maine Historical Collections*, v.

..... To Richard Bradshaw, for one thousand, five hundred acres, at Spurwink, on Cape Elizabeth.

..... To Walter Bagnall, of Richmond Island and one thousand, five hundred acres, on the main land at Cape Elizabeth. Sainsbury's *Colonial Calendar*.

..... To John Stratton, of two thousand acres, on the South side of Cape Porpus-river. *Ibid*.

..... 1681, December 1. To Robert Trelawney and Moses Goodyear, of a tract between Cammock's Patent and Casco-bay. *Ibid*.

..... December 2. To Ferdinando Gorges, Lieutenant-colonel Walter Norton, and associates, twelve thousand acres, on the East side of the Acomenticus-river, and one hundred acres, additional, for each settler. *Ibid*.

..... To Sir F. Gorges, twelve thousand acres, on the West side of the Accomenticus-river, with one hundred acres, additional, for each settler. *Ibid*.

..... To Edward Godfrey and others, twelve thousand acres, on the Accomenticus-river; Sainsbury says: "To be renewed March 2, 1688;" but it was, in fact, renewed in 1684. *Ibid*.

Godfrey states, in a Petition to Massachusetts, in 1654, that he had been an inhabitant at York twenty-four years and the first that built or settled there. Willis's *History of Portland*, 30; and Hazard's *Historical Collections*.

..... 1682, February 29. To Robert Aldworth and Gyles Elbridge, twelve thousand acres, at Pemaquid, with one hundred acres, additional, for each settler. Thornton, in *Maine Historical Collections*, v., 200.

..... June 16. To George Way and Thomas Purchase, a tract between the Kennebec and Androscogin-rivers. Hazard's *Historical Collections*, i. 457; Sainsbury's *Colonial Calendar*; McKeen's *Account of the Early Settlers at Sagadahoc*; and *Maine Historical Collections*, iii.

This was afterwards known as the Pejepscot Purchase, and the subject of a long controversy. Willis's *History of Portland*. Manuscripts, printed statements, and arguments are in the Archives of the Maine Historical Society, duly arranged and indexed.

The only fragments remaining of the Records of the Plymouth Company, are embraced between the last of May, 1622, and June 31, 1633, and from November 4, 1631, to November 26, 1632, and scattering entries in 1634 and 1635, and one entry each, in 1637 and 1638. The last two years were after the surrender of their Charter to the King. The whole of these fragments were, for the first time printed, in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, April, 1867, with introductory remarks, by Charles Deane. The copies were obtained of S. F. Haven, the learned librarian of that renowned institution, whose valuable comments upon them are separately published.

Prior to the final surrender of the Charter, the territory of New England was divided among the members of the Council. Only three of these assignments were in Maine, made February 3, 1635—the first was to Sir F. Gorges, extending from the Piscataqua-river, to the Kennebec; and the North half of the Isles of Shoals; the second, to Captain John Mason, of ten thousand acres, between Sagadahoc and Pemaquid; and the third, to Sir William Alexander. Lord Sterling, extending from Pemaquid to the River St. Croix. This last Grant, made February 8, 1635, is thus described: "To begin at St. Croix next to New Scotland, and so "to pass along the Sea Coast to Pemaquid, and up the "river thereof to the furthest head thereof, as it tend- "eth Northwards, and from thence, at the nearest, to "Kennebecqui, and up that River by the shortest "course to the river of Canada."

At a meeting of the Council, November 1, 1638, this Grant was extended "to the Baye or River Called Sagadahocke."

At the same meeting, which is the last remaining entry of the Records, it was agreed that Sir F. Gorges should have sixty miles more added to his proportion, further up into the main land. Gorges's *Narrative*; Hazard's *Historical Collections*, i., 390; *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*; Haven; and Willis.

There is no evidence that Mason or Alexander occupied these Grants; and, in fact, the last to Alexander absorbed that of Mason.

..... 1636, March 21. First Court under Gorges's Grant, held at Saco. *York Records*; and Willis's *Portland*.

..... 1636, March 30. Grant of Harpswell and one thousand acres, adjoining, to Harvard College. *Massachusetts Records*, v., 397.

..... Commission to Sir F. Gorges, as Governor of New England, 1637. *Popham Memorial Volume*, Appendix.

..... 1637, January 27. Lease, for two thousand years, from Sir F. Gorges to George Cleaves and Richard Tucker, of the Neck of land on which Portland is situated, and the adjacent country and Hog Island. *York Records*; and Willis. Under this Grant, Cleaves and Tucker parcelled out the Territory to settlers and others: constituting the basis of the titles, at the present time, in Portland, Westbrook, and Falmouth.

..... 1639, April 3. Grant of the Province of Maine, to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, by Charles I., a confirmation of former Grants, with ample powers of Government. *York County Records*, copied into Hazard, i., 442.

..... 1639, July 22. Thomas Purchase, to Massachusetts, all his land at Pejepscot, four miles square. Hazard, i., 457.

..... 1640, January 28. Letter from Gorges to Secretary Windebank, about encroachments, by Massachusetts. *Original Documents, relating to Maine*.

- 1640, June 25. First General Court, held at Saco, under the Charter of 1639. *York Records*; Willis; and Folsom.
- April, 1641. Gorges invested the Town of Accomenticus with City power. *Hazard*, i. 470.
- 1642. A new Charter granted by Gorges to Accomenticus, for a City Government, and the name changed to Gorgiana. *Hazard*, i., 480.
- 1643, April 7. Conveyance, by Dye, Smith, and others, of the Ligonía or Plough Patent, to Alexander Rigby, from Cape Porpus to Casco-bay. Sullivan, 312; and Winthrop.
- Rigby confirmed to Cleaves and Tucker, the lease from Gorges. *Willis's History of Portland*.
- 1652. Letter from Edward Rigby, heir of Sir Alexander, to the inhabitants of Ligonía. *Willis's History of Portland*.
- 1652, November. Gorgiana and Kittery submit to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. Sullivan, 335, 337; and Hazard.
- 1653, July 5. Wells, Cape Porpus, and Saco submitted. Sullivan, 355.
- 1656, August 9. Oliver Cromwell to Charles St. Etienne, Thomas Temple, and William Crowné, a Grant of Acadia, part of Nova Scotia, and of Maine, to the river St. George. *Hazard* i., 616.
- July, 1658. Falmouth and Scarboro submitted. Sullivan, 371; and Willis's *History of Portland*.
- 1664, March 12. Charles II. to James, Duke of York, all that portion of the mainland, lying along the coast, between St. Croix and Pemaquid. *Original Documents, relating to Maine*, 101; *Maine Historical Collections*, v.; Records of the Government established by the Duke of York; *Maine Historical Collections*, v.; Surrender of Patent to Massachusetts, 1836; *Maine Historical Collections*, v.; and *Pemaquid Papers*.
- 1664, April 25. Commission to Colonel R. Nichols and others, to settle troubles in New England. *Hazard*, ii., 638.
- For Proceedings of Commissioners, and discussions and opinions in regard to the title and rights of Gorges and Mason, see *Original Documents relating to Maine*; *Hutchinson's Papers*—Prince Society's Edition, ii. 159; and *Massachusetts Records*, v.
- 1664, June 11. Letter from Charles II. to the Inhabitants of Maine. *Hutchinson's Papers*, ii., 110.
- 1677. Deed from Ferdinando Gorges, grandson of Sir Ferdinando, to John Usher, of the whole Province of Maine, for one thousand two hundred and fifty pounds; which Usher, on the fifteenth of March, 1678, conveyed to Massachusetts. *York Records*; *Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts*, i.; *Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 257, 261.
- CHASSE LA. Letter of, on the death of Father
- Rale, in *Lettres Edifiantes*, and in Kipp's *Jesuit Missions*.
- CHRONICLES of Casco Bay. By D. C. Colesworthy. D. C. Colesworthy. Portland. *Octavo*, pp. 56.
Mr. Colesworth is a native author.
- CHURCH, Colonel Benjamin. Narrative of Expeditions against the Eastern Indians, 1676 to 1704. New Edition, with notes, etc. By Rev. H. M. Dexter. Boston: 1867. *Octavo*, pp. 204.
A valuable and interesting work.
- CLAPP, ASA, Memoir of. Lives of American Merchants. By Freeman Hunt. New York: 1857. *Octavo*, pp. 576
- CLEVELAND, Parker, Eulogy on. By Leonard Woods. *Maine Historical Collections*, vi., 375.
- Mineralogy, Geology, Fossils, etc. See *Mineralogy and Meteorological Journal*.
- CLEEVES, George. First Settler of Portland, 1632, Deputy-governor of Ligonía, etc. Willis's *History of Portland*; Winthrop's *Journal*, Savage's Edition; Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*; etc.
- COFFIN, REV. PAUL. Memoir of Rev. Paul Coffin, D. D. (By his Grandson, Cyrus Woodman.) *Maine Historical Collections*, iv., 239.
- Sermon preached at the funeral of, June 8, 1821. By Rev. Nathaniel H. Fletcher, of Kennebunk. *Octavo*, pp. 38.
- Journals of his Missionary Tours in Maine, from 1768 to 1800. *Maine Historical Collections*, iv., 261.
- COLBY UNIVERSITY. Dedication of Memorial Hall. By Rev. Doctor Bosworth. Addresses and Proceedings, 1867 and 1869. Waterville: 1869. *Octavo*, pp. 53, with a Plate of the Hall.
- Triennial Catalogues.
- COLEOPTEROUS Insects, New Species, inhabiting the State of Maine. By John W. Randall. *Boston Journal of Natural History*, ii.
- COLESWORTHY, Daniel C. "My Minister." (Rev. Charles Jenkins.) Sketches of Portland. 18mo. pp. 112.
- My Teacher. Common Incidents.
- COLONIZATION of Maine. Bancroft's *United States*, Chapters i, viii, and ix; the *Popham Memorial Volume*; Gorges's *Narrative*; Willis's *History of Portland*; and Williamson's *History of Maine*.
- CONFESSION of Faith and Covenant of the First Church of North Yarmouth; with a Catalogue of its Members and Brief Historical Notices, April, 1848. Portland: 1848. Pamphlet.
- Anonymous. The author was Rev. David Shepley, Pastor of the Church.
- CONGREGATIONAL Ministers and Churches, in Maine. A complete list of, to 1840. By Rev. E. Gillet. *American Quarterly Register*, xiii. and xiv.

- This very thorough and comprehensive Work, admirably done by Deacon Duren, for many years Recording Secretary of the Maine Conference, supplies a great want in the ecclesiastical history of Maine.
- from 1672 to 1867. By E. F. Duren, Portland: 1867. *Octavo*, pp. 147.
- Greenleaf's *Ecclesiastical Sketches*. 1821.
- Covenant, Creed, and Members of the High-street Church, in Portland. Portland: 1868.
- Same of Second Church, in Portland.
- Minutes of the Forty-third Annual Meeting of the General Conference of, June, 1869. With Sermon by Al. E. Ives. Portland: 1869. *Octavo*, pp. 112.
- Conferences of. With full Minutes, from 1824-1869.
- Annual Pamphlets.
- CONSTITUTIONAL Convention of the District of Maine, with the Articles of Separation and Governor Brooks's Proclamation prefixed. 1818-1820. Augusta: 1856.
- See Debates.
- CONVENTION, at Brunswick, on Separation. 1819. By Gamaliel E. Smith. See *Journal*.
- COURTS, History of. See *Willis's Courts, Law, and Lawyers of Maine*.
- CUMBERLAND Bar. An Address to the Members of the Cumberland Bar, delivered during the Sitting of the Court of Common Pleas, at Portland, June Term, 1833. By James D. Hopkins, Counsellor-at-Law. Published at the request of the Bar. Portland: 1833. *Octavo*, pp. 79.
- This valuable pamphlet contains a history of the Cumberland Bar and notices of deceased members. Mr. Hopkins was a native of England, born in Axminster. He came to Portland, with his father, in 1784; studied law; and became a prominent lawyer and advocate. He died in 1840, aged sixty-eight.
- County. Description of the Plantations in. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, iii.
- Congregational Churches in. By Isaac Weston. 1861.
- CUSHING, Judge William.
- Charles.
- Rowland, (Distinguished Ante-revolution Lawyers in Maine). See *Memoirs of, in Willis's Law Courts, Law, and Lawyers of Maine*; and other Biographical Works.
- DAMARIS COVE ISLANDS. Bradford's *History*, Deane's Edition, pp. 114, 156, 267, etc.; and Williamson's *History*.
- DANE, JOSEPH, Notice of. *Maine Historical Collections*, vi.; and *Willis's Law and Lawyers of Maine*.
- DANFORTH, THOMAS, appointed President of Maine, 1681. *Massachusetts Records*, v. 309.
- Settlement of Munjoy title and other titles, in Portland. *Massachusetts Records*, v. 395; and *Willis's Portland*.
- D'AULNEY and LA TOUR,—rival chiefs. Papers

relating to. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, iil. vii.; *Winthrop's Journal*; and *Hutchinson's History*.

DAVIES, CHARLES S. Address delivered at Fryeburg, May 19, 1825, on the First Centennial Celebration of "Lovell's Fight." Portland: *Octavo*, pp. 64.

..... Discourse on the death of Adams and Jefferson, 1825. Portland: 1825.

..... Report on the North-eastern Boundary. *Maine Documents*, 1829.

DEANE, Rev. SAMUEL, *Journal of*. See *Journal*.

..... New England Farmer; or, Georgical Dictionary. By Samuel Deane, A. A. S. Worcester: 1790. *Octavo*, pp. 332.

..... Second Edition, 1798.

This was the first work of the kind published in this country, and continues to form the basis of modern works on the subject. Dr. Deane was Pastor of the First Church in Portland.

..... Sermon on his Ordination over the First Parish in Falmouth, October 17, 1764. Boston: *Octavo*, pp. 38.

DEBATES, Resolutions, and other Proceedings of the Convention of Delegates, assembled at Portland, on the eleventh, and continued until the twenty-ninth, day of October, 1819, for the purpose of forming a Constitution for the State of Maine. To which is prefixed the Constitution. By Jeremiah Perley, Counsellor at Law. Portland: *Duodecimo*, pp. 301.

DEED of Ferdinando Gorges, of the Province of Maine, to John Usher; and of John Usher to Massachusetts, 1678. *Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 257, 261; *York Records*; and *Massachusetts Colonial Records*.

DENYS, M. Description Geographique et Historique des Costes de l'Amerique Septentrionale. Avec l'histoire naturelle du Pays. Par M. Denys, Gouverneur, Lieutenant General pour le Roy, et Proprietaire de toutes les terres et isles qui sont depuis le cap de Campseaux jusques au Cap des Roziers. In two volumes. A Paris: chez Louis Bellaine. 1672. *Duodecimo*, pp. 750.

The country over which M. Denys claimed to exercise jurisdiction, under the King of France, extended from Cape Canoe, at the eastern extremity of Nova Scotia, to Cape Rozier, at the mouth of Penobscot Bay.

DISCOURSE delivered at the Dedication of the Stone Church of the First Parish in Portland, February 9, 1826. By I. Nichols. With an Appendix, containing a Memoir of the Parish. [By William P. Preble.] Portland: 1826. *Octavo*, pp. 25.

DISCOVERY. The Northmen from Greenland, undoubtedly visited the coast of Maine, between the years 990 and 1012; but they have left no description of it, nor did they make any attempt to colonize it. For their voyages, see Doctor J. G. Kohl's treatise in the *Documentary History of Maine—Collections*,

Volume i., New Series; and in DeCosta's critique. Also, in *Discovery of America* by the Northmen, by Jacob Abbott. 1860. *Duo-decimo*.

Neither did the Cabots, in 1497 and 1498, nor Cortereal, in 1501, make any discovery of our coast. They make no allusion to it.

The first particular description we have of this coast, is by John de Verazzanno, in a letter to Francis I. giving an account of his voyage, in 1524, published first, at Venice, by Ramusio, in 1550, a good translation of which is in the *Collections of New York Historical Society*, New Series, i., 1841.

..... 1556. André Thevet, in a French ship, sailed along the coast, and spent five days in Penobscot-bay, which he called Norumbegue; he had free intercourse with the natives, whom he describes in his work entitled *Les Singularités de la France antarctique autrement nommée Amerique*, published in Paris, 1556. Extracts relating to Maine are contained in *Documentary History of Maine*, i., 416. This closes the history of voyages to Maine in the sixteenth century. The next century is the era of colonization.

..... 1602.* Bartholomew Gosnold made the first direct voyage on the northern route; and, making the coast of Maine at, or near Cape Elizabeth, followed it to the South side of Cape Cod. Brereton's *Relation*; and *Massachusetts Historical Collections*,

..... 1603. Martin Pring reached the coast, in the neighborhood of Penobscot-bay; minutely examined it, its whole length; and made a particular report of it to Gorges;—Purchas, Belknap and Williamson. In 1606, he made a second voyage and a more full survey; by which Gorges and Popham were induced to send forth a Colony, to the Kennebec.

..... 1605. George Weymouth made an Exploration of the coast between the Kennebec-river and Penobscot-bay, of which James Rozier made "a true Relation"—London: 1650; reprinted in the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, III. viii.; and in a pamphlet, by George Prince, 1859, with Notes. In the *Maine Historical Collections*, v. and vi., is a full discussion of this Voyage.

..... 1605. De Monts cruised along the whole coast, from St Croix to Cape Cod, of which L'Escarbot gave a particular account, in his *History of New France*, published in Paris, in 1609. Republished, in 1618, with map. See *The Popham Memorial Volume*.

..... 1607. The first attempt to colonize Gorges's Province of Maine. A well-appointed Colony sent forth by Gorges and Popham landed on Hunnewells-point, then called, by the natives, *Sabino*, at the mouth of the Kennebec-river. Sullivan; Williamson; *Popham Memorial Volume*; Strachey; and *Maine Historical Collections*, iii., 279.

..... 1615. Captain John Smith occupied Showhegan-island, for a fishing station, from which a French Missionary Colony had been driven by the English. He made a minute examination of the coast of Maine, and prepared a map of it and of New England. Prince; Bancroft; Williamson; and Palfrey's *New England*, where is a *fac-simile* of the map.

..... 1616. Richard Vines, Agent of Sir F. Gorges, spent the winter at Saco-river, to explore the country for Gorges. Gorges's *Narrative*; and Folsom's *Saco and Biddeford*.

..... 1623. Christopher Levett cruised along the coast, from the Piscataqua-river to Pemaquid, minutely examining and describing the most prominent points which he visited. He appears to have selected his six thousand-acre Grant at, or near, Portland; and built a house upon one of the islands in Portland Harbor. He says: "And thus, after 'many dangers, much labor and great charge, 'I have obtained a place of habitation, in 'New England, where I have built a house, 'and fortified it in a reasonable good fashion." Levett's *Voyage*; and *Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 78.

See A popular History of the Discovery of America, by J. G. Kohl.

DISTRICT OF MAINE, Statistics of. By Joseph B. Felt. *Statistical Collections*, i., 57 to 99.

..... AND MASSACHUSETTS, Map of. Compiled from actual Surveys, by Order of the General Court. By Osgood Carlton. Boston: 1803.

..... A Statistical View of Maine: more especially with reference to the value and importance of its interior. Addressed to the consideration of the Legislators of Massachusetts. By Moses Greenleaf, Esq. *Salus publica mea merces*. Boston: 1816. *Octavo*, pp. 154.

This work was ably reviewed by the learned Benjamin Rand, of Boston, in the *North American Review*, iii, 86; and the subject of the Separation of Maine fully treated in the article.

..... History of the District of Maine. By James Sullivan. Illustrated by a new and correct map of the District. Boston: 1795. *Octavo*, pp. 421.

Mr. Sullivan was born in Berwick, Maine, and practiced law first in Georgetown, on the Kennebec-river; then in Biddeford. He was afterwards Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, Attorney-general, and Governor of the Commonwealth; in which latter office he died, December, 1808. He was the author of numerous publications, and one of the founders of the Massachusetts Historical Society. His life has been published in two octavo volumes, by his grandson, Thomas C. Amory, Jr., of Boston.

..... Travels in New England and New York. By Timothy Dwight. New Haven: 1821.

..... and Sagadahoc. Summary, Historical and Political, of the First Planting, Progressive Improvements, and Present State of the British Settlements in North America. Two volumes. By William Douglass, M. D. Boston, New

- England: 1749-1753. *Octavo*, pp. 568, 416. Part V. describes the several Grants of Sagadahoc, the Province of Maine, &c. Doctor Douglass was a native of Scotland; educated in Paris and Leyden; and came to this country in 1716, and to Boston in 1718, where he died, October 31, 1753.
- DOCUMENTS** relating to the North-eastern Boundary of Maine. Published by the Legislatures of Maine and Massachusetts, and by the United States. With maps, etc. 1828 to 1842. These include the valuable Historical Report and Argument of the Hon. John G. Deane, and the submission of the case to the decision of the King of Holland.
- Charles S. Davis's Report to Governor Lincoln, on the New England Boundary Question. 1829.
- Rights of Maine defined. Speech of Peleg Sprague, in the United States Senate, on the Decision of the King of the Netherlands. 1833.
- Report on the said Decision, with Resolves of the Legislature. 1832. *Octavo*.
- relating to the Separation of Maine from Massachusetts. Published at various times, from 1790 to 1819. See Willis's *History of Portland, and Massachusetts Historical Collections*.
- DOWNING**, Major Jack, of Downingville, away down East, in the State of Maine. Life and writings of. Second Edition. Boston: 1834. *Duodecimo*, pp. 260. Seba Smith, late of Portland, was the author of these satirical and entertaining letters.
- DRAKE**, SAMUEL G. History of King Philip's War, 1675, and the French and Indians Wars at the Eastward, 1689-1704. By Thomas Church, with Notes and Appendix. 1827 and 1836. *Duodecimo*.
- Biography and History of the Indians of North America, from its discovery, and of their Wars. Boston: 1837. With Plates. *Octavo*.
- Indian Captivities. 1851. *Octavo*.
- Tragedies in the Wilderness, etc.
- DREUILLETTE**, Rev. GABRIEL. *Narré du Voyage*. Translated by J. G. Shea. New York: 1857. *New York Historical Collections*.
- Epistola ad Johannem Winthrop. New York: 1849.
- DUTCH** in Maine. By J. Watts de Peyster. *Octavo*. Pamphlet.
- DWIGHT**, Rev. William T., D.D. Life and Ministry of. With an Appendix. By Egbert C. Smyth, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Boston: 1869. *Octavo*, pp. 50.
- EASTERN COUNTIES**, in the District of Maine. Observations on the Climate, Soil, and Value of. Written by the Hon. General Lincoln, 1789. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, iv.
- INDIANS. Doctor Stiles and a letter from Colonel Frye, to the Governor of Nova Scotia. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, x.
- Maine and Nova Scotia. Military operations therein, during the Revolution, comprising Journals and Letters of Colonel Allen. By Frederic Kidder. With map. Albany: *Octavo*, pp. 824.
- EASTPORT** and Vicinity, History of. A Lecture delivered April, 1834, before the Eastport Lyceum. By Jonathan D. Weston, Esq., Counsellor at Law. Boston: 1834. *Octavo*, pp. 61.
- EATON**, CYRUS. Histories of Thomaston, Rockland and Warren, which see
- Rev. SAMUEL. Biographical notice of. By Professor A. S. Packard. *Brunswick Telegraph*, February 24, 1854.
- ECCLÉSIASTICAL** History of the State of Maine, from the Earliest Settlement to the present time. Sketches of the. By Jonathan Greenleaf, Pastor of a Church in Wells. Portsmouth: 1821. *Duodecimo*, pp. 298; (Appendix,) 78. Mr. Greenleaf made large additions to this excellent work, with a view to a new edition. These are deposited in the archives of the Maine Historical Society, in MS.
- EDGECOMB**. See Bristol.
- EDITORS** and Publishers' Association of Maine, Transactions of. Sixth Meeting, at Portland, August, 1869. Portland: 1869. *Octavo*, pp. 56. Four prior Reports were published.
- EDUCATION**. Lectures delivered at Portland, August, 1844, before the American Institute of Instruction. Boston: 1845. *Octavo*, pp. 821.
- Maine Journal of. 1867, '68, and '69. Portland: 1867-1869.
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- Annual Catalogues of the Colleges in Maine—Bowdoin, Bates, Colby, Readfield, and Westbrook.
- ELLIOTT**. Piscataqua, including Elliott, Kittery, and South Berwick. By Usher Parsons. *New England Historical Genealogical Register*, iii., 250.
- ELLSWORTH**. Something of its History. *American*, November 17, 1865. Anonymous.
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- ENTERPRISE** and **BOXER**. Naval Engagement

- September 5, 1813, on the coast of Maine. B. J. Lossing's *War of 1812*; and Funeral and Monuments at Portland, in Willis's *History of Portland*.
- EPISCOPACY.** Early history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Maine. By Edward Ballard, A. M., Rector of St. Paul's Church, Brunswick, Me. *Maine Historical Collections*, vi., 171.
- Journal of the Forty-ninth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, September, 1868. Portland: 1868. *Octavo*, pp. 100.
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- A Sketch of the History of, in Portland, from 1763 to 1863. By William Stevens Perry, Rector of St. Stephen's Church. Portland: 1863. *Octavo*, pp. 16.
- History of, in Portland. Willis's *History of Portland*; and Greenleaf's *Ecclesiastical Sketches*.
- The Frontier Missionary. Life of Rev. Jacob Bailey. By Rev. William S. Bartlett. A most interesting account of the introduction of Episcopacy into Maine, previous to the Revolution. *Octavo*, pp. 366.
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- Bishop Henry A. Neely was elected.
- Journal of the Forty-eighth Annual Convention at Bangor, July 10 and 11, 1867. Including the Consecration of Bishop Neely and his Address. Portland: 1867. *Octavo*, pp. 76.
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- EULOGIES and Biographical notices of**
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- Charles Frost. Sermon on the death of. By Rev. Jeremiah Wise. 1725.
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- Rev. Edward Payson. Memoir of. By Asa Cummings, D. D. *Duodecimo*, pp. 400.
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- Samuel Pierson, aged ninety-three years. Sermon on the death of. By J. T. G. Nichols. Saco: 1862. pp. 28.
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- EVERETT, EBENEZER. Biographical notice of. By William Willis. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, xxiv., 81; and *Boston Daily Advertiser*.
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- A Second edition, in small quarto, published in 1772.
- Mr. Drake of Boston has published an enlarged Edition, with Notes.
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- Rare, out of print.
- new edition, with amendments and large additions, by William Willis. 1849.
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- HALIFAX, built and named, 1754. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, xiii, 174.
- History of, by T. O. Paine. *Eastern Mail*, 1852.
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- POINT, on Penobscot-river. Centennial Celebration, July 29, 1859. Address by Rev. Stephen Thurston.
- Full accounts of these interesting services were immediately published in the *Republican Journal*, Belfast, August 5, 1859; *Progressive Age*, Belfast, August 4.; *Boston Journal*, August 2.; and *Bangor Daily Evening Times*.
- FOSSELS, Shells, &c. An account of. By Parker Cleaveland.
- FREEMAN, SAMUEL, author of *The Town Officer*. Boston: 1793, *Duodecimo*; also, of the *Clerk's Assistant*, *Probate Directory*, etc., Secretary of the First Provincial Congress, Postmaster, Judge of Probate, etc.
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- FREEPORT. A Topographical and Historical Sketch of Freeport, County of Cumberland, and District of Maine. By Rev. Reuben Naason. July, 1815. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, II. iv.
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- FROGS, Development of, as observed at Waterville, Maine. By A. C. Hamlin. *Boston Journal of Natural History*, x.
- FRONTIER MISSIONARY, The. A Memoir of the Life of the Rev. Jacob Bailey, A. M., Missionary at Pownalborough, Maine, and Cornwallis and Annapolis, N. S. With Illustrations, Notes, and Appendix. By William S. Bartlett, A. M., Rector of St. Luke's Church, Chelsea, Massachusetts, and a Corresponding Member of the Maine Historical Society. With a Preface by Right Rev. George Burgess, D. D. Boston: 1853. *Octavo*, pp. 365.
- FRYEBURG. Address delivered at Fryeburg, May 19, 1825, on the First Centennial Celebration of "Lovell's Fight." By Charles S. Davies. Portland: 1825. *Octavo*, pp. 64.
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- A Centennial Discourse. By Rev. Samuel Souther, and Proceedings on the occasion of the First Century of its History, August 20, 1864. Worcester: Mass., 1864. *Octavo*, pp. 78.
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- John. Barrister. Notice of, in *Gardiner Transcript*, November 27, 1852, and March 25, 1863; and in *Willis's Law and Lawyers*.
- GAZETTEER of Maine. By John Hayward. Boston: *Octavo*.
- GENEALOGY. Greenleaf family. By Rev. Jonathan Greenleaf. New York: 1854. *Pp.* 115.
- Gilman. Descendants of John Gilman of Exeter; with an account of many other Gilmans in England and America. By A. Gilman. 1869. *Square octavo*, pp. xiv., 324. Portraits and plates.
- Allen family. Memoir of Colonel John Allen, an Officer of the Revolution; died in Lubec, Maine, February 7, 1815; with a Genealogy. By G. H. Allen. *Octavo*, pp. 75.
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-Necrology of Alumni of Harvard College, 1861-68. By Joseph P. Parker. Boston: 1864. *Octavo*, pp. 536.
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-Phoenix, John, of Kittery, the Descendants of. By S. Whitney Phoenix. New York: Privately printed. 1867. *Quarto*.
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-Frost, Charles. Memoir of. By Usher Parsons. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, iii., 249.
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- GEOLOGY** of Maine and of the Public Lands. Reports of Charles T. Jackson. 1838-39. *Octavo*.
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A new impression, with some additional matter, was issued from the same press, in 1839, with a portrait of the author. Mr. Williamson died in Maine, 1844.

This valuable work is now becoming rare; and a new History of the State, continued to the present time, is eagerly sought for.

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This is the most complete Register ever published in the State, containing, besides the usual tables and statistical matter relating to the Courts, the Civil Governments of the United States and Maine, a Summary History of the State and Political parties, and brief Statistics of every town within the Territory. It is a new and improved Series, which it is hoped, will be continued.
- MAPS OF. By Osgood Carlton. Boston: 1795.
- By Moses Greenleaf, 1829, accompanied by an octavo volume, containing an exhaustive account of the population, commercial and agricultural statistics, and other valuable information relative to the resources and industrial pursuits of the State, collected with great labor and intelligence. The work is now very rare. Portland: 1829. pp. 467.
Several other Maps of the State have been published, founded on Greenleaf.
- In 1861, J. Chase, Jr. & Co., published a large and finely-executed Map, from actual Survey, laying down minutely the geographical and peculiar features of the State, its mountains, rivers, etc.; and accompanied it with a volume of historical and statistical information. *Octavo*, pp. 345.
This enterprising firm, as a preliminary to the general map of the State, published large separate Maps of each County, drawn from actual surveys.
- United States Coast Survey, of the Coast of Maine, with charts, triangulations, soundings of harbors, shore, etc.
- Mount Desert, on the coast of Maine. Anonymous. [Mrs. Clara Barnes Martin]. Portland: 1867. *16mo*, pp. 16.
- By Rev. B. F. DeCosta. See Mount Desert.
- Charitable Mechanic Association. Act of Incorporation, 1815. Sundry Reports of Exhibitions and Fairs. Report of Exhibition, 1854. Portland: 1865. *Octavo*, pp. 40.
- MEDICAL ASSOCIATION OF. Constitution, By-laws and Medical Ethics. Portland: 1863. *Octavo*, pp. 23.
- Transactions of, from its Incorporation, 1855. In three volumes. Portland: 1859-1866.
- Report of Committee of, on the subject of a General Hospital. By J. T. Gilman.
- Medical School of. Address on the opening of. By Leonard Woods, D. D.,

- President of Bowdoin College. Brunswick: 1862. *Octavo*, pp. 20.
- Introductory Lecture before the Medical Department of Bowdoin College, 1867. By Theodore H. Jewett, M. D. Portland: 1869. *Octavo*, pp. 28.
- Lecture before the same. By William C. Robinson, M.D. 1868. Portland: 1868. *Octavo*, pp. 28.
- COMMON SCHOOLS. See Education.
- TEMPERANCE SOCIETY. First Annual Report. Belfast: 1883. *Octavo*, pp. 25.
- Subsequent Reports.
- MISSIONARY SOCIETY. Reports from General Conferences of Congregational Churches. By E. F. Duren.
- Report of, for 1869. Portland: 1869. *Octavo*, pp. 112.
- STATISTICS. Letter from John A. Poor, to the Governor of Maine, on the population, resources, etc., of the State. 1869. *Octavo*.
- MEMBERS OF CONGRESS. Biographical Notices of. Lanman's Dictionary of Congress. Second Edition: 1864.
- Articles in *North American Review*—volume xiii., (by B. Rand,) on Separation; on first Settlement, in volume xv., 24, 41; on Revision of Laws, in volume xxiv. 201.
- MASONIC. Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Maine, from 1820 to 1869. In six volumes. Portland: *Octavo*.
- Proceedings of the Grand Commandery of Maine, from 1852. Annual Reports. Portland: 1852-1869. *Octavo*.
- Statutes of the Grand Commandery of Maine; with Constitution, Ceremonies, etc. Portland: 1860. *Octavo*, pp. 80.
- History of. By Simon Greenleaf. 1821.
- History of the Rising Sun Lodge, No. 71, Orland, Maine, from 1852 to 1869. By Freeman H. Chase, M. D. Bucksport: 1869. *Octavo*, pp. 19.
- Address at Hallowell. By John H. Sheppard.
- Address at Portland. By John H. Sheppard.
- History of Star in the West Lodge.
- Lincoln Lodge. History of. By Rufus K. Sewall.
- McKEEN, JOSEPH. An Eulogy pronounced at Brunswick, Maine, July 18, 1807, at the Funeral of the late Rev. Joseph McKeen, D. D., A. A. S., and President of Bowdoin College. By William Jenks, A. M., one of the Ministers of Bath. Portland: 1807. *Octavo*.
- McLELLAN Family of Gorham. The Old Home. By Rev. Elijah Kellogg, in *Our Young Folks*, 1867.
- MELLEN, PRENTISS. Biographical notices of. *American Quarterly Journal*, xiii., 438; in *Maine Historical Collections*, v., xxii.; and in Willis's *Law and Lawyers of Maine*.
- MEMORIALS of the English and French Commissioners, concerning the limits of Nova Scotia, or Acadia. In two volumes. London: 1766. *Quarto*, pp. 771 and 520.
- This valuable work contains the arguments of the English Commissioners, William Shirley and W. Milledam, and the French Commissioners, appointed to settle the controversy respecting the boundary line between Massachusetts and Acadia and other controverted points arising under the Treaty of Utrecht. The first volume relates wholly to Acadia and adjacent territory, furnishing a summary of the various Grants, Occupation, etc.; the second relates to St. Lucie.
- MERRICK, JOHN. Memoir of. By Rev. D. R. Goodwin, D.D., 1862. *Octavo*, pp. 39.
- Historical Report of the Trial of David Lynn, Elijah Barton, and others, for the murder of Paul Chadwick, at Malta, in Maine, September 8, 1809. Before Hon. Theodore Sedgwick and other Justices of the Supreme Court, at Augusta, November 16, 1809. Taken in short hand by him. Hallowell: 1810.
- METEOROLOGICAL Journal kept at Brunswick, Maine, from 1806 to 1858. By Professor Parker Cleaveland, of Bowdoin College. Published by the Smithsonian Institution, Washington: 1869.
- METHODISM in Maine. Greenleaf's *Ecclesiastical History of Maine*, 275; Willis's *History of Portland*, Second Edition, 681; Williamson's *History of Maine*, ii., 697; Stevens's *History of Methodism*; *Memorial of Methodism*; and the Minutes of the Sessions of the Maine Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The last of these Annual Minutes were those of the Forty-fifth Session, held in Westbrook, May 5 to 10, 1869. Boston: 1869. *Octavo*, pp. 36.
- As a Revival and an Organization. A Centenary Sermon at Lewiston, May 11, 1866. By Rev. C. Munger. Portland: 1866. *Octavo*, pp. 32.
- MINERALOGY and Geology. An Elementary treatise designed for the use of Pupils and Travellers. By Parker Cleaveland. Illustrated by Plates and Map. In two volumes. Boston: 1822. *Octavo*.
- MINISTERS, Aged, in Maine. By William Willis. *Maine Historical Collections*, v., iv.
- MINOT. Annals of Bakerstown, Portland and Minot. By William Ladd. *Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 111.
- MISSIONARY Tours in Maine, from 1768 to 1800. By Paul Coffin, D. D. *Maine Historical Collections*, iv., 261.
- Society of Maine. Reports.
- MISSIONS, Catholic, in Maine. By Enoch Lincoln. *Maine Historical Collections*, i., 323.
- Gabriel Dreuillet's *Narré du Voyage. Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1855; and of *The New York*

Historical Society.

- History of. By John G. Shea.
- in Acadia. By Taschereau.
- Relations of the Jesuits, 1632 to 1681.

..... Pere E. Rale's Letter from Norridgewock, on the Abnauquis. *Lettres Edifiantes*, xvii. and xxxviii.

..... In Charlevoix *History of New France*.

..... Relations of the Jesuits. Reprint of the Paris Edition. In three volumes. Quebec: 1858. *Royal octavo*.

MONHEGAN ISLAND. See Bradford—Deane's edition; Williamson's *History of Maine*; Pennsiquid Papers in *Maine Historical Collections*, v., 1; and Prince's *New England Chronology*.

..... Account of. By John Johnston. *Popham Memorial Volume*, 268.

MONTRESSOR, Colonel. Journal of the Expedition to Quebec, 1775. *Maine Historical Collections*, i., 841.

MOUNT DESERT. Scenes in the Isle of. By Rev. B. F. DeCosta. Photographs. New York: 1868. *Quarto*.

..... Anonymous. [Mrs. Clara Barnes Martin.] Portland: 1867. *Duodecimo*, pp. 16.

NARRAGANSETT TOWNS. The History of the Seven. By Charles Coffin. *Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 181.

Two of these townships were in Maine—No. 1, Buxton; No. 7, Gorham.

..... See Buxton and Gorham.

NATURAL HISTORY. Proceedings of the Portland Society of. Portland: Part I., 1862. Part II., 1869. *Octavo*.

..... Journal of the Portland Society of. Volume I., Number 1. 1864.

..... Observations on the Terrestrial Putnionifera of Maine. By Edward S. Morse. Portland: 1864. *Octavo*.

..... Orthoptera of the State of Maine. By Sidney I. Smith. *Octavo*, pp. 10.

..... Report on Toxicology. By George L. Goodale. Portland: *Octavo*, pp. 12.

..... Catalogue of Birds found in the vicinity of Waterville, Maine—Report of the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture, 1865—By Charles E. Hamlin.

..... Remarks on facts connected with development of Frogs, observed at Waterville. By Charles E. Hamlin. *Boston Journal of Natural History*, x.

..... Remarks on a Habit of *Certhia americana*, supposed hitherto unnoticed. By Charles E. Hamlin. *Boston Journal of Natural History*, x., 80.

..... A Guide to Entomology. By Alpheus S. Packard, Jr. *Octavo*, pp. 700.

..... Papers republished from the Philadel-

phia *Entomological Journal* and *Boston Journal of Natural History*. By A. S. Packard, Jr.

..... Record of American Entomology. By A. S. Packard, Jr.

..... Characters of the Noctuidae. By A. S. Packard, Jr. *Portland Journal of Natural History*, i.

..... Synopsis of the Fishes of North America. By D. Humphreys Storer.

Doctor Storer, as Commissioner of Massachusetts, has made several learned Reports on the Fishes and Reptiles of that Commonwealth.

..... Shells. Description of twenty-four species in New England. By J. W. Mighella. *Boston Journal of Natural History*, iv.

..... Marine, Fluvial, and Terrestrial, of the State of Maine, and adjoining Ocean. By J. W. Mighella. *Boston Journal of Natural History*, iv., 8.

..... See Greenleaf's *Statistics*; and Williamson's *History of Maine*.

NEAL, JOHN. Wandering Recollections of a somewhat busy life. An Autobiography. Boston: 1869. *Duodecimo*.

This is a production of Mr. Neal at the age of seventy-six. He has been a copious and vigorous writer of poetry and romance, for half a century; and is one of the most voluminous of the native authors of Maine. He was born in Portland, in 1798; and, like Whittier, is of Quaker descent.

NEWCASTLE. See Bristol; Coolidge and Mansfield's *General Description of New England*.

NEW ENGLAND Farmer, or Geographical Dictionary. By Rev. S. Deane of Portland. Worcester: 1790. *Octavo*.

..... Second Edition. 1797.

..... Chronological History of. By Thomas Prince. Third Edition. Boston: 1852. *Octavo*.

..... A Description of New England; or, the Observations and Discoveries of Captain John Smith, (Admiral of that Country) in North America, in the year 1614; with the success of six ships that went the next year, 1615; with the proof of the Present Benefit this Country affords; whither, this 1616, Eight voluntary Ships are gone to make further trial. London: 1616. Reprinted in *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, III., vi.

..... New Edition, with Notes. By Charles Deane. Boston: 1866. *Quarto*.

..... Advertisements for the unexperienced Planters of New England, or anywhere, etc. By Captaine John Smith, sometimes Governour of Virginia, and Admirall of New England. London: 1681. Reprinted in *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, III., iii.

..... History of. By John G. Palfrey.

..... A General and Local Description of. By A. J. Coolidge and J. B. Mansfield. Volume I., concerning Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont. Boston: 1859. *Octavo*, pp. 1023.

This work gives a general description of the State; and

- a more minute one of all the Counties and Towns existing at the time of its publication, with a map.
- NEW GLOUCESTER.** Some Account of. By Isaac Parsons. *Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 151.
- NEWSPAPER PRESS** of Cumberland County. Charles Holden's Address before the Editors' and Publishers' Society. Transactions of the Society. Portland: 1869. *Octavo*.
- Mr. Holden enlarged and perfected this account in the *Portland Press*, in several articles in 1869.
- in Maine. See Willis's *History of Portland*.
- The first Newspaper printed in Maine, was the *Falmouth Gazette*, issued January 1, 1785, by Benjamin Titcomb and Thomas B. Wait. Now every considerable Town has its newspaper-press. The whole number issued in the State, in 1869, was fifty-seven; of which six are daily, forty-six weekly, and five monthly.
- NICHOLS, Rev. I.** A Discourse delivered at the Dedication of the Stone Church of the First Parish in Portland, February 9, 1826. By I. Nichols. With an Appendix, containing a Memoir of the Parish. [By W. P. Preble.] Portland: 1826. *Octavo*, pp. 25.
- Doctor Nichols was also the author of a popular treatise on *Natural Theology*, much used in Sunday Schools. His last and great work was *Hours with the Evangelists*, in two volumes—volume I., published in 1859; and volume II., in 1864. *Octavo*, pp. 404 and 288. A profound analysis of Gospel History and events. He died in 1869, after a ministry in Portland of fifty years.
- Memoir of. By William Willis. *Maine Historical Collections*, v., li.
- Rev. A. P. Peabody's Discourse at his Funeral. 1859. *Octavo*.
- NILES, Rev. SAMUEL.** A Summary History of French and Indian Wars, from 1634 to 1760. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, III., vi.
- NOBLE, FRANCES.** Narrative of the Captivity of Frances Noble, who was, among others, taken by the Indians from Swan Island, in Maine, about the year 1755. Published first in the *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*.
- The same. Republished by Samuel G. Drake, in *Tragedies in the Wilderness*, 1846.
- NOBLEBOROUGH.** Mansfield's *General Description of New England*.
- NORRIDGEWOCK.** The History of Norridgewock. Comprising the Memorials of the Aboriginal Inhabitants and Jesuit Missionaries, Hardships of the Pioneers, Biographical Notices of the Early Settlers, and Ecclesiastical Sketches. By William Allen. *Duodecimo*, pp. 252.
- The History of Norridgewock and Canaan. By J. W. Hanson. 1849. *Duodecimo*.
- (Indian) Language. Numbers in. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, x.
- NORTH-EASTERN BOUNDARY** of Maine. Documents relating to the History of, and Negotiations concerning. Published, at various times, by the Legislatures of Maine and Massachusetts, by the United States, and by Great Britain. With Maps. 1828-1842.
- A Memoir in connection with Mr. Jay's Map. By Albert Gallatin. With a Speech, on the same subject, by Daniel Webster. New York: 1848. *Octavo*, pp. 74.
- The Right of the United States to. Extracted principally from the Statement laid before the King of the Netherlands. Revised by Albert Gallatin. Eight Maps. New York: 1840. *Octavo*.
- NORTHMEN** in Maine. By Rev. B. F. DeCosta. Albany: 1870. *In Press*.
- By J. K. Kohl. *Documentary History of Maine*, i., New Series.
- NORTH YARMOUTH.** The History of North Yarmouth. By Edward Russell. *Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 165.
- Confession of Faith and Covenant of the First Church in North Yarmouth; with a Catalogue of its Members and brief Historical Notices. April, 1848. Portland: 1848. Anonymous. [By Rev. David Shipley, the Pastor.]
- NORTON, LEMUEL.** An Autobiography. Portland: 1862. *18mo*, pp. 192.
- NORWAY**, History of the Town of. By David Noyes. Norway: 1852. *Octavo*, pp. 216.
- NOUVELLE FRANCE.** See Biard; Bigot; Charlevoix; etc., for notices of Maine.
- O'BRIEN Family** at Machias. Their Exertions in the American Revolution. By Captain John O'Brien, of Brunswick. *Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 242.
- ORONO**, a Chief at Penobscot, Notice of. By William D. Williamson. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, III., ix.; and *Belfast Journal*, April, 1850.
- OXFORD County**, Sketches of. By Rev. Thomas T. Stone. 1880. *Duodecimo*, pp. 112.
- OYSTER Shell deposit** at Damariscotta. Jackson's *Geological Report of Maine*; Paul A. Chadbourne's *Account*, in *Maine Historical Collections*, vi., 845; and Report of Maine Historical Society, 1869, in *Brunswick Telegraph*, September 8, 1869.
- PACKARD, ALPHEUS S.** Address before the Alumni of Bowdoin College. 1858. *Pp.* 49.
- Mr. Packard, the venerable Professor of Bowdoin College, of time-honored memory, is the author of the Biographical Notices of the Rev. Samuel Eaton and the Rev. Jonathan Fisher, in Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, and of other Discourses and Articles, published separately and in periodicals, written with great beauty and ability.
- PAMPHLETS**, Titles of, on the controversy relating to the titles of the Plymouth and Pippescot Companies.
1. A statement of the title of the Proprietors of the township of Brunswick, with extracts of deeds and a plan.
- This is what was called the *Pippescot* title, extending from the mouth of the Kennebec-river, northward, including Brunswick, Topsham, and other towns on the Androscoggin and Kennebec-rivers, 1758.

2. Remarks on the plan, and extracts of deeds lately published by the Proprietors of the township of Brunswick (as they term themselves), agreeably to their vote of January 4, 1753. January 31, 1753. Pp. 8.

3. A conspectus or clear view of the laws in any way affecting the titles and conveyances to lands in the Eastern part of the Province, which have occasioned controversies and disputes, being claimed by virtue of ancient Grants from the native Indians. 1753. Pp. 4.

4. An answer to the remarks of the Plymouth Company, or (as they call themselves) the Proprietors of the Kennebec Purchase from the late Colony of New Plymouth, published by virtue of their vote of the thirty-first of January last, on the plan and extracts of deeds, published by the Proprietors of the Township of Brunswick, etc., March 28, 1753. Pp. 33.

5. A Defence of the remarks of the Plymouth Company, on the plan and extracts of deeds, published by Proprietors (as they term themselves), of the township of Brunswick. September 5, 1753. Pp. 50.

This controversy was carried to London, in 1758, the opinion of eminent lawyers obtained, and an appeal taken to the Courts. Florentius Varrall was appointed by the Plymouth Company to attend to its interests in London. The controversy was afterwards settled by compromise.

..... This class of publications, relating to the State or portions of it, is too numerous to be set down here in detail. The principal of them are placed elsewhere, under appropriate heads—John A. Poor, Rev. Enoch Pond, Reports of Societies, Public Documents, etc.

PARRIS, ALBION K. Notice of. *Maine Historical Collections*, v., xxxix; and Willis's *Law and Lawyers of Maine*.

PASCATAQUA; including Elliot, Kittery, and South Berwick. By Usher Parsons. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, iii., 250.

PASSAMAQUODDY. Indian language. See *Vocabulary*; and Williamson's *History of Maine*, i.

PAYSON, EDWARD. Memoir, Select Thoughts and Sermons, of the late Rev. Edward Payson, D. D., Pastor of the Second Church in Portland. Compiled by Asa Cummings, Editor of the *Christian Mirror*. In three volumes. Portland: 1849. Octavo.

PEARL of Orr's Island. By Harriet Beecher Stowe. In two volumes. Duodecimo.

PEET, Rev. Josiah. Thirty-eight years Pastor of the First Congregational Church of Norridgewock. Memoirs of, with a selection from his Sermons and Miscellaneous Writings. By Rev. David Shepley. With Portrait. New York: 1854. Octavo, pp. 344.

PEGWACKETT Fight. See Fight of Captain Lovell, and Lovell's Fight.

PELLEPOOT. Notice of early settlers at Pur-

chase, etc. By John McKeen. *Brunswick Telegraph*, July, 1855.

PEMAQUID. Papers relating to Pemaquid and parts adjacent, in the present State of Maine, known as Cornwall County, when under the Colony of New York. Compiled from Official Records in the Office of the Secretary of State, at Albany, N. Y. By Franklin B. Hough. Albany: 1856. See, also, *Maine Historical Collections*, v., 1.

..... Account of. By Nathaniel Groton. *Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 288.

..... Ancient. An Historical Review. Prepared at the request of the Maine Historical Society, by J. Wingate Thornton—*Maine Historical Collections*, v., 189.

..... History of. Ancient and Modern. With some account of the early settlements in Maine; and Memoirs of the families of Giles, Gould, Holmes, etc. By John A. Vinton. Octavo, pp., 600. See Giles's *Memorial*.

..... Description and History of. By John Johnston, LL.D. *Popham Memorial Volume*, 263.

This is a graphic and exceedingly interesting account of this most ancient of the settlements on the coast of Maine, and is well worthy of perusal by historical students.

..... Papers relating to. By Doctor Franklin Hough. *Maine Historical Collections*, v., 1, and Bradford's *History*, 336—Deane's Edition.

..... Abstract of Grants at, to Aldsworth and Elbridge. 1682. *York Records*; and *Harvard*, i., 315.

..... Jamestown of. A Poem. By Mrs. Maria W. Hackelton; with an Introduction by Rev. Edward Ballard, D. D. *Riverside Press*: 1869.

..... Report of Commissioners in 1811, appointed to adjust the Controversy in regard to the titles to land at Pemaquid and the adjacent country; embracing the testimony and result. 1811. Duodecimo.

A rare and very valuable document.

..... Order in Council, June 20, 1686, that the Fort and Country of Pemaquid, in regard to the distance from New York, be, for the future, annexed to the Government of New England. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, 295.

..... See Sewall's Ancient Dominion of Maine; the *Popham Memorial Volume*, 143, 148, and 263; and the Muscongus Indian Deeds to R. Pierce and John Brown.

PENHALLOW, SAMUEL. History of the Wars of New England with the Indians, from August 10th, 1708, to the Peace of July, 1718; and from July, 1722, to December, 1725. Cincinnati: 1859.—Reprint of Boston Edition, 1726. Quarto.

PENOBSCOT. The Siege of Penobscot by the

- Rebels; containing a Journal of the Proceedings of His Majesty's forces, detached from the Seventy-fourth and Eighty-second Regiments, consisting of about seven hundred rank and file, under the command of Brigadier-general Francis McLean, and of three of His Majesty's Sloops-of-war, of sixteen guns each, under the command of Captain Henry Mowatt, Senior Officer, when besieged by three thousand, three hundred (rebel) land force, under the command of Brigadier-general Solomon Lovell and Seventeen rebel ships and vessels of war, under the command of G. Saltonstall, Commodore, to which is annexed a Proclamation, issued, June 15th, 1779, by General McLean and Captain Barclay, to the inhabitants. Also, Brigadier-general Lovell's Proclamation to the inhabitants, and his letter to Commodore Saltonstall, found on board the rebel ship Hunter, together with the number, forces and commanders of the rebel ships destroyed in the Penobscot Bay and River, August 14th and 15th, 1779; with a chart of the Peninsula of Major Biguyduce and of the Penobscot-river, to which is subjoined a Postscript, wherein a short account of the Penobscot is given, by J. C., Esq., a Volunteer. London: 1781. *Octavo*, pp. 44. With Maps.
- The author was Doctor John Calk, agent for the inhabitants on the Penobscot.
- Bay and River. See *Acadia, and Whipple*.
- Indians. History of. By Hon. J. Sullivan. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, viii.
- Siege of. See Castine, P. B. Addition.
- taken by the French, in 1635. Trading House at. Bradford's *History*, Deane's Edition.
- PEPPERELL. The Life of Sir William Pepperell, Bart. The only native of New England who was created a Baronet during our connection with the Mother Country. By Usher Parsons. Boston: 1855. *Duodécimo*, pp., 352.
- A Second edition. 1857.
- PETITION of inhabitants of the Province of Maine, to King Charles II., 1680. *Maine Historical Collections*, i., 302.
- PHIPPS, SIR WILLIAM, Life of. Mather's *Mag-nalia*.
- and Increase Mather, Life of. 1648. By Rev. Enoch Pond, D. D.
- The venerable Doctor Pond, now in his seventy-ninth year, is one of the most voluminous and able writers in Maine. A native of Massachusetts, he was transferred to the Bangor Theological Seminary, in 1833, of which he has been President since 1856. His works are principally upon theological subjects, which were commenced as early as 1817, and have been unremitting to the present day.
- PHOENIX, John, of Kittery, Maine. Descendants of. By S. Whitney Phoenix. New York: 1857. *Quarto*, pp. 158.
- PIERCE, Josiah. Centennial Address. Gorham: 1836.
- History of Gorham. See Gorham.
- PITTSFORD. See Gardiner.
- PLYMOUTH and Pejepscot Companies. The Controversy relating to the conflicting titles of these two Companies, to large tracts of land on the Kennebec and Androscoggin-river. Published in two pamphlets, small quarto size, 1752-53, containing evidence, documents, and agreements of Counsel. Very rare. Copies in the Libraries of the Massachusetts and Maine Historical Societies' Libraries. See specific titles under Pamphlets.
- Council Records. All that remain have been published by the American Antiquarian Society, in its volume of *Proceedings*, for April, 1867. Boston: 1869. See, also, Haven's *History of Grants under the Great Council*.
- POLAND, Annals of. By William Ladd. *Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 111.
- POOLE, WILLIAM F. Criticisms on the Celebration, in various newspaper articles. *Popham Bibliography*.
- POOR, Henry V. Manual of Rail-roads in the United States. New York: 1869.
- This valuable work contains a full description of the Railroads in Maine.
- Hon. John A. A Memorial to the Legislature of Maine, to open a direct communication between the towns in Maine and the St. Lawrence-river. 1844.
- This was among the earlier movements for the construction of the great Railway from Portland to Montreal. It was followed by a series of articles, on the same subject, in the newspapers in this State and Canada, by Mr. Poor and others.
- Mr. Poor has, by his pen and personal exertions, exercised a leading influence in the construction of Railroads in the State. He has also contributed to the press, valuable articles on the running and management of Railroads, and general statistics relating to them.
- Plan for shortening the time of passage between New York and London. With Map. *Octavo*, pp. 24.
- Commercial importance of Portland. With Map. 1855. *Octavo*, pp. 50.
- Origin of the Grand Trunk Railway. 1856.
- Memorial concerning the Public Lands of Maine. 1857. *Octavo*, pp. 12.
- English Colonization in America. A Vindication of the claims of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. With Map and Documents. 1859. *Octavo*, pp. 144.
- Memorial in behalf of the European and North American Railway. 1861. *Octavo*, pp. 52.
- Report on the Coast Defences of Maine. 1862. *Octavo*, pp. 18.
- Letter to Hon. E. M. Stanton, on the same subject. 1862. *Octavo*, pp., 26.
- Memorial to the Legislature, for an ap-

- propriation to procure copies of Documents from Foreign Archives. 1862.
- An Address in Commemoration of the planting of the First English Colony on the Coast of Maine, in 1607. 1862. *Octavo*, pp. 58.
- Memoir of Mrs. Mary Barr. 1863. *Octavo*, pp. 10.
- Memoir of Hon. Reuel Williams. 1868. *Octavo*, pp. 66.
- The Railway. Remarks at Belfast, July 4th, 1867. Boston: 1868. *Octavo*, pp. 61.
- Report of the Commissioners on the Hydrographic Survey of the State. 1867. *Octavo*, pp. 80.
- Proceedings of the International Commercial Convention, held in Portland, August 4th and 5th, 1868. *Octavo*, pp. 160.
- Remarks at Rutland, Vermont, on the Trans-Continental Railway, June 24th, 1869. *Octavo*, pp. 78.
- He has written numerous other articles on Railways and other Statistical subjects relating to Maine, for newspapers and periodicals.
- POPHAM, George.** Letter from George Popham, President of the Sagadahoc Colony, to King James I, December 13th, 1607. With introductory remarks, and further Comments on Weymouth's Voyage. By William Willis. *Maine Historical Collections*, v., 341.
- Colony. The Second Book of the First Decade of the Historie of Travaille into Virginia Britannia; entreating of the First discoveries of the Countrey, etc., etc. Also, of the Northern Colonie seated upon the River Sagadahoc, transported at the charge of Sir John Popham, Knight, late Lord Chief Justice of England. Gathered by William Strachey, Gent. Taken from the Collections of the Hackluyt Society, London, and *The Massachusetts Historical Collections*. *Maine Historical Collections*, iii., 278.
- Memorial Volume of the Popham Celebration, August 29th, 1862, commemorative of the Planting of the Popham Colony, on the Peninsula of Sabino, August 19th, O. S. 1607. Published under the direction of Rev. Edward Ballard, Secretary of the Executive Committee. Portland: 1868. *Octavo*, pp. 368, 144.
- This volume is a valuable contribution to American history. It contains the map of L'Escarbot; Proceedings attending the depositing a Memorial Stone, with Addresses; the Address of Mr. Poor; communications of historical interest by Professor John Johnston and others; essay on the Weymouth voyage; Mr. Poor's Vindication of Gorges; copies of interesting original documents; etc.
- Address at the Celebration of. August, 1868. By E. E. Bourne.
- Address at the Celebration of. By George Folsom. 1864.
- Address on the two hundred and fifty-eighth Anniversary of the planting of the Popham Colony, August 29th, 1865. By Hon. James W. Patterson. Boston: 1865. *Octavo*, pp. 38.
- Remarks on the Popham Celebration of the Maine Historical Society. By S. F. Haven. Boston: 1865. *Octavo*, pp. 32.
- Colonial Schemes of Popham and Gorges. Speech of J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., at the Fort Popham Celebration, 1862. Boston: 1863. *Octavo*, pp. 20.
- A discussion of its Historical Claims, with a Bibliography of the subject. Boston: 1866. *Octavo*, pp. 72.
- This pamphlet, beautifully printed, on fine tinted paper, shows, to an extraordinary degree, the storm of opposition which was raised to this humble attempt of a few citizens of Maine, to bring into notice the earliest effort, by the Proprietors, to colonize their Territory. They may have claimed too much for this first attempt, but it seems to have been hardly a sufficient cause to have aroused, to the extent it did, the indignation of the historical scholars of a neighboring State. The Bibliography contained in this pamphlet shows the wide range the discussion took, carried on, not only in the newspapers, but in pamphlets and in the *Congregational Quarterly*, *Christian Examiner*, *Boston Review*, *Historical Magazine*, etc. The projectors of the celebration certainly did not think they were kindling so great a fire.
- The Church of England and Early American Discoveries and Colonization. By Rev. William S. Perry. *Popham Memorial Volume*, 317.
- PORTLAND.** The History of Portland, from its first Settlement; with Notices of the neighboring Towns, and of the changes of Government in Maine. In two parts. By William Willis. Part I. Portland: 1831. *Octavo*, pp. 243; in *The Maine Historical Collections*, I., Part II., from 1700 to 1833, separate. Portland: 1838. *Octavo*, pp. 355.
- Second Edition, with Maps and Plates. Revised and enlarged. Portland: 1865. *Royal octavo*, pp. 912.
- Journals of the Rev. Thomas Smith and the Rev. Samuel Deane, Pastors of the First Church in Portland. With Notes and Biographical Notices, and a Summary History of Portland. Maps and Portrait. By William Willis. Portland: 1849. *Octavo*, pp. 484.
- In 1831, Samuel Freeman published the *Journal of the Rev. Mr. Smith*, in duodecimo form, with a valuable Appendix relating to town and county matters, now entirely out of print.
- Harbor. Report of the Commissioners on Portland Harbor, accompanied by Statistics of the Commerce and Railways of the State of Maine and of the City of Portland; and by Proceedings and Correspondence of the City Government. Portland: 1855. *Octavo*, pp. 61. With Plates and Plans.
- Commercial, Railway, and Ship-building Statistics of the City of Portland and the State of Maine. Prepared to accompany the Second Report of the Commissioners on Portland Harbor. By John A. Poor. Portland: 1855. *Octavo*, pp. 50.

- Charter of City and Ordinances. 1832. *Octavo.*
- City Documents, regular series, annually printed, containing Mayors' Addresses; Organization of Government; Reports of Treasurers, School Committees, Overseers of the Poor, and other Departments. *Octavo.*
- Riot. Report of the Committee appointed by the Board of Aldermen, to investigate the causes and consequences of the Riot of June 2, 1855. Drawn by William Willis, Chairman. Portland : 1855. *Octavo*, pp. 50.
- Proceedings of Citizens' Meeting, July 28, 1855, and on the death of John Robbins, killed in the Riot. *Octavo*, pp. 112.
- Review of the testimony before the Inquest, on the death of John Robbins. Anonymous. [By Joseph A. Ware.] *Octavo*, pp. 32.
- Directories. The first Directory of the Inhabitants of Portland, was issued in 1822. It was a thin 18mo, very poorly got up. Several have been issued since, the last and best in 1869, by S. B. Beckett, who compiled several previous ones. The last was an octavo of three hundred and forty-two pages, the city having a population of about thirty-five thousand; while that in the year of the first issue was but nine thousand.
- Board of Trade. Annual Reports of, from 1862 to 1870. Pamphlets. *Octavo.*
These Reports, prepared by the Secretary, M. N. Rich, contain full, minute, and satisfactory statements of the Commerce, Manufactures, and business generally of Portland.
- Magazine. By Mrs. Ann S. Stephens. 1885 and 1886.
- Northern Monthly Magazine. By E. P. Weston. 1864.
- Colman's Monthly Miscellany. 1839.
- Catalogue of the Portland Institute and Public Library. *Octavo*, pp., 119.
- Society of Natural History. History and Condition of, from 1866 to 1869.
- Proceedings of, in sundry Pamphlets.
- and Rutland Railroad. Memorial to City of Portland, January, 1869. Anonymous, [J. A. Poor.] *Octavo*, pp. 15.
- Account of the great Fire in Portland, July 4 and 5, 1866. By John Neal. *Octavo*, pp., 22; also, *Portland Transcript*, July, 1866. By W. Willis.
- POWELL, Governor. Journal of the voyage of Governor Thomas Pownall, from Boston to Penobscot-river, May, 1759. Copied from the original manuscript, in the Office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, Boston. With Notes. By J. Williamson. *Maine Historical Collections*, v., 363.
- PREBLE. The Life of Commodore Edward Preble. By Lorenzo Sabine. Sparks's *American Biography*, xvii.
- The Life of Commodore Edward Preble. *Octavo*, pp., 30.
This has no date, nor imprint, nor author's name; and was published soon after the death of its distinguished subject, which took place August 26, 1807.
- PREBLE FAMILIES. A Genealogical Sketch of the Preble Families resident in Portland, Me., A. D., 1850. Printed but not published. Portland : 1850. *Octavo*, pp., 28.
Anonymous. The author was William P. Preble, who died in Portland, October 11, 1867, aged seventy-four.
- Genealogical Sketch of the first three Generations of Prebles in America; with an account of Abraham Preble, the emigrant, their common ancestor, and of his grandson, Brigadier-general Preble, and his descendants. By George Henry Preble, Captain U. S. N. Boston : Printed for family circulation. 1868-1870. *Octavo.*
This minute and carefully-prepared Record of one of the ancient and prominent families in New England, is a very valuable addition to the history and genealogy of the country. The Portraits of Commodore Preble, the author, the author's father, and other members of the family, add much to the interest of the work.
- The country is indebted to Captain Preble for many valuable articles, published in various papers and periodicals, on the ships and ship-building of the nation; steam vessels and vessels of war; articles relating to the navy; and an authentic account of "The chase of the Rebel steamer *Oreto* by the *Oneside*," under his command, for failure to capture which he was unjustly blamed.
- HARRIET. Memoir of, with correspondence. By R. M. Lee. New York : 1856. *Octavo*, pp., 409.
- PRENTISS, SARGENT S. Life of. By his Brother, Rev. George L. Prentiss. In two volumes. New York : 1855.
Both of these distinguished gentlemen were natives of Maine.
- PRESBYTERIANISM in Maine, New England. Greenleaf's *Ecclesiastical Sketches*; *Maine Historical Collections*, vi.; and *Scotch-Irish Immigration*, by William Willis.
- RAILROADS in Maine. Henry V. Poor, *Manual of Railroads in America*. New York : 1869.
- Survey of a route for a Railroad from Portland to Montreal, in 1844. By James Hall, C. E.
- Act to Incorporate the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railroad, February 10, 1845.
- Articles of Agreement between the Atlantic and St. Lawrence, and the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad, April 17, 1846.
- By-laws and Lease of the Atlantic to the St. Lawrence Railroad, 1855.
- Report of the gauge for the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad, 1847. By A. C. Morton. *Octavo*, pp. 68.
- Reports of the Directors of the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad, with statistics. Report of Engineer, etc., 1849. pp. 30.

- Rules and Regulations of the Grand Trunk Railway. Montreal : 1853.
- Proceedings of the First Meeting of the Shareholders of the Grand Trunk Railway, at Quebec, July, 1854.
- York and Cumberland Railroad. Report and Map. 1849. By A. C. Morton, C. E.
- Report of Directors, on the removal of F. O. J. Smith from the Presidency of the York and Cumberland Railroad. 1851. *Octavo*, pp. 64.
- Report of Committee of Investigation of York and Cumberland Railroad; with Myers' Contract and F. O. J. Smith's Letter. *Octavo*, pp. 95.
- Reports and Proceedings on Consolidating the Bonds, etc. 1857.
- Boston and Maine Railroad. Report of Committee of Investigation. 1849. pp. 79.
- Annual Reports of the Androscoggin Railroad, Androscoggin and Kennebec, Kennebec and Portland, Maine Central, Portland, Saco and Portsmouth, Penobscot and Kennebec, and Grand Trunk. *Octavo*. Pamphlets.
- Memorial and Petition to the Legislature of Maine, in behalf of the European and North American Railway. [By J. A. Poor.] 1850. *Octavo*, pp. 27.
- Proceedings of the Great Convention held at Portland, July 31, 1850, with numerous Statistics, Speeches, Charter of the European and North American Railway, etc. With Map. Published by order of the Convention. Portland: 1850. *Octavo*, pp. 170.
- Prospectus of the European and North American Railway. 1851. Correspondence with British Officials. Convention at Portland, October 14, 1852. Additional Charter, 1853; and Report of Survey, by A. C. Morton, Civil Engineer, with Statistics. *Octavo*, pp. 96, 20, 32, 148.
- Hon. J. A. Poor must have the credit of originating, and preparing for publication, and carrying forward the great European and North American Railway, which is now being pushed under other auspices and management, to a successful result.
- Annual Reports of Railroad Commissioners to the Legislature.
- Remarks at Belfast, July 4, 1867. See J. A. Poor.
- Trans-continental, Portland and Rutland. Official Record of Convention, April, 1868. pp. 59.
- Proceedings of International Convention, at Portland, August 4 and 5, 1868. Portland: *Octavo*, pp. 160.
- Explorations, Surveys, and Reports, Belfast to Quebec. By James Hall. Atlantic and St Lawrence. By A. C. Morton, Colonel Long, etc. Portland and Lake Champlain. By William Dearborn.

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The number of miles of railroad now in operation in this State, is shown by the following table of railroads in operation:

Portland, Saco, and Portsmouth.....	53
Androscoggin (with branch).....	69
Great Falls and Conway.....	8½
Boston and Maine.....	9½
Portland and Rochester.....	83
Portland and Kennebec, (with Bath branch).....	109
Atlantic and St. Lawrence.....	83
Portland and Oxford Central.....	97
Maine Central.....	110
Dexter and Newport.....	14
Bangor and Piscataquis.....	40
European and North American.....	53
Calais, Baring and Lewy's Island.....	22

Total..... 691

The number of miles now in progress of construction.

Portland and Ogdensburg (in Maine).....	50
Portland and Rochester.....	16
Belfast and Moosehead.....	33
Somerset.....	84
Knox and Lincoln.....	45

Total..... 178

RALE, Rev. SEBASTIAN. Life of. By Francis Sparks's *American Biography*.

..... Biographical Memoir of. Also, letters to and from him. 1724. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, III., viii.

..... A Dictionary of the Abnaki Language, in North America. With a Memoir, by John Pickering. *Transactions of the Academy of Arts and Sciences*, New Series, i. Also v., Appendix.

..... Letter to him, from Governor Shute, 1718. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, v., 112.

..... Two Letters from him, in *Relations of the Jesuits*.

..... Re-dedication of the Monument erected to him, at Norridgewock. *Democratic Advocate*, September 19, 1861.

RICH, O. See his *Bibliotheca Americana*; and his Catalogue of Books relating to America, for works on Maine.

ROCKLAND, History of. See Thomaston.

ROSIER, James. A true relation of the most prosperous Voyage made this present year, 1605, by Captain George Weymouth, in the discovery of the land of Virginia, where he discovered sixty miles up, a most excellent river, together with a most fertile land. Written by James Rosier, a gentleman employed in the Voyage. London: Impensis George Bishop. 1605. Reprinted in the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, v., 28.

..... A new edition of this interesting narrative was published by George Prince, of Bath, 1859; with comments, claiming that the locality visited by Weymouth, was the Georges-river, and not the Penobscot, as affirmed by Belknap. This led to a sharp controversy, carried on by John McKeen, Rev. Edward Ballard, Rev. David Cushman, and others, who contended for the Kennebec-river, as the true locality. Prince and others replied. These

- articles appear in the *Maine Historical Collections*, v. and vi.; and in *The Popham Memorial Volume*.
- SABINE, LORENZO. Report on the Fisheries. *Octavo*. See an article, on the same subject, by Mr. Sabine, in the *North American Review*.
- American Loyalists. History of the.
- SACO. A Topographical and Historical Sketch of Saco, County of York, District of Maine. By Rev. Jonathan Cogswell, August, 1815. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, II., iv.
- AND BIDDEFORD. History of Saco and Biddeford. With notices of other early settlements and of the Proprietary Governments in Maine, including the Provinces of New Somersetshire and Laconia. By George Folsom. Saco: 1880. *Duodecimo*, pp. 331.
- City Directories and Documents.
- SAGADAHOC. Early Settlements. By John McKean. *Maine Historical Collections*, iii.
- Popham's Colony. Strachey's account. See Popham and Strachey.
- George Popham's letter to James I., December 13, 1607. *Popham Memorial Volume*.
- SAGAMORE OF SACO. By Mrs. Elizabeth Oakes Smith.
- SALMON FISHING in Maine. By Doctor Hamlin. *Lippincott's Magazine*, May, 1869.
- SANDY-RIVER. A Poem. By David Davis. Farmington.
- SANDY-RIVER SETTLEMENTS. By William Allen. *Maine Historical Collections*, iv.
- SCARBOROUGH. The History of Scarborough, from 1633 to 1788. By William S. Southgate. *Maine Historical Collections*, iii., 237.
- SCHOOLS, COMMON. Reports of Superintendent. See Education.
- SCOTCH-IRISH Immigration to Maine. By William Willis. *Maine Historical Collections*, vi.; also in a separate pamphlet.
- SEARSPORT. Semi-Centennial Discourse on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Organization of the Church in. By Rev. Stephen Thurston, Pastor, October 4, 1865. Portland: 1866. *Duodecimo*, pp. 24.
- SEPARATION of Maine from Massachusetts. Address of Benjamin Orr, on. Brunswick: 1816. pp. 24.
- See, under MAINE and DISTRICT OF MAINE, various proceedings for.
- SENER, ISAAC. The Journal of Isaac Senter, Physician and Surgeon to the Troops detached from the American Army encamped at Cambridge, Massachusetts, on a secret expedition against Quebec, under the command of Colonel Benedict Arnold, in September, 1775. Philadelphia: Published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 1846. pp. 40.
- SEVERANCE, LUTHER. Memoir of. By J. G. Blaine. Augusta: 1850. *Octavo*, pp. 33.
- SEWALL, Rev. JOTHAM. Memoir of. By his son, Rev. Jotham Sewall. Boston: 1853. *Duodecimo*, pp. 408.
- SHAPLEIGH. History of Shapleigh. By Amasa Loring. Portland: 1854. *Octavo*, pp. 40.
- FAMILY. Genealogy. *Historical and Genealogical Register*, v., 350.
- SHAW, Colonel CHARLES. Personal Memoirs of. (Anonymous). In two volumes. London: 1837. *Octavo*.
- The same. Boston: 1821. Knapp's *Biographical Sketches*.
- Major SAMUEL, First American Consul at Canton. Journals of, with Life of the Author. By Josiah Quincy. Boston: 1857. *Octavo*, pp. 373.
- SHEEPS-COT. Ancient Settlement of Sheepscot. By Rev. David Cushman. Appendix by William Willis. *Maine Historical Collections*, iv.
- RIVER. A Description of. By Alden Bradford. See Wiscasset.
- SHEPARD, Rev. GEORGE, late Professor in Bangor Theological Seminary, and an able preacher and writer. His Sermons, with a Memorial. By Professor D. S. Talcott. Boston: 1869. *Duodecimo*.
- SHEPPARD, JOHN H. Life of Commodore Samuel Tucker, which see.
- Memoir of Benjamin Vaughan. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, xix., 343., and in a separate pamphlet.
- Mr. Sheppard, long a resident in Maine, and lately Librarian of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, has been a large and valuable contributor to the historical and genealogical literature of Maine; and his pen is still actively employed in the good service.
- SHIPPING. Report of the Valuation Committee to the Legislature, January, 1870.
- The aggregate Shipping of Maine, in 1870, was three hundred and seventy-six thousand, eight hundred and thirty-nine tons, valued at twelve million dollars. Of this, sixty-one thousand, six hundred and forty-eight tons were owned in Cumberland-county; thirty-seven thousand, one hundred and fifty-seven, in Hancock-county; fifty-six thousand, one hundred and fifty, in Knox-county; eighty-seven thousand, nine hundred and ninety-seven, in Sagadahoc-county; thirty-eight thousand, nine hundred and seventy-five, in Waldo-county; and thirty-three thousand, six hundred and fifty in Washington-county.
- In 1860, the tonnage of Maine was eight hundred and three thousand, and seventy-one tons, and there was built that year of new vessels, fifty-seven thousand, eight hundred and sixty-eight tons, exceeding by more than twenty thousand tons any other State.
- SHOAL ISLES. A Description and Historical Account of the Isles of Shoals. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vii.
- The dividing line of Maine and New Hampshire passes between the islands; leaving Haley's, Hog, Duck, Cedar, and Malaga Isles in Maine; the others in New Hampshire. These were originally called "Smith's Isles."
- SIBLRY, J. L. History of the Town of Union, which see.
- SKOWHEGAN. See Norridgewock.

- SMITH, GAMALIEL E. Journal of the Brunswick Convention. *See* Journal.
- Captain JOHN. Advertisements for Unexperienced Planters of New England and Elsewhere, etc. *See* New England.
- A Description of New England, etc. *Duodécimo*. *See* New England.
- Second Edition. Edited by Charles Deane. Reprinted from London Edition of 1608. *Quarto*. Boston: 1866.
- SEBA. "Jack Downing;" "Way down 'East;" etc.
- Rev. THOMAS, first Pastor of the Church in Falmouth and Portland. Journal of. By S. Freeman. Portland: 1821.
- Second Edition. With Notes, and Mr. Deane's Journal and Memoirs. Edited by W. Willis. Portland: 1849. *Octavo*.
- SOUTH BEEWICK. By Usher Parsons. *See* Pascataqua and New England Historical and Genealogical Register, iii., 250.
- SOUTH THOMASTON. *See* Thomaston.
- STARK. *See* Norridgewock.
- STARMAN, Rev. Mr. Account of German Settlements in Waldoboro'. *Maine Historical Collections*, v., 401.
- Biographical Sketch of. By N. Groton. *Maine Historical Collections*, v., 401.
- STATE PRISON. Report on the System of Disbursements, Labor, and Discipline of. By James G. Blaine. Augusta: 1859.
- STATISTICS of the Territory of Maine. By Joseph B. Felt. *Statistical Collections*, i., 42; and Seybert's *Statistical Annals*.
- STIRLING, Earl of. Petition of the Earl of Stirling, William Phillips, and Mary Trumbull, praying to be put into possession of somelands, called the County of Canada, granted to William, Earl of Stirling, in 1635, by the Council for the affairs of New England. 1760. (Addressed to the King.) *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vi.
- STRACHEY, WILLIAM. Account of Popham's Colony on the Kennebec, 1607. *Maine Historical Collections*, iii.
- SUBMISSION of the Inhabitants of Black Point, Blue Point, and Falmouth, to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, 1658. *Maine Historical Collections*, i.
- of the inhabitants of Kittery and Agamenticus, and privileges granted them, 1652. *Hasard*, i., 578-577.
- SULLIVAN, JAMES. History of the District of Maine. 1795. Which *see*.
- Governor JAMES. Life of. By O. W. B. Peabody. Sparks's *American Biography*, II., iii.
- Life of, with selections from his writings. By Thomas C. Amory. In two volumes. Boston: 1859. *Octavo*.
- SUNDAY-SCHOOL Convention for Maine, at Lewiston, September, 1869. *Octavo*, pp., 20.
- SYMME, Rev. ZACHARIAH. Sermon on "Loy-ell's Fight," 1725, and account of the Battle.
- TARIFF of 1820. Memorial of Delegates from the Agricultural and Commercial parts of Maine. Washington: 1820. *Octavo*, pp. 8.
- THOMASTON. Description of Thomaston in the County of Lincoln and District of Maine, 1794. [Anonymous]. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, iv., 20.
- General Knox, etc. *New York Times*, July, 1854.
- ROCKLAND, AND SOUTH THOMASTON, MAINE. History of. From their first exploration, in 1605; with Family Genealogies. By Cyrus Eaton. In two volumes. Hallowell: 1865. *Duodécimo*, pp. 468, 472.
- THORNTON, J. WINGATE. Historical Review of Ancient Pemaquid. *Maine Historical Collections*, v.
- Speech at the first Popham Celebration, with Notes and Authorities. *Congregational Quarterly*. 1863.
- Colonial Schemes of Popham and Gorges. Boston: 1863. *Octavo*, pp. 20.
- The Virginia Company's Northern Plantation. *Bath Daily Sentinel*, August, 1865.
- Mr. Thornton is a native of Maine; and for many years has been a close historical student and a prolific writer on historical and genealogical subjects.
- THURSTON, Rev. DAVID. *See* History of Winthrop.
- Sketch of his Life. By Rev. Thomas Adams. Portland: Pamphlet.
- TOPSHAM. A Topographical Description of Topsham, in the County of Lincoln. By Rev. Jonathan Ellis. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, iii.
- TRAGEDIES in the Wilderness. Narratives of Captures by the Indians. By S. G. Drake. Boston: 1841. *Duodécimo*, pp. 360.
- TREATIES with the Eastern Indians at Falmouth and other places in Maine. *Maine Historical Collections*, iv. and v.
- TRIAL of Bartlett and others, for the robbery of the Bowdoinham Bank, April, 1867. Portland.
- of David Lynn and others for the murder of Paul Chadwick, 1809. *See* John Merrick.
- TRUBNER's Bibliographical Guide to American Literature. A classified list of books published in the United States, during the last forty years. London: 1855. *Octavo*.
- TUCKER, Commodore SAMUEL. Life of. By John H. Sheppard, A. M. Boston: 1868. *Octavo*, pp. 384.
- TYNG, Hon. WILLIAM. Memoir of. By Rev.

Timothy Alden, Jr. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, x; and Willis's *History of Portland*.

UNITARIANISM. First preached in Maine, in 1792, at Portland, by Thomas Oxnard, whose communications with Rev. James Freeman, of Boston, and Belsham and Lindsley, in England, turned him from the Church of England. See *Smith and Deane's Journal*, and *Willis's History of Portland*.

Armenianism had early and widely prevailed, previous to this time.

A separation from other Congregational Churches took place on the Ordination of Rev. I. Nichols, in 1809, over the First Church, a Parish in Portland. Sermon by Doctor Barnard, of Salem, and published with other services. See *Smith and Deane's Journal*, and *Willis's History of Portland*.

The American Unitarian Association, established in Boston, in 1825, has issued a regular series of publications.

Year Books of the Association give account of the Unitarian Parishes in Maine, which numbered seventeen, in 1869.

A sharp controversy, between leading and eminent theologians, was kept up, on both sides, for thirty years from 1815, for which their numerous publications may be consulted. Doctors Stuart and Woods, of Andover; Doctors Ware, Channing, Rammuran Roy, Sparks, and others, were able contestants.

The Maine Ministerial Conference or Association was established in 1843; and holds annual meetings.

UNIVERSALISTS. The Parishes of this denomination are much more numerous in Maine, than those of the Unitarians. In 1869, there were six Associations in Maine.

Centennial Celebration of the denomination, held at Portland, Maine, January 20, 1870. Proceedings to be published of this Centennial throughout the United States, will furnish ample statistics of the denomination. The Rev. John Murray is regarded as the founder of the sect.

UNION. A History of the Town of Union, in the County of Lincoln, Maine, to the middle of the Nineteenth Century; with a Family Register of the Settlers before the year 1800, and of their descendants. By John Langdon Sibley. Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. "*E minimis maxima*." Boston: 1851. *Duodecimo*, pp. 540.

VAUGHAN, BENJAMIN. Memoir of. By John H. Sheppard. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, xix., 843; also, in a separate pamphlet.

..... Memoir of. By R. H. Gardiner. *Maine Historical Collections*, vi., 82.

VETROMILE, S. J. Professor EUGENE. Account of the Abnaki Indians. *Maine Historical Collections*, vi., 203.

..... Memoir of. By Rev. E. Ballard. *Ibid.*

VINES, RICHARD. Commission to, from Sir F. Gorges, 1639. *Sullivan's History of Maine*. Appendix, 413.

..... See Folsom's *History of Saco*; Willis's *History of Portland*; etc.

VIRGINIA BRITANNIA. By Strachey. See *POPHAM'S COLONY*, for title.

VOCABULARY of Words in the Language of the Quoddy Indians (name, Passamaquoddie; its meaning, Pollock Fish), located in Perry, Pleasant Point, State of Maine, on the waters of Schoodak, adjoining the British Provinces. — (Pleasant Point, in Indian, is *Seboiak*), *Schoodac*, an Indian word, signifies Burnt Land. — By Rev Elijah Kellogg, Missionary to the Passamaquoddy Indians. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, III., iii.

VOYAGE into New England. Begun in 1623 and ended in 1624. Performed by Christopher Levett, His Majesty's Woodward of Somersetshire, and one of the Council of New England. *Maine Historical Collections*, ii., 36; and *Massachusetts Historical Collections*.

VOYAGES to the East Coast of America, in the Sixteenth Century. By William Willis. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, xxiii. April, 1869.

..... The same. *Octavo*, pp. 12.

..... A Bibliographical Essay on the Early Collections of Voyages to America. By William Willis. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, xv., 97 and 205.

WALDOBOROUGH. Some Account of the German Settlements in. By Rev. John W. Starman. With a Biographical Notice of Mr. Starman. By Nathaniel Groton. *Maine Historical Collections*, v.

WALDO PATENT. Detail of the Patent of Beauchamp and Leverett. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, III., x.

..... Abstract of. *Hazard*, i., 304.

..... See, also, Eaton's *Annals of Warren*, and Sibley's *History of Union*.

..... Circular, in German, for Immigrants. *Maine Historical Collections*, vi.

WANDERING Recollections of a somewhat busy Life. An Autobiography. By John Neal. Boston: 1869. *Duodecimo*.

This veteran Author, a native of Portland, has, during a period of more than fifty years, wielded a very busy and trenchant pen, in poetry, romance, and miscellany, but which do not come within the scope of this Bibliography. His mind, at the age of seventy-six years, still burns with its pristine brightness and eccentricity. Few writers of Maine have been more

- sopions or vigorous. With Longfellow, James Brooks, Professor Henry B. Smith, and N. P. Willis, all natives of Portland, a rare list is presented of beautiful and popular authors, whose works will follow them.
- WARE, Judge ASHUR. Resolutions of the Cumberland Bar, and Address of United States District Attorney, George F. Talbot, on the retirement of Judge Ware from the Bench. Portland: 1866. *Octavo*, pp. 8.
- Journal of Joseph, of Expedition against Quebec, 1775, under Benedict Arnold. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vi., 129.
- WARREN. Annals of the Town of Warren, with the early History of St. Georges, Broad Bay, and the neighboring settlement on the Waldo Patent. By Cyrus Eaton, A. M. Hallowell: 1851. *Duodecimo*, pp. 437.
- WARE, French and Indian. Summary History of 1684-1760. By Samuel Niles. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, III., vi.
- WASHBURN, Governor EMORY. Speech at the Popham Celebration, 1868. *Popham Volume*; also, an elaborated article on the same subject, in *The Boston Daily Advertiser*.
- WATERFORD. A History and Description of, in August, 1803. By Lincoln Ripley. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, I., ix.
- WATERVILLE COLLEGE. Manual Labor at. By A. C. Hamlin. *Agricultural Report for 1867*.
- WAYMOUTH, GEORGE. His Voyage to the Coast of Maine, 1605. See ROSIER, and discussions concerning its locality, by George Prince, John McKeen, and others, in *Maine Historical Collections*, v. and vi.
- WELLS. A Topographical Description of Wells, in the County of York. By Hon. Nathaniel Wells. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, iii.
- WALTER, Superintendent on the Hydrographic Survey of Maine. Report on the Water-power of Maine. 1867. Augusta: 1868. *Octavo*, pp. 327.
- Second Report. Augusta: 1869. *Octavo*, pp. 528.
- These Reports are very thorough and valuable. They present a mass of facts on the physical formation and resources of the State, which convey a profound impression of the immense unused, but available, water-power, which must promote the future wealth and prosperity of this community. In my remarks introductory to this Bibliography, I quote from the Second Report, some statements relative to the physical condition of the State.
- WEST GARDINER. See Gardiner.
- WEEDS OF MAINE. Habits, Properties, and best modes of exterminating. By F. Lamson Scribner. Augusta: *Octavo*, pp. 62.
- WEYMOUTH, GEORGE. Belknap's *American Biography*. New York: 1844.
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- WHIPPLE, JOSEPH. View of Maine, Geographical and Statistical. Bangor: 1816. *Octavo*, pp. 102. See *Acadia*.
- WHITMAN, EZEKIEL. Biographical notice of. By John H. Sheppard. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, ii., 20, 381; and Willis's *Law and Lawyers of Maine*.
- Memoir of John Whitman and his Descendants. Portland: 1893. *Octavo*, pp. 44.
- WHITNEY, HENRY A. Incidents in the Life of Samuel Whitney, born in Marlborough, Massachusetts; died at Castine, Maine, 1808. Together with some account of his descendants, and other family memorials. Collected by his great-grandson, Henry Austin Whitney. Boston: Printed for private distribution. 1860. *Large Quarto*, pp. 97, xliii.
- WILLIAMS, REUEL. Memoir of. By John A. Poor. Read before the Maine Historical Society, 1868. With portrait. *Octavo*, pp. 66. See, also, Willis's *Law and Lawyers of Maine*.
- WILLIAMSON, JOSEPH. Although Mr. Williamson has produced no volume, his numerous and various historical and statistical articles, in numerous papers and periodicals, prove him to be an apt and learned historical student. Imbibing the taste and industry of his uncle, the learned Historian of Maine, he has collected a large amount of facts relating to that peculiarly interesting portion of our State, lying along the shores and islands of Penobscot Bay and River, with which he occasionally instructs our people, and which, we are encouraged to believe, will assume the more perfect and permanent form of a valuable historical work.
- WILLIS, NATHANIEL PARKER. Genealogy and Descent. A Genealogical Register of Ancient Puritans. By Abner Morse. Boston: 1859. *Octavo*, pp. 238.
- Mr. Willis was born in Portland, Maine, on the twentieth of January, 1804; and was the eldest son of Nathaniel Willis. The family is quite distinguished for the literary talent and execution of its members. N. P., the most brilliant, is favorably known, at home and abroad, as a Poet and Essayist.

..... WILLIAM. See *Morse's Register*, as above ;
The McKinstry Genealogy, etc.

WINDHAM. An Historical Address, delivered on the fourth of July, 1889, at the Centennial Anniversary of the Settlement of Windham. By Thomas Laurens Smith. Portland : 1840. Octavo, pp. 32.

WINTHROP. A brief History of Winthrop, from 1764 to October, 1865. By David Thurston. "Call to remembrance the former days." Portland : 1855. Duodecimo, pp. 247.

..... ROBERT C. Address before the Maine Historical Society. 1849.

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WOODS and Timber of the Province of Maine. The King's right to them. Opinion of Richard West, Esq., 1718. *Maine Historical Collections*, II., 268.

WISCASSET. A Description of, and of the River Sheepscot. By Rev. Alden Bradford. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, VII.

YORK. A Topographical Description of York. By the Honorable David Sewall, Esq. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, III.

..... COUNTY. Extracts from the Ancient Records of. *Maine Historical Collections*, I.

..... See *Willis's Law and Lawyers of Maine*, and *Williamson's History of Maine*.

NOTICES OF PORTIONS OF MAINE MAY BE FOUND IN THE FOLLOWING WORKS:—

Belknap's *History of New Hampshire*.

Barstow's *History of New Hampshire*.

Chalmer's *Political Annals of the United Colonies*.

Charlevoix's *History and Discovery of New France*, etc.

Drake's *Indian Biographies and Tragedies in the Wilderness*.

Dwight's *Travels in New England*.

Burke's *European Settlements in America, 1760*.

Halliburton's *History of Nova Scotia*.

Hazard's *Historical Collections*.

Hubbard's *History of New England*.

..... *History of Indian Wars*.

Jesuit Missions in North America.

All the Histories of New England and of Massachusetts, and of the United States.

La Hontan's *New Voyage to America*.

L'Escarbot's *History*.

Lettres Edifiantes of the Jesuit Missionaries in North America.

Mather's *Magnalia*.

Penhallow's *Indian Wars*.

Ogilvie's *Voyages*.

Purchas's *Pilgrimage*.

Winthrop's Journal.

American Quarterly Journal.

North American Review.

The Historical and Genealogical Register.

Census Statistics. Published by the United States.

Prince's *Chronological History of New England*.

Wood's *New England Prospect*. 1639.

Sparks's *American Biography*.

Bancroft's *History of the United States*.

Hakluyt's *Collection of Voyages*.

Hutchinson's *Collection of Original Papers relative to the Colony of Massachusetts*.

Holmes's *Annals*.

Bradford's *New England Chronology, from 1497 to 1800*.

Historical Magazine.

For Topographical features of the State and its Natural History, see Greenleaf's *Statistical View*, Williamson's *History*, etc.

II.—CLAIM AGENTS IN THE OLDEN TIME.

BY COLONEL THOMAS F. DE VOE.

At the close of the War of the Revolution, many of the principal Loyalists departed with the British Troops; leaving behind all their property. In fact, every thing which they could not carry with them was confiscated by the Laws. These losses, were, however, partially made good to them, by presenting them to the British Government; but we find some of their claims were so outrageous* as to cause Agents

* In letters received from London, it was said, "That several eminent Loyalists are now confined in Newgate, and are likely to be capitally convicted, for perjury, which, by a Statute of England, is made felony. A glaring instance of this of the impropriety of suffering people to swear in their own cause. We are apt to be warped by interest, which, with some men, preponderates over every other consideration. These hapless people were called upon to qualify to the amount of the losses they sustained by their attachment to Government; but, unfortunately for them, they exaggerated them so much as not to pass unnoticed. It is said that many who were never worth one thousand pounds, have laid their claims at twenty thousand, and, sterling, and others in the same proportion. As people of this description were instrumental in torturing to death many of our unfortunate countrymen, it is very probable the Mosaic Dispensation will be verified, 'That whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.'"

We find, also, an unfortunate Loyalist who had committed suicide while waiting for a settlement of his claims. A London paper, in the month of July, 1786, thus presents his case:—"The gentleman who put a period to his existence on Monday evening, was an American Loyalist. After losing the whole of his property, by an adherence to an unfortunate cause, he rendered very essential services to the Royal Army, and had every reason to expect some compensation from Government, to which he had sacrificed every thing. Administrations, however, more intent upon granting pensions to Commissioners than rewarding real merit, have suffered him to linger, in a cruel suspense, for near three years, until, at length, he was assured, that his affairs should be concluded to his satisfaction. Monday morning he learnt, that the

to be appointed by that Government and sent to the several large cities, where they were recognized by the authorities, to take evidence in the various cases presented.

In the following document, several citizens of New York, who were quite prominent before the Revolution, appear.

[ADVERTISEMENT.]

BROAD STREET, NEW YORK, 11th May, 1786.

WHEREAS JOHN ANSLEY, Esquire, of the Kingdom of Great Britain, has been specially appointed under the authority of an Act of the British Parliament, entitled, "An Act for appointing Commissioners further to enquire into the losses and services of all such persons who have suffered in their rights, properties, and professions, during the late unhappy dissensions in America, in consequence of their loyalty to his Majesty and attachment to the British Government," to repair to the United States of America, for certain purposes in the said Act mentioned;

AND WHEREAS the same has been duly notified and explained to his Excellency, George Clinton, Governor of this State, by his Excellency, John Adams, Minister Plenipotentiary, resident of the Court of London;

Notice is hereby given, that the said John Ansley has accordingly entered upon the execution of the trusts and powers in him vested.

AND WHEREAS several of the description of those called in England, Loyalists, have resorted, from different parts of the country, to put in their claims at the office in Broad-street, in this City, and applications have been made, from time to time, to the said John Ansley, to receive and admit the same, whereas no such authority is in him vested for that purpose;

Notice is therefore hereby further given: That the said office is open for the sole purpose of liquidating the amount in value of the losses sustained in this State, by hearing, inquiring, and examining into such facts and circumstances

as, and collecting such information as may be material, for the better ascertaining the several claims which have been presented, under the authority of the above mentioned or any former Act, to the end and intent that ample justice may be done in the premises, that the bounty of the British Government may be upheld in all cases, and confined to its proper objects; and compensation adequately and impartially administered to the several claimants, in just proportions, according to their pretensions, as the proofs thereof shall be found to require.

AND WHEREAS the unliquidated loss of the said claimants and the number of claims are considerable in this State, whereby it becomes necessary to regulate the order of preference in the examinations, *It is proposed*, that the arrangements of the same shall be made according to the local situation of the subject matter of loss, in respect to the particular District within which such loss has been, or hereafter may be, fully ascertained, in consequence of sale by the Commissioners of Forfeitures; and that the enquiry shall commence with the Southern District of this State, and therein in the first instance with the cases of

Brigadier General Oliver De Lancey, Mr. Isaac Low, Mr. Hugh Wallace, Mr. Alexander Wallace, Colonel Beverly Robinson, Colonel Roger Morris, Robert Bayard, Esqr., and Colonel James De Lancey, in the order following, that is to say—

Monday, the 15th of May instant, is allotted for the enquiry into the case of Brigadier General Oliver De Lancey.

Of Mr. Isaac Low, on Tuesday, the 16th day of May, instant.

Of Mr. Hugh Wallace, on Wednesday, the 17th day of May, instant.

Of Mr. Alexander Wallace, on Thursday, the 18th day of May, instant.

Of Colonel Beverly Robinson, on Friday, the 19th day of May, instant.

Of Colonel Roger Morris, on Saturday, the 20th day of May, instant.

Of Robert Bayard, Esqr., on Monday, the 22nd day of May, instant.

And of Colonel James De Lancey, on Tuesday, the 23rd day of May, instant.

On which days such further directions and appointments will be severally and respectively made, as the occasions and circumstances of each case may require, and all persons in any way interested in the enquiry, as above directed, either as friends, relatives, or agents, to prove the titles of the Claimants, or as Creditors having demands on the estates confiscated, either by way of Mortgages, Bonds, Debts, or otherwise, are hereby requested to attend, at

"*Jack in Office*, had left Town, and his business unsettled. A ray of hope (the only resource of the wretched) no longer remaining, he charged a pistol with three balls, which he lodged in his breast, leaving on the Table, the following card, addressed to his landlord:

"FRIEND WILSON;

"*I rush into the presence of that Almighty Being, who penetrates and sustains nature, neither doubtful nor diffident. For this last, and not only act of my life, which I condemn, let those who have reduced me to a fatal alternative, answer. The loss of fortune, and embarrasments of situation were enough;—the insolence of office might have been spared! Let my remains, if an ungrateful country chooses it, be impaled. They have starved me while living, let them mangle me when dead: It will be a memento of the idiot, who devoted himself to such a people.*

"*Forward the enclosed to a wretched sister in New York, by the next packet;—she will remit you the arrears, which I am unable to pay.*"

the said Office, in Broad-street, in the order of time above mentioned, with their respective proper vouchers, to the end that the same may be examined into, and the actual loss of each Claimant ascertained accordingly.

N. B. The names of other Claimants, as they occur, in the order of examination, will be published in this paper; and the days appointed for their enquiry, from time to time, as occasion may offer, whereof proper notice will be given.

III.—LETTERS FROM THE FIELD.

WRITTEN TO HIS RELATIVES, BY MAJOR PHILIP J. KEARNEY, ELEVENTH NEW JERSEY VOLUNTEERS.*

1.—*To his Mother.*

CAMP NEAR FORT MARCY, VA.

Tuesday evening, September 2nd, 1862.

DEAR MOTHER:

I should have written you before, but this is the first moment of time I have had. We left Trenton, Monday, at ten; on arriving at Philadelphia, in the afternoon, we received quite a nice dinner at the Saloon they have near the Camden-ferry; and then marched through the city to the Baltimore depot; we arrived at Baltimore about ten o'clock in the evening—there we all got supper; after marching through the town, between depots, we stayed in the open depot all night, leaving at nine the next morning, for Washington. On arriving at Washington, a dinner for all hands was served up; but, instead of the nice dinner of Philadelphia, there was only a piece of bread with a piece of meat laid on it. Some of our men lost their appetites suddenly. The meal did look rather rough to recruits. In the afternoon, we marched six miles beyond Long-bridge, to Camp Seward; arrived there at six, P. M.; and pitched our tents in a hurry. I was very near tired out, as you know I had not had too much sleep the week before leaving Trenton; and I was up all the way down, in the cars, taking care of my men—no light job—for the way whiskey passed into the cars, at every stopping place, gave us trouble enough. The next day, after arriving at Camp Seward, I was made officer of the day, for that day; and, in a new camp, I had enough to do. In the afternoon, just after I had got the camp nicely cleaned up, came an order to strike the tents, pack up, and march to Alexandria. We got everything ready to go, when an order came to wait as we were, until further orders; so we lay out all night, in a slight rain. In the hurry, no thought had been taken

for supper. So, seeing the men all hungry, I went to the Quarter-master; and drew coffee and bread for the Regiment; and saw it dealt out myself. We took to coffee-boiling all night. I had a busy night of it, looking after the guards and passing among the men to keep them quiet. This was their first night in *bivouac*; and they were rather inclined to be noisy, singing, etc. At four, A. M., I lay down on the ground, near the guard-fire, for an hour; but as it was drizzling, did not enjoy my nap much. At nine, next day, I was relieved, my time being up and by right excused from all duty for twenty-four hours. I had some Company business to settle, but was really too sleepy to attend to it, so let it drop. The tents were all put up again and mine very nicely floored with boards. We all thought then we would have a few days rest. Next morning, at three o'clock, I was woke up by the Colonel and ordered to get my men ready to march at once for Chain-bridge. I dressed as quickly as I could; and got my men all out, while it was yet dark. The whole Regiment went out on the road. Here we waited until dawn and then started for Chain-bridge. Two Regiments followed us for the same place. On reaching Chain-bridge, we found the plank torn up to prevent any one passing, as they—the green hands at the bridge—had got a great scare from reports. We waited until a path of two planks was laid down, then passed over and went beyond Fort Marcy, about half a mile. Here we drew up in line, to await the enemy, (five thousand Cavalry) whom, report said, had flanked Pope. General Doubleday said he expected them down the road, (the Leesburg Turnpike) every hour, for a few hours. We had the honor of being in the front; but, in the evening, a Regiment from the Peninsula, the Seventh Michigan, passed us, and went a mile beyond, up the road. There was not a tree where we encamped; and the sun came down powerfully. I built a shed with my blanket, and entertained the Lieutenant-colonel and five more, under the shade of it. We foraged around; got fried chicken, peaches, corn, potatoes, etc.; and, for a time, kept a hotel; in the evening, we were withdrawn to our present Camp, just back of the Fort, to keep us out of harm's way. It is a *mighty rough* hillside—all stumps, brush, etc. Here we bivouaced, as we had no baggage; made a small fire for each Company, to give us a little light; and lay down, as it was after dark. When we arrived, we had no time to make ourselves comfortable; and, as the men left Camp in the morning, in their blouses, with neither overcoats nor blankets, when the rain came on, we were *rather* unprepared. All hands were up early—and I secured one of the three kettles that could be found in the Regiment and had coffee made for

* We are indebted to our friend, General J. Watts de Peyster, for the use of this series of letters.

the men. All day, Saturday, the men amused themselves, building bough-huts. Just as we were going to bed, mine fell down, so I had the pleasure of another rainy night in bivouac, with only my blanket, for all three of us. Sunday morning, the tents arrived, and, as it rained, were put up regardless of order. Monday, the Colonel sent for me; asked me if I was not an Engineer; and told me to lay out the camp and see it put in order. I had quite a job of it yesterday and to day; this afternoon, just as I had it looking nicely and was going to Washington, to get something I am badly in need of—a cook, etc.—an order came from General Whipple to get our men at once into line, to await an attack. It is now all quiet. I believe it is a humbug; do not think Stonewall has any idea of seeing us, though we are ready for him. When we came here, we were alone. The hills looked bare, now they are covered with Camps. One Regiment is about half a mile in advance of us. I am too sleepy to write more—love to all.

Your affectionate son,
Direct Capt. PHIL J. KEARNY,
Co. A. 11th Regt. N. J. Vols.
Washington, D. C.

2.—To his Mother.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 3^d, 10, P. M.

I came in, to day, on business. I am so sorry for Phil. I saw his body. What a hard thing for his wife, alone now. He had his faults, but he was a noble fellow. There is one universal expression of regret for him. Love to all. I go to Camp to-morrow.

PHIL.

3.—To his Brother, Edward.

CAMP NEAR FALMOUTH, VA.

December 9th, 1862.

DEAR BROTHER EDWARD:

As the Army moves to-morrow, no one knows where, I may not have an opportunity to write again for some time. I came down here on a leave of absence for three days—(I am still on detached service) on the third instant—but when I wished to go back, and sent my order to Head-quarters to obtain a pass back to Washington, there was some hemming and hawing, both at Brigade and Division Headquarters, about wanting all their officers here; but it passed up, since which it has not been heard from since; heard it stopped at General Sickles. As General Barnard, under whos orders, I am, ordered me to report to him on the sixth, for duty as Engineer, and General somebody, under whose command I am not, refuses me a pass to do so, I do not

know how it will turn out. Mean time, I am very well satisfied to be with my Company, as I had intended applying to be relieved so as to join them. I want to be with the Army, while active operations are going on, but would like to set at the defence of Washington again, after the Army goes into winter-quarters. It is a pretty rough life, winter campaigning with men in little shelter tents and officers in tents. Snow has laid on the ground, two inches thick, for four days now; weather freezing all day till today. Luxurious, is it not, to sleep on the ground, in a tent, without fire, thermometer down in the twenties, and getting up in the morning to a breakfast of hard crackers and coffee. But with all that, I have never felt better than I do now. The only inconvenience I experience, is, that coming down in a warm day, I brought only a thin civilian overcoat; no mess-chest; and baggage at a lower standard than the Georgian cavalier's, for, as the story goes, his consisted of a collar and a pair of spurs: whereas, mine only consisted of a paper collar. When we consider that there is no chance of borrowing, as every officer carries just enough for himself, and moving, it may be, several weeks before I can get even rough Government clothes, it is no laughing matter. After shaking in my tent, without fire, for a week, to-day I set to work like a beaver, to build me a log hut and mud chimney. Just as I was putting the finishing touches on the chimney, came the order to get ready to march—So it goes—Consoled myself, for the loss of my shanty, by a "bully" beef soup; laid in, at least, two days rations, of it. So I now feel ready for the march. I often wonder how I stand it here, so rough, and improve on it, while I was so sick recently; for I came very near doing what the prayer-book calls "leaving this transitory scene of illusion," and giving the Regiment, the opportunity of attending an officer's funeral. But I ain't dead yet, and am able to damage as much of Uncle Sam's rations, as ever. As to where we are going, I have not the least idea, and what's more, don't care a ——— Report varies, from the upper Rappahannock to the lower Peninsula, some say to Suffolk; I say nothing. We strike tents, to-morrow, at three, P. M.; march after dark; that clears us of one night's bivouac in the snow; wish I had some whiskey; none procurable hereabouts; shall by and by get some *hospital stores* for the occasion. I shall need it; for the longest walk I have taken since I was sick is four miles. If we have an action soon,—and I think we must, inside of three or four days—I hope to stand some chance of a Majority, so that I can get on horseback. I hate this confounded foot work;

and if I should get any promotion, I would just as lief, and a little rather, go in some other Regiment. Ours is, by no means, the best that has left New Jersey. Our men are not of a high standard, either socially, morally, or physically. Already, over two hundred and fifty are unfit for duty. Our officers, with few exceptions, are mechanics, and of that class, that do not suit me as companions; and our Colonel, (though I believe him an excellent man), as a Colonel, is very inefficient and unpopular with the men. But talking of promotions, I guess I am counting my chickens before they are hatched, as I may leave a vacancy for some one to be promoted into. I enclose note for Mother, but there is no need of her knowing there is any chance of an action. I am in CARR's Brigade, SICKLES' Division, STONEMAN's Corps, HOOKER's Grand Division. So you can see by the papers where I am, mean time. With love to sister Jane and the family, I remain

Your affectionate brother

PHIL J. KEARNY

4.—*To his Mother.*

CAMP, NEAR FALMOUTH, VA.

December 10th, 1862.

DEAR MOTHER:

I sent you a short note last week, before leaving Washington, but I had no time then to write more. I have been here a week now; it is a pretty cold, rough life, this winter campaigning; but I never felt better or in better spirits, in my life. Snow has lain here for five days. It freezes all day. Sleeping on the ground in a tent, without fire, and getting up in the morning to a breakfast of hard crackers and black coffee, is not, to say the least of it, an effeminate mode of life; but it agrees with me wonderfully. I have had to let out my belt six inches since I was sick; and the button holes of my coat and other garments show evident signs of giving way.

Though down here, I came on a visit: am not yet relieved, formally, from my detached duty at Washington.

Love to yourself and the girls,

Your affectionate son

PHIL.

5.—*To his Mother.*

BIVOUAC IN FRONT OF FREDERICKSBURG.

December 11th, 4½ P. M.

DEAR MOTHER:

While I am laying here, I think that a few lines to you from the front may prove acceptable. We have been laying in this position,

about one mile from the river, since early this morning. About five, this morning, the ball commenced, by a heavy artillery and musketry fire—rather exacting to us new hands, as it was only about one and a half miles off. The enemy had attacked our bridge party. At seven, our Brigade formed and took up position, with the whole of Sickles' Division. It has been a magnificent day, as to weather, but rather tiresome, as the novelty of the Artillery firing soon wore off, and now no one pays it any attention. The fire, now, is almost entirely from our own side; the enemy replying feebly. Fredericksburgh will soon be a used-up city. I was down to the front, this afternoon. The city was on fire in several places, Sharpshooters being stationed in the houses of the town, to pick off our artillery-men; and they knocking any house down from which fire came. It is a great sight, the mass of men concentrated about here. Every place seems full, in front and rear, and on our side; the Brigades and Divisions, Cavalry and Artillery, the massed columns looking like black spots in the distance; the bands have been playing for the amusement of the men—quite a treat, as they have not exercised themselves much, lately, on account of the extreme cold weather. General Phil's old Division is immediately on our right, a little to the front; report says they will cross first. I carry four days rations on my back; got two dozen "McClellan pies," or hard crackers, in my blanket, besides meat, coffee, sugar, salt, tea, etc., in my haversack. Coming down from Washington only for three days, I brought no servant, so I have to "tote" things myself, much to my lazy-self's dislike—however, it is pleasure to think that it is a rapidly decreasing load. I hold a queer position, coming down here for three days, on a leave of absence from General Barnard, with orders to report to him at Washington, at the expiration of that time. General Sickles, here, refuses me a pass and keeps my order also, so that although actually here and in command of my Company, I am reported every morning absent on detached service; and my Lieutenant signs himself as commanding Company. As I have not been relieved from engineering duty, I should render myself liable, if I reported for duty. As it is General Sickles from whom my pass must come; and he must bear the blame of my not reporting. It is a very pleasant position to me, as it renders me in a measure independent, having all the excitement, though none of the tiresome Camp work. Occasionally a rabbit, and just now a turkey, started from the brush; when follows a commotion as it passes down between the Regiments, all wanting fresh meat for supper. I just heard

that three Regiments, the Seventeenth Michigan, Nineteenth and Twentieth Massachusetts, have forced a passage into Fredericksburg, and taken fifty prisoners. Other troops are passing over and the bridge by which our Division crosses, is reported nearly ready. It is getting dark, and the burning houses of the town make an illumination in that direction. I shall take supper and then try and get some sleep on my pine-leaf bed, which I have been at some trouble to get together, and try and get a little nap, before seeing what the night will bring forth.

Your affectionate son
PHIL.

6.—*To his Mother.*

BIVOUAC AT PONTON BRIDGE, ONE MILE BELOW FREDERICKSBURG,
8 A. M., December 18th, 1862.

DEAR MOTHER:

I wrote you a letter from our position in front of Fredericksburg, day before yesterday, saying we expected to cross soon. We did not, however, but lay down to sleep, as we were. Though warm, at sundown, it soon became freezing. I lay down, to try and sleep, but soon gave that up, as my feet were wet, and icy boots are not conducive to slumber; I walked up and down the line of our Regiment, stopping occasionally at one of the few fires, there, until four o'clock came; some of my men getting up, made a fire, when taking a scanty breakfast, I sat pretty comfortably, till seven, when we were ordered to fall in, and in ten minutes we were marching, as we supposed, to cross the river. On getting near there, however, our Division formed on one side of the road, while some of Sumner's Corps passed us, to cross first. There has been some slight firing early this morning, but now a heavy mist settled every where, and both sides had to stop firing, as it was impossible to distinguish any object at a slight distance. We lay still till two, P. M., when the fog had cleared off and the firing recommenced very briskly. Our Division fell in and started on the road to Fal-mouth, up the river. We had gone but a slight distance when we were counter-marched, and took a road down the river, ankle deep in clay, every where. It was hard work marching. The road, bad as it was, we soon left, going across fields, through little wood-roads, etc., until, shortly after dark, we had made about five miles and brought up in the middle of the woods, where we all stacked arms, and building fires, cooked supper, and prepared to make ourselves comfortable for the night. Calling to mind my last night's experience I determin-

ed to sleep this night, any how. So taking axe, although already pretty well tired, I set to work, determined to be tired enough to sleep, no matter how cold; besides taking an opium pill, I succeeded admirably in getting tired; but unfortunately, just as I had fixed my bed, feet to the fire, and was putting the finishing touch to the pillow, the order came, "fall in." Not much pleased to abandon our comfortable position, off we started. The woods through which we marched, were, (although it was a pitchy dark night) almost as bright as day, with the Camp fires. Two of our Regiments, we one of them, had to go to the bridge and guard it. Down the hill we went, through the mud—worse than any we had even met in the day, for once, out of the Camp, we could not see where we stepped. We reached the bridge, drew up in a line on our side; made a fire; and after our necessary cup of hot coffee, I lay down with my feet to the fire, at twelve; and until after five this morning, was oblivious of everything. This morning, everything was perfectly still, until, about fifteen minutes ago, when a musketry fire commenced; and now both sides are at it with a will. We are down on the river bank, and, consequently, can see nothing, as the fight is over the hill, on the opposite side of the river. The order is, "fall in."

Good bye,
PHIL.

7.—*To his Mother.*

BATTLEFIELD, LEFT-CENTRE-FRONT.
December 14th, 8 P. M.

DEAR MOTHER:

I closed my last letter in a hurry, hearing the order, "fall in," and expecting we were going to move at once. It was for some trivial cause, however, and we stayed where we were, at the bridge, all day, listening to the fight going on before us. When I stopped writing, the fight was pretty hot, about half a mile across the bridge. We drove them (Franklin only, was engaged, then,) about a mile. Then the fight went on without much advantage on either side, till dark. Once our men reached the railroad in the woods, but were driven back. Hooker's Grand Division kept moving over, during the day. Sickles' (our) Division crossing about three, P. M., leaving the two Regiments, (ours and the Sixteenth Massachusetts) still guarding the bridge. Soon after they crossed, the rebels attacked our centre. The fight, then, seemed nearer than ever before; and, for a few minutes, till the rebels were repulsed, it was a pretty lively time—I was on the hills, on both sides of the river, several hours,

during the day; and had a splendid view of the battle. The farthest point was not as near, as I could judge, by the difference between sight and sound, over one and a half miles off. The heaviest fight was on the right, where Sumner had all he could, to hold their own. His men stood nobly, though at times the fire on him, both from Artillery, Infantry and Musketry, must have been terrific. Just at dusk, it was a splendid sight. Before, when a shot was fired, we could see nothing but smoke; now we could see the fire. The rebel line advanced, and the batteries opened briskly, at the same time. The flashing of the musketry, along the straight lines, the cloud of white smoke and brilliant flash of the cannon, while it was yet just light enough to see the men, was a magnificent sight, and more like the battle pictures than anything I had seen in the previous two days. From dark till seven, there was a straggling fire from right to left. Then, all became quiet, and we lay down for the night. Fortunately, we moved a few yards, to a nice sandy place; and as there was no frost, I had a most comfortable night's rest. Sand seemed like feathers, after the hard frozen ground of the night before. Early this morning, the firing recommenced; and just as we finished breakfast, we received orders to march. We crossed the river, and marched over a well trampled field, to the Richmond road, passing, on our way, the Regiments of our Division that were fighting yesterday. It is another splendid day, and our new colors look well, causing remarks from the old hands, such as "Those colors won't look so pretty, long," etc. Passing New Jersey Regiments, there was a general interchange of greetings, inquiries, etc. We formed in rear of a Field Battery, by the road. We lay there for a couple of hours, then marched a few hundred feet, to the front line, and, up to this time, have been sending out two Companies at a time, to skirmish, relieving them every two hours. The rebels lie in the woods, about half a mile off from the main line. Our Army lies on a large elevated plain, with scarce a tree. I went out at twelve, with my Company—was out until two. We were firing till past one, when both sides stopped, to remove the wounded of the previous fight. At times, the bullets whistled briskly for a minute or two, then dying away. The first two Companies lost two killed, five wounded. We were very fortunate, "nobody hurt." I was much pleased with my men. They were very cool. Three bullets whizzed around my head, making one start like the hiss of a snake. They do not make a pleasant sound, so close. All is quiet now, four and a half P. M. The wounded are being brought in, under a flag of

truce. A large mail has just come for the Regiment, and we are all waiting, impatiently, for it to be sorted. It is some days now since I heard from home. My Company, when we left Trenton, was the next to the smallest in number, almost all "boys," so that we were laughed at, as a "Boy Company." To-day I have one of the largest Companies in the field, of the Regiment; and the Doctor says, have had less sick, and lost fewer, by death, (only one) than any other; of the thirteen that are absent now, sick, in convalescent Camp, hospitals, etc., eight are over twenty-five years of age, and the man who died was over that age—so much for Boy Companies. The mail is just ready—no more, till I get that. Love to all.

Your affectionate son
PHIL.

8.—To his Mother.

CAMP, NEAR FALMOUTH, VA.,
December 18th.

DEAR MOTHER:

The fight is over and we are all back in our old Camp—I am well. Love to all; too cold to write more—will write a long letter in a day or two.

Your affectionate son
PHIL.

9.—To his Mother.

CAMP, NEAR FALMOUTH, VA.
December 26th, 1862.

DEAR MOTHER:

I sent you a short note from Camp here, ten days ago. After we had recrossed, to this side of the river, it was cold, and I was in too much of a hurry, just then, being ordered out on picket, to write more. I sent you several letters during the battle. The last on the fourteenth; after I had returned from skirmishing. I was out again last night, between ten and twelve. It was very quiet, though, only a few bullets whizzing; next morning, our Regiment fell back a few hundred feet, being relieved in turn, and we stayed on that line all day. I had rested badly for some nights, and determined to have one night's rest, if possible. We were in an old cornfield; I took an axe and using it as a spade, levelled the furrows, to make a place for a bed; then dug it up, to make it soft; put up a screen from the wind; laid down some corn-husks; and then sat down to cook some supper, occasionally casting an eye over towards my bed, with a feeling of inward satisfaction. Disappointed hopes, however, for I had not lain down more than two hours, when the order came "Fall in." We did, and stood for some time until

the order came to march; crossing the river, we went about two miles, passing thousands of troops who had crossed before us, bivouacing in the woods. We were drawn up in the woods in turn, stacked arms, and lay down again. In about an hour, a stream of water coming under the blanket, stopped all sleep. Nothing could be done, in the way of shelter, so we had to stand in the rain 'till morning. Then the sun came out clear. We dried ourselves and in the afternoon, marched back to our old camp. Lay still there all next day, and on the day following received orders to go out on picket. The weather was pleasant when we started, but that night it became cold, intensely cold; and lasted for the whole time we were out, (three days); water froze in the brooks, so we could walk on it. Now, sleeping in the open air is not the pleasantest thing in the world, with the thermometer down in the twenties, or lower. Laying with feet to the fire, water would freeze in the canteen at my head. And then to have to get up occasionally to visit the sentinels, to see the Field Officer, or some such thing, giving me a splendid opportunity of getting chilled through; I didn't like it, and hope our turn for that work won't come again till warm weather. Sunday, we returned here, glad to get in our tents, mean as they are. We had slept in them only one night in ten. I have had mine newly strewed and a chimney built; the one I built the day before leaving for the battle having been pulled down. I have been a little unwell from the effects of that picket trip, but to day feel much better. Why do you not write? The last letter I had from home was from Lilly, December 2nd, nearly four weeks ago, I sent you two letters. Did you not get them? Love to all of the girls. Happy New Year to all of you.

Your Son,

PHIL.

Please send me when you write a few postage stamps, can't procure them here, and I am afraid my letters, which have been franked, do not all go as straight as if stamped.

PHIL.

10.—*To his Mother.*

BIVOUAC, JAN. 21st, 1863.

DEAR MOTHER:

After being under marching orders for three days, and each day postponed till next, we started, at one, P. M., on Tuesday, for no one knows where. It was a dull, cloudy day, with every appearance of a coming storm. It went very much against the grain to leave my house at such a time, but had to do it. We marched nearly four miles; then stopped to let other Divi-

sions who were to take the lead, pass up. At dark, it commenced raining; and, at eight, we received orders to return to camp. Off we started, and such a march, road full of stumps and ruts, bad enough in daylight, but now men were falling everywhere. Rain right in our faces, made the matter worse. When we reached camp the wagons were not to be found; so we put up our shelter tents before our old fireplace—our A tents were in the wagons—and, after drying ourselves, lay down with the intention of sleeping—vain hope, for it soon commenced raining harder than ever and beat in on us, every where, wetting us thoroughly, which was not so pleasant, especially when the fire went out; besides, three laying under one set of blankets, turning over was an impossibility, unless by mutual consent; and laying so long on one side, on the ground, made our bones ache. One leak was just above my head. I say one, but the whole tent was one general leak. Daylight came at last, and we got up; alas for the vanity of human expectation. I had dried my dress coat and boots, the night before, and put them in the safest place I could find, determined to have something dry and warm in the morning. When I reached for them, however, I emptied a pint of water out of one of my boots, and found my coat perfectly saturated. Before we could dry them or get my breakfast, the order came "fall in." It took some work to get the men in ranks, nearly all having had as bad a night as we had. I got a cup of hot coffee, just on the point of starting, which set me up. It is the greatest necessary of camp life. Off we trudged, through clay, over ankle deep, and often water, deeper. I felt pretty well loaded down, my clothes all wet, my blanket, piece of tent, and winter blanket weighed double what they did the day before, and with my three days rations and canteen of whisky, with my turn at the axe, made all I wanted to carry. At first, the cold, damp wind on our clothes felt very disagreeable, but our load soon started the perspiration, and then we were warm enough, except when we halted. It rained all day, and has, up to this time, Thursday morning. Soon after two, we stopped in a little piece of woods. I could not have gone two hundred yards farther, but was up with the colors. My place is just behind them, and I had not left them all day. The Regiment had dwindled down to about fifty men; and, as the colors came up, the Colonel exclaimed, "What! is this the centre of the Regiment?" I had some ten men of my Company, but the rest, except some half dozen, were up by five o'clock. We pitched our shelter tent, and I lay down and slept for a couple of hours; got up; ate some supper; and, after drying our blankets as best we could, in the rain, lay down for

the night. But it was merely a repetition of the previous night. These shelter tents are made of very light canvass, scarcely heavier than shirting, in pieces five feet square, with buttons and button holes all round. Each man carries a piece and when they stop, cut two crotch-sticks and a cross pole, button two pieces together and pin them to the ground on each side. The third piece makes the back. The front is left open, and just outside a fire is built, which keeps the tent warm and *smoky*. These tents are made, I should think, for small men, for we had to gather up our feet to keep them inside. But even that was of no avail, for in the night the wind changed around to the front and the rain came right in upon us; even our overcoats under us got wet; now the rain has stopped for a short time, but the sky is still too heavy for us to hope it is for good. The boys are taking advantage of it, to dry themselves, and I have a fine fire in front of my tent, which only sends in a puff of smoke once in a while; to let us know it is there. When we will continue our march, I do not know. Three cannon shot were heard at daylight this morning; but I have lost my bearings entirely, and neither know where they were or where I am. Thanks to all three of us Officers, having a canteen of whisky apiece, we have taken no colds, and now I am warmed up, feel all right; but I am getting a great advocate of the armies sitting still for a few weeks, till the weather moderates, and letting those gentry who hallo, "forward," try it. Papers may say what they please, but the army is dissatisfied with the way things are going on in Washington. Men whose families are begging at home, have six months pay coming to them; and, while they do not get it, they see the big contractors at Washington getting theirs; they curse the President for his Emancipation Message, and I do not believe, should he make his appearance here, a decent cheer could be raised for him. The nine months men are the most dissatisfied, belonging to a class generally used to more comforts, etc., than those who enlisted for the three years, and believing they were going to do garrison duty, while, instead, they have been marched and fought like old troops. They are the most homesick men I ever saw. God help the men in power now, if ever this Army goes home! The abolition party has seen very near its last hours. Whenever the Army come out, it will go home *pro-slavery*, almost to a man. Love to all the family. I will write to you as I get opportunities, unless my paper gets wetter than it did yesterday; it came very near spoiling.

Your affectionate Son,

PHIL.

11.—To his Mother.

CHANCELLORSVILLE BATTLEFIELD,

Monday morning, must be 4th May.

DEAR MOTHER:

I wrote a short note to Edward, from our Bivouac, on the left, below Fredericksburg. Since then we have had pretty hard work. We left camp last Tuesday, at five, P. M., marching slowly a few miles; we reached our Bivouac near the river, at half-past ten, P. M.; I was tired out, had been up writing all the night before, and busy during the day, so when we reached the Bivouac, I threw myself down to sleep, and did not know till morning that my men had put blankets over me; next morning we moved near the pontoons, and our whole Corps was massed in the woods. It is a fine opportunity to see all your friends on an occasion like this, as so many are massed within a few yards. In the morning, the Sixth Army Corps crossed and began throwing up intrenchments; very little opposition was offered to them. We spent the night there, and the next Thursday morning also; at one, P. M., we started for the right, going around through the valley (ruse mentioned by McDougal) to prevent our men from being seen by the enemy. It was a hard march, for the direct distance to the United States-ford, where we were to cross, was about fifteen miles, and we went a round about way, besides which our men were very heavily loaded. At ten, P. M., we stopped for an hour to make coffee, and then went on a couple of miles and stopped for the night, about four miles from the ford. Leaving there, the next morning, at ten, we crossed the river on a pontoon-bridge at United States-ford. The rebels had had strong works there, but Hooker crossing above, had turned them and forced them to abandon them. Resting here, for half an hour, we were ordered quick up to the front where an engagement was going on. We reached within a few hundred feet of there, but the fight had nearly ceased and we lay in the woods waiting for events; we were roused several times, in the night, by slight attacks on our line, but they were only attempting to reconnoitre it by the enemy.

Saturday morning, we lay in the same place. About one, P. M. the rebels found out we were there and began shelling us. One shell, passed about a foot from one of my men and took off the leg of one of our Captain's servant. Our batteries soon stopped that, however. At five, P. M. the Eleventh Army Corps broke and ran in a most disgraceful manner. We were ordered out, on a double quick, for half a mile, to take their places and soon put

a stop to the enemy's advance. The Eleventh Army Corps passed us in great confusion. Our line once formed, the rebels made no further attack where we were, until nine, P. M. We were in the second line, about as far as from the house to the Round Table, from the Excelsior Boys, who were in front. The rebels tried to break through, but couldn't come it. Our line lay down, and let the balls whistle over head; one of our batteries, back of us, sent a few shells over our heads, into Secesh; and that started them back. At eleven, P. M., they made a determined attempt to break through our line, and then the scene was magnificent; the moon was full and showed splendidly, breaking through the few scattered clouds. The Infantry volleys were continual; and when the Batteries of both sides opened with shell, the scene was glorious. It lasted about half an hour. Then all was quiet again. At half-past one, we were moved to the left, a few hundred yards, and took up our line, our left resting on the Culpepper Plank-road. I lay down to sleep, but was called up several times, by slight attacks on our line, that amounted to nothing beyond rousing us up. At five o'clock yesterday morning, (Sunday) the fight commenced, the rebels attacked in force all along our line; and from then till half-past ten, A. M., it was as hot work as has been in any battle fought yet. While the first line was engaged, our line was lying down, but still suffered severely from the shower of ball and shell that passed over; I lay next the colors. My Orderly Sergeant just behind me, was killed, shot in the brain, and one minute more both the color staffs were broken, and one or two more shot close by. At half-past seven, Phil's old Division,* who were in front of our left, broke and came in, in a mass. A few minutes more, and our advance line was driven in; Frank Price passed and spoke to me; he was in command of his Regiment, which had just taken four rebel colors and retaken one of our own; we were now uncovered and advanced a short distance; a rebel line appeared in the woods, and, for a few minutes, the fire was awful, seven of my men were hit, which, with the number it took to carry them to the rear, reduced my Company very much. Two Lieutenants in Company B were killed instantly, and ten other officers wounded; others had narrow escapes, having their clothes torn by shell and ball. Our men wavered a moment, when the Adjutant, the Colonel, and myself sprang in front, my men calling out to follow me, came on together with the Companies on each side, both

of whose Captains were wounded. Directly, we were joined by other Companies, and, charging into the woods, gained quite a piece of ground. Our supports and Regiments on each side gave way; General Berry was killed near by us; and the Regiment gave way. The Adjutant and myself tried to keep some men behind a bank made by the road, but just then a rebel Regiment came out of the woods close by. A few of our boys stopped and fired at them, and they sent a regular hail-storm after us. The whistling past of the volley was awful. Getting on one side of the road, to avoid the storm of railroad-iron and shell the rebels now sent down it, I went up the hill and joined the Regiment, which had rallied about one hundred and fifty men, behind the Batteries. Several Regiments had rallied there, and we lay down to avoid the shells the rebels were throwing. Soon the rebels made their appearance in our rifle pits, on the crest of the hills, and began picking off our cannoniers. Several of us Officers of the different Regiments, sprang to the front for a charge. We had gone but a few steps, when all our men come on at a full run, in a crowd, without distinction of Regiments; we caught a heavy fire as we came across the field, but as we neared the rifle pits, it was fun to see them getting out. We fired several volleys from there, which must have told awfully, for they were very thick in front; some of Birney's* men gave way again on our left flank, and we had to go back there again. The loss going across the open field was heavy. We rallied at last, near our old Camp. General Meagher came up with his Irish Brigade; he was splendidly dressed, on a white horse. Taking off his hat, he rode in front of his men, who were wavering under the fire, "Men will you follow me," and off he went, his men hurrahing and running after him. Secesh found it too hot for him and got out of that in a hurry. We were now, our Regiment, separated from our Brigade; we had stayed under fire longer than they had. They, on coming out, had been re-formed, and sent down the road to the right. General Sickles placed us to support a Battery, for an hour. It was now twelve o'clock. Laying down to avoid, as much as possible, the shells that were bursting over us, nearly all fell asleep, fatigued too much, to mind such trifles. At once, we were ordered to the right, a short distance, to join our Brigade; lay there awhile; and returned here, where we now form part of the Reserve line. Got here at four, P. M., (fourth of May.) I went hunting around for some ammunition, to replenish what we had used; got it and then

* The famous Major-general Phil. Kearney's "Fighting" First Division, Third Corps, Army of the Potomac.—J. W. deP.

* The original may read Berry, name almost illegible.—J. W. deP.

lay down to sleep. In leading the charge on the rifle pits, I had thrown away my haversack and blanket, as they bothered me running; I now regretted it, for I am both cold and hungry. Got a few crackers; lay down and took a nap; woke up by a man who said there were some of our men at a Field Hospital, a short distance off, who wanted to see some one; went down and attended to what was wanted, and returned to the Company, to sleep. At two, A. M., the rebels roused us up, by a slight attack in our front, which was soon disposed of; and though I was so chilled by my previous cool nap, I lay down again, and slept till morning. Now, half-past two, Monday, our line is being strengthened, and all quiet, except skirmishing going on in front. General Whipple was mortally wounded, close by here, a short time ago. Our Corps has been unfortunate; two of our three Division Generals being killed. General Sedgwick, with the Sixth Corps, whipped the rebels handsomely, below Fredericksburg, yesterday, afternoon. We heard very heavy firing there. To-day, there is a report that Butler has brought fifty thousand men to Fredericksburg, and will cross there. Everything looks well for us, and bad for the rebels; hope, before long, to be in Richmond. I telegraphed to you last evening, chance if the wires were not too busy with official business, to let it pass. My men behaved nobly; about fourteen of them, always first to advance, last to retreat. When the Regiment rallied, Company A was the largest Company there, and every one had stayed through the fight. I was proud of them. Guess I am sure of my Majority now. I was curious to know how it felt to be under a heavy fire. Am quite satisfied now. Standing in the front line of the fight, or leading on a charge, all sense of danger left, there was so much to attend to and the excitement, though terrible, was pleasant. I could see men torn in pieces by shell close by me, and the blood and brains either, and not feel even a shudder. But to lay in the second line, and receive the bullets which passed the front, whistling by your ears, and yet not able to return the fire, nothing to occupy your attention, except to keep your men down—which they do generally of themselves—is by no means pleasant, especially to one of a nervous temperament, like myself. My Company came over the river, forty-two strong. I have now thirty here. Our front is about as far off, as from our house to the head of the lane. They are digging away, there, making rifle-pits, like good boys. I will draw a sketch of our part of the field, and send it to you; no more now, unless something should happen, before I send this.

Love to all, and yourself,

PHIL.

12.—To his Mother.

May 7th.

The battle is over, and we are back in Camp. Have been under fire twice, since writing the above; but each time unhurt. Suppose we will be in Camp for some weeks. Will write as soon as I can, but do not expect a letter soon, as I have a great deal of writing to do for Company business.

Love to all,

PHIL.

13.—To his Mother.

CAMP NEAR FALMOUTH, VA.

May 7th, 1863.

DEAR MOTHER

I sent you a note this morning, which I had written on the field; but I had no time to add more: have been very busy to day, to provide accommodation for my men. We were ordered on the field, to stack our knapsacks, etc., while we went to the front, where we were needed very much. As the rebels got possession of the ground, before we got back, our things were either taken by them or burnt by our own men; consequently, we are very short of clothing, shelter-tents, etc.; and my men were glad to get some old thrown away tents, to cover them from the rain. I think I gave you a sketch of what had happened to us up to twelve o'clock, Monday. We lay at that Bivouac, till about four, P. M., when we were ordered to the extreme advance to support sharpshooters. From our front line, (of the army) to where we were ordered, was about an eighth of a mile, across an open field. We laid down at the edge of the woods; while close in our front were Berdan's Sharpshooters. It was an ugly position; every time an enemy's Sharp-shooter caught sight of an officer, a bullet would whiz past, closer than was agreeable, particularly as we had no chance of replying. One fellow paid me several compliments, though I did not think my shoulder straps were particularly bright. At five and a half, P. M., everything was quiet along our line, except an occasional picket shot, when a volley came from the rebels about a quarter of a mile on our right; our picket then fell back and our Batteries opened on the woods. There, as the attack came around towards us, the other two picket-Regiments fell in. Then came a few shots in front of us; and our Sharpshooters, the famous "Berdan's," fell back disgracefully, in less time than I can write it. The rebels had poured an Infantry volley into us, from all sides; a second more, and they followed that with shell and grape-shot; then, to make matters worse, our own Batteries (that

were firing about three feet above the ground) mistook the range, and burst their first shell among us. It was the hottest place that ever I was in, or want to be. Our men fell back in confusion, some stopped in a hollow in the centre of the field, the balance, about one half, continued on, into the intrenchment. To cross the field was terrible. The Artillery of both sides played along its surface, our own firing at the roots of the trees, in the woods, and the enemy firing low, at our Batteries. Many of our men were hit. We went out on picket about two hundred, and in less than three minutes twenty-five were hit, several having arms and legs torn off by shell. I was with that half that entered inside our line; and there, as the enemy lengthened their range, the shell was terrific, for a few moments. I was standing, during the shelling, inside, talking to Frank Price. He is a brave fellow, and has done well—during the last action, has had command of his Regiment. When the fire became more moderate, I tried to collect our men inside, but they were yet so much scattered, it was impossible to do so. I then went out to the hollow, and found the Lieutenant-colonel in command there. Talking with him what to do, he sent me inside the line, to get instructions; not being able to find the officer readily, I came out and advised our replacing the picket line at once, which we did. In about half an hour, our Colonel, having collected the balance of our Regiment, inside, brought them out also. We lay there all night; the enemy attacked several times; but it did not amount to much. We suffered most from the cold; I walked up and down the line, nearly all night, to keep warm, as I felt the cold very much; my overcoat having been lost with the blankets. My rubber blanket and haversack I threw away, while leading a charge, on Sunday, as they were in my way. In the morning, while several of us sat together, eating breakfast, the rebels enviously broke up our party, by a volley that sent us back to our Companies. We had a repetition of the scene of the day before; but our loss had taught us the lesson that the open field was no place for us, between two fires; so, confident in the power of our Batteries to repulse the enemy, we lay close and let their fire pass over us, which it did, though only about a yard above, near enough to feel the wind. Some few unlucky shells burst short and hurt some; but the loss was trifling compared with what it would have been, had we made another attempt to reach our line, in face of it. One shell burst just above me; hit a man at my side; and scattered the pieces of the shell, not the man, among my Company, fortunately hitting no one else. It is a trying thing to lie still, while two fires are passing so close

above you. From then till one, P. M., when we were relieved, there was only occasional firing; but it was very hot, in the sun. We lay, in the edge of the field. Several men were sun-struck. All were tired out and hungry; and it kept me busy, trying to keep their spirits up and attending to the sick. A *small* whiskey ration was served out, but the men, taking it on empty stomachs, with a hot sun on their heads, began raising their heads and keeping up a buzzing talk, which drew a volley from the enemy on us. That brought them to their senses; and they laid close and kept quiet, as they were ordered.

On going inside our line, I went down to a brook and took a wash. On looking around, found preparations going on, that convinced me we were going to abandon our position. About five, Captain Hoxey, the Division Ordnance Officer, came to our Regiment to see what ammunition we wanted; and, in course of conversation with me, said he wanted twenty muskets for the Second New York Regiment. I told him, if he would go with me, I would get them; so, taking some men, went out on the skirmish line and picked up eighteen good ones that had been dropped by our wounded. On returning, a terrible shower came on, and before we reached the Regiment, I was drenched to the skin. Even there, I had no shelter; and when the worst was over, and drizzling rain and wind came on, I felt it like a knife—cold and wretched, in my thin summer blouse. It got quite cold. At eight, P. M., we received orders to get in line, to move immediately. Our men received no rations, as the trains had all recrossed. So, tired and hungry, we stood in line till half past ten, when we received orders to lie down, for the night. The Colonel's pack-horse had come up; and he pitched a small tent, and offered me a bed. Wet as I was, I fell asleep, instantly, only to be roused before twelve o'clock, to get ready to move. Again we got in line, and stood till three o'clock, A. M., when we commenced moving for the Pontoons, three miles off. The motion soon warmed me; so I did not feel the wet. Reached the Pontoons by daylight. Marching by mass, the Army marches slow. Reaching the Pontoons, I saw what I never want to see again—our Army on a retreat. Massed at the river, it was slowly defiling across two bridges and winding up the different narrow ravines, on the opposite side. I was now very busy, for the Colonel being very hoarse and I being the second in rank, I had to give the commands; acting as Field Officer. After coming a mile on this side, we stopped; made coffee; and moved on, seven miles further—halted an hour to rest, for the roads were awful bad, as dur-

ing Burnside's Mud March; and then marched on for our old Camp. It was a cold, raw, drizzly day; but the exertion of marching kept us warm; and we reached Camp at about five o'clock, P. M., having marched eighteen miles. Going to the Sutler's, got a can of preserved mutton, and commenced discussing it, immediately; was disappointed in getting dry clothes, as on opening my valise found clothes, papers, books, etc., all wet. Gave my men my tent, and slept on the floor of the Adjutant's. Did not wake up till eight o'clock, this morning—have been busy as a bee all day, so many different Reports called for and should have been writing (business-writing) to-night, but did not feel in the humor. Have my old quarters, though, as yet, they do not look as comfortable as usual. The country is looking beautiful, trees and flowers came out in last few days. To get some apple blossoms, after the taint of the battlefield, was quiet refreshing. Our Regiment has lost severely; few have, I suspect, lost more. Our loss is twenty-one killed, one hundred and forty wounded, ten missing—either wounded or killed—making one hundred and seventy-one, in all; while we, as a Regiment, took into action only a little over four hundred, making nearly one man out of two, hit—a tremendous proportion. My Company's loss is slight, comparatively—one killed, seven wounded; which, as we held a very exposed position, next the colors, and were the last Company to leave the field, (going in the fifth largest Company, and bringing the largest Company to the rallying behind the battery) I can lay to having kept them from huddling together, and in two ranks all the time. Our Regiment has gained a good deal of credit; we and the One Hundred and Twentieth New York are the only new Regiments in the Division, which is one of the oldest in the Army. Yet, we, the Eleventh (not the One Hundred and Twentieth New York, which left first) were the last to leave the field; and the only Regiment of our Brigade which rallied to charge the enemy from the Battery, which we did, with the Jersey Brigade of our Division. I wish we were in it, instead of with our Yankee Brigade, which is, however, good enough.

* * * * *

Love to all and yourself,
PHIL.

14.—To his Mother.

CAMP, NEAR FALMOUTH, VA.
June 11th, 1863.

DEAR MOTHER:

Yours of the fifth, received last night. Glad

you are up in the mountains at last. The air will, I am sure, do you good. When you go to Squam Beach, I think I will join you there, for a few days, if possible. Nothing new at all, here. Have just got my new tent, a large one, fixed. A wall-tent to myself is a luxury I have not had before, since leaving Fort Ellsworth. Have a man to work, to-day, making easy chairs, bath-tub, etc.; hope to get them all done by the time we move, and have to leave them. I am still on the Court Martial. It is lazy work, but gives me all my time, except from nine till two, to myself, a fine chance to read. The position of Major is the pleasantest in the Regiment. Our Court Martial house is in a cherry orchard; and, fortunately, just now, they are ripe. Even poor cherries are a luxury, in the way of fruit here.

* * * * *

DEAR MOTHER. While writing this, within Court, an Aid came down from Corps Headquarters, and ordered us to our Regiments, at once. We went in a hurry. Orders came down to the Regiment, at twelve o'clock, to get ready to move, at once. By two and a half, P. M., we were off, bag and baggage. Nothing left. Quick, was it not? We marched till eight, P. M., and lay down in a field, near Hartford Church. Roused at five, yesterday morning; we breakfasted; and were off at half past six. It was a hot day, and the roads awful dusty; but the men kept up well, although heavily loaded. I feel the luxury of being on horseback; I could not have footed it, yesterday. We marched till nine and a half, P. M., when we halted, near the river. We passed the Orange and Alexandria Rail-road, at Rappahannock Station, about two miles back. To-day, we lay still, unless something turns up. The men are glad of a rest. Our whole Corps, the Third, moved. Ours (the Third) and the Sixth seem to be relied on, for the hard work. Do not expect to hear from me for some days, as I may not have another opportunity of writing. Love to all.

Your affectionate son,
PHIL.

15.—To his Mother.

BIVOUAC, NEAR TANETTOWN, MARYLAND.
June 29th, 1863.

DEAR MOTHER:

We left Gum Spring, Virginia, last Thursday noon, en route for "My Maryland," crossing the Potomac at six in the evening, turning, then, up the tow-path of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, towards Harper's Ferry. It was raining, as in fact it has done, ever since. We marched very long and fast, the General wish-

ing the Corps to reach the Monocacy-river, which it did at eleven, P. M., or rather part of it, for some Regiments were not represented at all. Ours consisted of ten men. The balance of the Corps was scattered eight miles back, along the tow-path, where the men had dropped down in the mud, worn out. We, who reached the Monocacy, marched twenty-seven miles. I was tired out, as I had walked a good deal, the latter part of the way, and, on reaching the point where we were to stop, lay down on the grass, in the rain; drew my blanket over me; and slept until half past four in the morning, when I started back, to bring up the stragglers, who all got up by eleven o'clock, and we were ready to start again. The men crossed the Monocacy on the Aqueduct; horses and teams were fording. The river was high, and the banks bad. It was an amusing scene. We took an inland road and reached Point of Rocks, at five, P. M. Our Brigadier-general having hurt himself by a fall from his horse, Colonel McAllister commanded the Brigade, leaving me the command of the Regiment. Next morning, Saturday, the twenty-seventh, I was ordered to take my Regiment and guard the Division Wagon-train. The Division left Camp early: but I had to wait till one, P. M., before our train came past, when I placed my guard on it, for six miles, to Jefferson; when the train going to Middletown, except that of our Brigade, which followed our Brigade to Crampton's Pass. We reached the Brigade there, at nine, P. M. Burkheadsville, in the pass, is quite a pretty little place; and the church-bells ringing in the morning, made it seem home-like. We thought we would get a day or two for rest; but, at seven, we got the order to march again. Crampton's Pass (Gap) you may remember, is where a battle was fought, last year. We reached Middletown; and from there went to Frederick City. We passed through there, late in the afternoon. The streets were filled with officers and soldiers of the Corps which were around there; and the windows and doors with ladies, many of whom waved flags and handkerchiefs to us, as we passed through, with colors flying and bands playing. Campaigning in Maryland is much pleasanter than in Virginia. The country is much finer, a perfect garden. I have never seen finer farms, or a more highly cultivated country. The people welcome us, every where—flags are hung out, and we go along, with bands playing, etc. It looks something like life. We passed five miles beyond Frederick, across the Monocacy; and, at ten, P. M., bivouaced in a field. This morning reveille at half past three; at five, we started and marched till five, this afternoon, going just beyond Taneytown and

four miles from Pennsylvania. Living here is good—butter, eggs, chickens, bread, milk, etc., abound.

* * * * *

Your affectionate son,
PHIL.*

IV.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO.—The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio was incorporated thirty-eight years ago. The primary object of the Society, as announced in its original Constitution, was "research in every department of local history; the collection, preservation, and diffusion of whatever may relate to the history, biography, literature, philosophy, and antiquities of America—more especially of the State of Ohio, of the West, and of the United States."

To secure this object, annual Addresses were delivered by prominent members of the Society; historical and other communications were read before it; and suitable books, pamphlets, manuscripts, relics, etc., were accumulated. Volume I. Part I. of the *Transactions of the Society* was published, in 1838. Unfortunately, not a single copy of this is now in the possession of the Society. Volume I. Part II. was issued in 1839. This contains Judge Burnett's *Letters relating to the settlement of the Northwest Territory*; General Harrison's *Discourse on the Aborigines of the Ohio Valley*; and other important matter. In 1849, Hildreth's *Pioneer History* was published by the Society; and, in 1852, Hildreth's *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of the Early Pioneer Settlers of Ohio*. Judge Burnett's *Letters*, revised and enlarged, were also published under the auspices of the Society, in a separate volume, with the title, *Notes on the Settlement of the Northwest Territory*. All these volumes are extant and easily attainable. The Society holds, for exchange, duplicates of its various publications.

Between the years of 1849 and 1855, George T. Williamson made to the Society a donation of several rare and costly works, among them, a copy of Lord Kingsborough's *Mexican Antiquities*, published at London, in nine large folios, elaborately illustrated. The first seven volumes of this magnificent publication are estimated

* Mortally wounded on the second of July, four days after this was written.

to have originally cost \$300,000. Among other works understood to belong to Mr. Williamson's contribution, are a number of volumes of old English Chronicles, in Latin; eleven volumes of English State Papers, of the time of Henry VIII; the *Naval History of Britain*, by Hon. Captain George Berkley, a large folio of seven hundred and six pages, with index, printed in 1756; *Register of the Great Seal of the Kingdom of Scotland, from 1306 to 1424*; *Acts of the Lord-Auditors of Causes and Complaints of Scotland, from 1466 to 1494*; *Acts of the Lords of Council of Scotland, from 1478 to 1495*; and a dozen or more other volumes of proceedings, ordinances, records, &c., relating to the early history of Scotland and England.—*Cincinnati Gazette*.

THE CIRCUIT OF THE COMMON.

I send you several measures of the Circuit of the Common, found among the papers of the late Isaac P. Davis, Esq. W. M.

- "Waldo Higginson gave me the
"measure line of the fence, 1½ miles
"and 2 rods.....5973 feet.
- "William P. Parrott gave me the
"measure round the Common....5938 "
- "Mr. Tilden, the Mason, gave me the
"measure, 507 lengths of iron fence,
"11 feet each, 5577. Gates and open-
"ings, 400.....5977 "
- "Book printed by Ezra Lincoln, in 1821—ac-
"tual Survey, by J. G. Hales.
- "Upper Corner to lower Corner of
"Boylston-street.....559 yards.
- "Boylston to Charles-street.....223 "
- "Charles-street.....465 "
- "Charles to Beacon-street.....437 "
- "Park-street.....148 "

"Measured on line of fence....1942-5826 feet.

"~~Mr.~~ Mr. Parrot's note is dated the seventh
"of June, 1848."

BURNING OF SUGAR CREEK CHURCH.—This venerable Church, within three miles of Charlotte, North Carolina, was recently burned by an incendiary. Thousands, in other States, all over the South and West, will hear of its destruction with deep sorrow. Emigrants from this Congregation and their descendants are scattered, far and wide, and carry with them the characteristics of Sugar Creek—sturdy independence, integrity, fair dealing, and love for truth.

This Congregation was organized in 1765, under Rev. Alexander Craighead, a celebrated Minister in his day. He is the true father of the Mecklenburgh Declaration of Independence, May 20th, 1775, more than a year before the

other Declaration. The Convention that met in Charlotte, on that bright May day, was largely from Sugar Creek; and its President, Abraham Alexander, was an Elder in that Church.

BAPTISTS IN PHILADELPHIA.

In 1698, nine Baptists formed the Society now known as the First Baptist Church, and worshipping at Broad and Arch-streets. The nine original members met in a small frame building known as the Barbadoes-lot Store, formerly situated at the Northwest corner of Second and Chestnut-streets. In this building, John Watts preached. Three years later, the congregation removed to Anthony Morris' brew-house, on Water-street, where it remained until 1707; and then removed to a wooden building on Second street, near Arch, which was erected by the Keithians, a sect of Friends, in 1692. In 1731, the Baptists demolished this building and erected a brick one, forty-two by thirty feet. This was taken down in 1762, and one, forty-two by sixty-one feet, erected upon its site, and, in 1808, this was enlarged. This site is now built up with stores and other buildings. During the Revolutionary War, the Church remained without a Pastor. The Church erected a Baptistry, on the banks of the Schuylkill, near Spruce-street—it was of brick, eighteen by thirty-six feet. Measures were taken, in 1852, to erect a new Church; and, in 1856, the congregation removed to their splendid Church edifice, on the North-west corner of Broad and Arch-streets.

The John Watts mentioned above was the ancestor of the Watts family in this county, among whom was William Watts, Esq., Associate Judge of our Courts, who died thirty-five years ago. He was born at Leeds, Kent, England, on the third of November, 1661. He landed and settled in Lower Dublin, Philadelphia-county, 1686. On the twenty-third of February, 1687, he was married to Sally Eaton. He joined the Baptist Church, at Pennepeck, the same year; and was baptized by Elias Keach, on the twenty-first of November. He became Pastor of this Church, after Keach left. He was elected to the office, on the thirteenth of December, 1690; but was not ordained, on account of the dislike entertained for Keach, who must be employed on the occasion, as no one else was qualified. In April, 1695, he was invited to preach in Philadelphia, at the First Baptist Church, which he did, occasionally, till his death. He died at Pennepeck, of small-pox, on the twenty-seventh of August, 1702; and was buried at Cold Spring, near Bristol, in Bucks-county. He was a man of good understanding and a

fine speaker. His talent for public speaking first brought him into notice. Morgan Edwards says of him, that he was "an English scholar." He wrote a book entitled *Davies Disabled*, in answer to what were considered the heresies of Reverend William Davies, a Keithian preacher. He also published a Catechism, in 1700. He ordained Samuel Jones. Mr. Watts had quite a contest with Mr. Davies, whom he excommunicated, in 1698, because of his false doctrine. Davies charged him with iniquity in his excommunication; and challenged him to a public discussion of the points he considered heresies. This was declined; but Mr. Watts proposed to leave the equity of his conduct to the decision of six men; which was agreed to. They met at the Keithian Meeting-house, on the twenty-third of May, 1699, when Mr. Watts and his Church were justified; and an instrument of writing given to that effect. The umpires chosen by Mr. Watts were one Independent and two Presbyterians; and those of Mr. Davies three Episcopalians.—*Doylestown Democrat*.

PHILADELPHIA MINT.—A pamphlet, by William M. Runkle, Esq., gives the following account of the United States Mint, at Philadelphia. From it, we learn that the Mint was established in 1792. The first Director was David Rittenhouse. James Pollock now holds that position. The first authorized money, copper cents, was coined in 1793. Silver dollars appeared in 1794; and Gold Eagles, in 1795. Steam power was introduced in 1816. The present building was completed in 1833; and was made fire-proof in 1854. It is open to visitors, from nine to twelve, A. M., except on Sundays and holidays. Over thirty thousand visitors, have been shown through it in a single year. The first gold was received from California, on the eighth of December, 1848. The purest gold in our country comes from Georgia. The process of assaying, as given, is interesting. The sweepings of the "melting-rooms" have amounted to fifty thousand dollars per year. The engine, of twenty horse power, in the coining room, is the finest in the United States; and is almost entirely noiseless. The gold and silver coins are nine hundred parts pure, with one hundred parts copper alloy. The Cabinet is a great centre of attraction to visitors; as it contains, among other things, specimens of the coins of all nations—even those of ancient Rome, A. D. 177 to 222, and of the Greek Republic, 800 to 700, B. C. There has never been an attempt made to break into the Mint. Up to 1870, over eight hundred million dollars worth of money was coined there.

V.—NOTES.

EARLY ESTIMATE OF WASHINGTON, BY THE ENGLISH.—In a Biographical Dictionary, published in London, about 1804, edited by John Watkins, a British Tory, there is an account of Washington half as long as that accorded to the Great Duke of Marlborough, and longer than the notices of George I. and II. and St. George put together. It follows him with honors through all his career. "The history of "Washington," it says, "is the history of the "American Revolution. To his intrepidity, "prudence, and moderation, the Americans were "almost entirely indebted for their independence. In his farewell to the Army, the "magnanimity of the hero is blended with the "wisdom of the philosopher. He retired to "Mount Vernon, like Cincinnatus, and set "himself to complete those favorite improvements in Agriculture, which had been suspended." It gives a summary of his subsequent political life; and justly places among his important acts, that, in the last year of his Presidency, "he effected a Commercial Treaty with "Great Britain;" while, in our day, every blockhead, in high or low estate, seems to think a rupture with that country, no matter about what, an end to be desired.

SHALL WE RE-ENACT IT?—Until the year 1770, this law was in force in England:—"Who-soever shall entice into bonds of Matrimony "any male subject of Her Majesty's, by means "of rouge, white paint, Spanish cotton, steel "corsets, crinoline, high-heeled shoes, or false "hips, shall be prosecuted for witchcraft, and "the marriage declared null and void."

THE DEATH OF WASHINGTON.—The following letter from Chief-justice Marshall tells the story of the action of Congress on the death of Washington, and may be interesting to collectors of Washingtoniana.

NEW YORK CITY.

T. B. M.

"RICHMOND, March 29, 1882.

"DEAR SIR :

"Your letter of the 25th reached me last "night. The transaction concerning which you "enquire passed in the following manner. As "the stage passed through Philadelphia, some "passenger mentioned to a friend he saw in the "street, the death of General Washington. The "report flew to the hall of Congress and I was "asked to move an adjournment. I did so. General Lee was not at the time in the House. On "receiving the intelligence, which he did on the "first arrival of the stage, he retired to his room

"and prepared the Resolutions which were adopted, with the intention of offering them himself. But the House of Representatives had risen on my motion; and it was expected by all that I would, on the next day, announce the lamented event and propose Resolutions adapted to the occasion. General Lee immediately called on me and showed me his Resolutions. He said it had now become improper for him to offer them, and wished we to take them. As I had not written anything myself, and was pleased with his Resolutions, which I entirely approved, I told him I would offer them the next day, when I should state to the House of Representatives the confirmation of the melancholy intelligence received the preceding day. I did so. You will see the facts stated in a note to the Preface to the *Life of Washington*, p. v., and again in a note to Volume V., p. 765.

"I am, dear Sir, with very great respect,
"Your obedient

"J. MARSHALL.

"Whenever the subject has been mentioned in my presence, I have immediately stated that the Resolutions were drawn by General Lee; and have referred to these notes in the *Life of Washington*.

[Addressed]

"The Honble

"CHARLES W. HANSON,

"Baltimore,

"Maryland."

THE FIRST BUILDING ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN.—Sir Henry Moore, Governor of New York, and General Carleton, while on a visit to the upper end of Lake Champlain, in the month of September, 1766, to settle some boundary difficulties, were visited by a deputation from the Cachnawagha Indians, when one of the Chiefs, in his address of welcome, said: "Since we lived under the *French* Government, we enjoyed our hunting and fishing about this Lake, without interruption or molestation; and were assured by the *French* Governor to continue so to do, as long as we lived hereabouts. But now, Brothers, since this Lake and Country is in your possession, (since 1763) we find there have several settlements been making thereupon, which, altho' it was not the case in the *French* time, yet we make no objection to it; all that surprises and alarms us is, that some of these new settlers have told some of our people, that they should not hunt within their right. Should this be the case, and they have it in their power so to do, it would at once frustrate our present hopes of His Majesty's good will towards us,

"and deprive us of our principal subsistence and livelihood.

"As to the first building ever made upon Lake Champlain, it is well known to be *Crown-point*, which our middle-aged men all well remember; and the Six Nations hearing of it, immediately remonstrated against it, to the *French* Governor, who telling them it was to guard against a sudden attack from the English, prevailed upon them, with difficulty, to let him finish it, which, at last, they consented to, with conditions, that no other settlement should be made upon the Lake, hereafter, which he readily engaged in and promised to observe."

NEW YORK CITY.

DeV.

VI.—QUERIES.

AMERICAN KNIGHTS.—In a book recently published, *The Old World compared with the New*, it is asserted that William Franklin, ex-Governor of New Jersey, and Benjamin West, the painter, were knighted in England. What foundation is there for this statement? I believe there is none. It is the first time that I ever heard of the knighting of William Franklin; the statement as to West I have met with before; but it was only made to be contradicted. West's religious principles, as a Quaker, would have prevented his accepting such an honor.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

D. W.

THE GOLD BOX PRESENTED TO WASHINGTON BY THE EARL OF BUCHAN.—Can any of the readers of the MAGAZINE inform me where this box is, and in whose custody?

NEW YORK CITY.

C. W. E.

FRANKLIN, AS A MASON.—I am anxious to learn when, where, and by whom Benjamin Franklin was made a Mason.

NEW YORK CITY.

R. McC.

VII.—REPLIES.

WHO WROTE IT? [*H. M. II.*, vii., 56.] I cannot answer the question concerning *Swiss Family Robinson*. Our edition is a re-print from the English.

NEW YORK CITY.

M. M. HURD.

THE DUANES. [*H. M. II.*, v., 336.] The family of James Duane, of New York, and that of William J. Duane, of Philadelphia, were both of Irish origin. The father of James Duane was an Irishman. William J. Duane and his paternal grandfather were natives of Ireland.

Nothing is known as to any relationship between the two families. It is understood that they use the same coat of arms—that given in Keating's *History of Ireland*, as belonging to "the ancient family of O'Duane."

In this history, Keating says that the family of *O'Dubhaine*, Anglice, *Duan*, is descended from the Kings of Meath.

PHILADELPHIA.

D. W.

VIII.—BOOKS.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

(Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to Messrs. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.)

D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

1.—*Some Miscellaneous Observations on our present Dates respecting Witchcrafts, in a Dialogue between S. & B.* By P. E. and J. A. Philadelphia: Printed by William Bradford, for Heseekiah Usher. 1892. Boston: "Congregational Quarterly" Reprint.—No. I. 1899. Small quarto, pp. 24.

Our readers know something of the peculiarities of the Witchcraft Delusion of 1692; and we need not describe its horrors nor its history.

The Tract before us is from the pen of one of the Boston Clergymen of that day, Mr. Samuel Willard; and it has been re-produced, at this time, at the suggestion of the notorious William Frederic Poole, the professional manufacturer of "history", for the evident purpose of sustaining his last creation, concerning the part taken by Cotton Mather in the Witchcraft Delusion and Trials of that day.

It is very well known that Mr. Willard was not in accord with Cotton Mather on the subject of these Trials; that so great was the power of legal precedents over lawyers, then as now, his advice was disregarded, even by his own Parishioners who were on the Bench, at Salem; that, because of his differences with Cotton Mather and those who were in sympathy with that gentleman, on this subject, Mr. Willard was subjected, at their hands, to "unkindness, abuse, and reproach," and was "called out upon" and his life periled by the creatures of the Prosecution; and that this tract, embracing "a Dialogue between S[alem] and B[oston]"—between the supporters of the weight and authority of Spectral Testimony, either as conclusive or as indicative of guilt, as held on the Bench, at Salem, on the one hand, and the opponents of that doctrine, as represented by the aggregate body of the Clergy in the pulpits of Boston, on the other—was written especially to bear testimony against such a delusion and fraud. It is quite as well known

that Cotton Mather, and Mr. Parris, and Mr. Torrey, and Mr. Noyes, and Mr. Hale, and a very few others, maintained the opposite sentiments and were among the most decided supporters and prompters of the Bench, in its conduct of the cases; and that, in this respect, they were not only antagonistic to Mr. Willard but to "the Rev. Elders almost throughout the 'whole country.'" We need not say, therefore, that, in his unprincipled attempt to thrust Cotton Mather into the great body of the Clergy who openly and steadily condemned the practices and the sentiments of that priestly "trimmer," as seen in his management of these cases, at Salem, Mr. Poole has displayed no originality: on the contrary, he has only very aptly followed the examples set by those cowardly culprits who cover their retreat by themselves joining in the noisy hue-and-cry which is nominally pursuing them, and by becoming the most noisy of the well-meaning but senseless and undisciplined crowd, which is really running after it knows not whom. In this, as in his denial of the status of voters in the Bay Colony, when, some months since, he attempted to fasten a charge of deliberate falsehood on Mr. Brodhead, this Poole has exhibited a capacity for the invention of "historical facts" and a hardihood in putting his counterfeits into circulation, as genuine, which would be undoubtedly appreciated by those who are professionals in that occupation, were he to turn his undoubted abilities in deception, in that direction.

The great body of the Clergy of New England, of that day, undoubtedly opposed the doctrines of Salem, concerning the credibility of Spectral Testimony; but Cotton Mather, in that instance, was not in accord with the Clergy of New England; and no one knows that fact better than this Poole. He was, in that instance, at the head of a minority, both of the Clergy and the Colonists; and every attempt which has been made or which shall be made, to identify him in this matter with the great body of the Clergy, is a fraud, and will be made for simply dishonest purposes.

In all this we mean nothing disrespectful to this Tract nor to those who have reproduced it. It is undoubtedly a correct estimate of the opinions of the great body of the Clergy, on the subject on which it treats; and it is, therefore, a welcome addition to the store of material concerning the history of that period. We protest, however, against the use of it as a cover to shelter Cotton Mather; as we protest against all the Clergy being saddled with the heresies, on that subject, of this individual member of the profession.

This little affair is very neatly printed; and, the edition numbers a hundred copies only.

2.—*The Songs of Life*, selected from many sources, with numerous illustrations, from original designs. By Hennesey, Darley, Griswold, Penn, Rydings, Herrick, Ward, Hoppin, &c., &c. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Small quarto. pp. xv. 198. Price \$5.

The *Folk Songs*, published by the same house, having become somewhat too large for the introduction of much improvement, it has been determined to divide it into four parts, the first of which is the volume now before us.

As the character of the original work is well known, it only remains for us to say that this first instalment of the new arrangement has been issued in the most elegant style; and that, as a whole, considering both the contents and the dress, this is one of the best gift-books of the season.

3.—*The Poetical Works of Alfred Tennyson, Poet Laureate*. Numerous illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 382. Muslin, \$1.; paper, 50 cents.

This edition of Tennyson, is styled "Harper's Complete Edition, Illustrated;" and is certainly a handsome one. The letter, although small in size, is clear; the illustrations are well-executed; the whole are admirably printed; and the binding of the bound copies is a pattern of neatness.

It would be difficult, we think, to find a neater work, among these which are intended for general circulation.

4.—*Early Records of the City and County of Albany, and Colony of Rensselaerswyck*, (1656-1675) Translated from the original Dutch, with Notes, by Jonathan Pearson. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1868. Octavo, pp. vii, 538. Price \$10.

There are, in the Office of the Clerk of the County of Albany, seven volumes of the earliest Records of that settlement, including Deeds, Notarial Papers, Mortgages, Wills, Contracts, Vendue Sales, Inventories, Bills of Sale, Leases, Affidavits, Indentures of Apprenticeship, Powers of Attorney, Official Correspondence, Proceedings of Indian Councils, etc., all duly drawn up and executed before the resident authorities of that early Colony. They possess very much that is of little general interest, although they are really important to the Genealogist, the Antiquarian, and the local Historian; since they are the earliest known Records of one of the earliest settlements of our State, and the earliest known register of many of our oldest families. The idea of translating them, therefore, was a good one; and it is fortunate that it originated in the brain of Joel Munsell, since he will most likely carry it into effect.

In the volume before us, are the contents of the Volumes named *Deeds, A and B*, of this series of seven volumes, embracing documents dated between 1656 and 1675; and these papers are illustrated by numerous Notes, carefully prepared,

and made perfectly accessible by an elaborate Index, which is as complete as it conveniently can be.

The translation is said to be a good one; and as there is scarcely an old Dutch family in that region whose names may not be found therein, in some character, the volume has already become almost a rare one, being purchasable only as copies may be found "on the wing."

The work is well printed, by the excellent workman who originated the idea of the publication.

5.—*A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures: Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical*, with special reference to Ministers and Students. By John Peter Lange, D. D. in connection with a number of eminent European Divines. Translated from the German, and edited, with additions, by Philip Schaff, D. D. Volume X. of the Old Testament, containing Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. (Proverbs) Two title-pages and verso, v., 860, (Ecclesiastes) Title-page and verso, 199, (Song of Solomon) Title-page and verso, 185. Price \$5.00.

We have so often called the attention of our readers to this elaborate Commentary, and so often described its peculiarities, that little remains for us to do, except to announce the publication of another volume, devoted to the writings of Solomon, and enriched by the varied learning of the most eminent scholars, in both Europe and America. Professors Green, of Princeton, and Taylor Lewis, Aiken, and Wells, of Schenectady, having added their great abilities to those of Professor Zochler of Greifswald, to make the work as perfect as possible.

We must say that the typography is not what it should be, in a work as important as this.

6.—*The Cow Chase*: by Major Andre. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. 82. Price 75 cents, large paper, \$1.50.

This seems to be a re-print of the London edition of the noted poem of *The Cow Chase*; and we suppose it contains, of course, all the errors of that and other pamphlet copies.

It was our pleasant duty, some years ago, to correct for the Press, with unusual care, an edition of this poem; in which case we read and re-read it, over and over again, in comparison with the original edition, in Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, until we could find no error whatever, in our revises. Our purpose was, to introduce the poem with a history of the affair which led to its composition, concerning the American portion of which we have all the original manuscripts, while those relating to the other side are also perfectly accessible to us; but the undertaking was never completed, and it probably never will be. We learned, however, how little is known about the history of the matter, by the

thousands who have read the poem; and we learned, too, by stern hard work, how faulty are all contemporary copies of the poem itself.

The trifle before us, however, is a beautiful piece of typography, on tinted paper, and with a rubricated title-page; and as it undoubtedly represents the old pamphlet copy of 1781, it will be just as welcome and just as useful to the great body of those who shall read it, as would be a more accurate copy of the original version.

The edition numbers one hundred and fifty copies, on small paper, and twenty-five, on large paper.

7.—*Pioneer Biography. Sketches of the Lives of some of the Early Settlers of Butler County, Ohio.* By James McBride of Hamilton. Vol. I. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. 4, (unpaged) xiv, 859. Price \$3.50.

This beautiful volume is the fourth of *The Ohio Valley Historical Series*, concerning which we have written, approvingly, three times, hitherto.

It is a series of sketches of the lives and services of some of the pioneers of the West, prepared from original and authentic material, for his own amusement, by one of their own number; and it preserves and circulates, also, carefully made copies of several important papers—Journals, etc.—which, but for Mr. McBride's thoughtful preservation of them, might have been lost forever.

These homely biographies, and others of the same class, in which are recorded the virtues and hardships of those who led the hosts who have since migrated to the West, are, in fact, the only existing annals of the early West; and to them must those go who seek information concerning "the day of small things," in that mighty empire, the history of which, sooner or later, must be written in all its fullness and with painstaking fidelity. The excellent publishers of this series, therefore, have done good service to those students of the history of the West, who shall come after us, by furnishing them material which is at once so interesting and so valuable.

The volume is uniform with the preceding volumes of the series; and it is exceedingly well printed.

8.—*Vermont State Business Directory* containing the address of all the Merchants, Manufacturers, Mechanics, and professional men in the State, arranged under their proper business headings. The Banks, Insurance Companies, Railroads, and Newspapers. The State Government, County and Town Officers, Post-Offices and Post-masters, Masons, Odd-fellows, Grand Army of the Republic, Temperance, and other organizations. With much other valuable information. Price \$3.50. [Boston:] Symonds, Wentworth, & Co. [1870.] Octavo, pp. 14, (unpaged) 114, 104, (7, unpaged.)

The *Annual Registers* which have been published in several of the Eastern States, year after

year, time out of mind, have become so widely known and their usefulness so generally recognized, that we need say nothing, either in a description or a commendation of them. They are actual "necessaries of life," where they are issued and circulate; and, as reliable works for reference, students who aim at accuracy, know the value of complete back files of them, from the beginning.

There have been, we believe, from first to last, three series of these *Registers* published in Vermont—that known as WALTON'S having now reached its annual number and alone occupying the field—but they have been small and necessarily incomplete, especially in their character as Trade Directories; although they have done good service among the agriculturists and tradesmen of that inland State, year after year, for two or three generations.

A young and energetic house, in Boston, aware of the imperfections existing in that part of the Walton's *Register* which is devoted to trade, conceived the idea of getting out "a better book" than it is; and the result of that laudable ambition is before us, in the first number of the *fourth* of the series of annuals to which we have referred—a handsome octavo, from the press of Rand & Avery, in which are to be found a most thoroughly complete and excellently-arranged Register of all the State, County, and Town Officers, together with all the varied items of information, concerning the State, which the title-page, quoted at the head of this notice, so carefully describes; and to these there are added what is undoubtedly the most complete and the best arranged Business Directory of the State which has yet appeared in print.

There seems to be little to be desired in this volume, for the purposes for which it was designed; and as a specimen of neatness in typography it is worthy of all praise. The Publishers promise a second issue in 1872; and we trust that they will be so much encouraged that they can soon make an annual volume. Let all who can do so, help the young men in their enterprise.

9.—*Medora Leigh; A History and an Autobiography.* Edited by Charles Mackay. With an Introduction, and a Commentary on the charges brought against Lord Byron by Mrs. Beecher Stowe. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 63. Price 25 cents.

Everybody has heard of the controversy, concerning Lord Byron's marital relations, which Mrs. Stowe originated some months since; yet no one seems to be satisfied, in every respect, with any of its results.

The volume before us is one of the latest of the additions to the stock of material concern-

ing it, which has appeared in England, and one of the most unaccountable, if it is genuine and authentic. It purports to be the autobiography of a daughter of Byron's sister, Mrs. Leigh; and seems, if we understand it correctly, to assume that that daughter was also the daughter of Lord Byron.

We have not had time nor inclination to follow this dispute, through all its dirtiness; and we therefore leave this volume with those whose tastes and leisure shall lead their reading in that direction.

10.—*My Enemy's Daughter*. A Novel. By Justin McCarthy. Illustrated. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 162. Price 75 cents.

Kitty. By M. Bentham Edwards. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 143. Price 50 cents.

Bound to John Company; or, the Adventures and Misadventures of Robert Ainsleigh. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 169. Price 75 cents.

Only herself. A Novel. By Annie Thomas. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 189. Price 50 cents.

So runs the world away. A Novel. By Mrs. A. C. Steele. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 145. Price 50 cents.

Debenham's Vow. By Amelia B. Edwards. Illustrated. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp., 178. Price 75 cents.

Baffled; or, Michael Brand's Wrong. By Julia Goddard. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 169. Price 75 cents.

A Brave Lady. By the author of John Halifax, Gentleman. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp., 176.

Eight popular works of fiction, printed in all the neatness of style and all the cheapness of price which seem to distinguish all the issues of the Harpers, in this particular department.

11.—*A History of the State of Delaware*, from the first settlement until the present time, containing a full account of the first Dutch and Swedish Settlements, with a Description of its Geography and Geology. By Francis Vincent, of Delaware. Philadelphia: John Campbell. 1870. Nos. 1 and 2. Octavo, pp. (No. 1) 1-82 (No. 2) 83-64.

Delaware is not without an honorable history; yet she is almost entirely without a published record; and she appears to have been hitherto unconscious of the consequence of that omission. Pennsylvania, on the one side, and Maryland, on the other, have overshadowed her, in history; and, consequently, "the eyes of the world" have not been, generally, "on Delaware," nor on her children. This work promises, to some extent, to supply that want; and both Delaware and the historical public in other States, owe it to themselves and to the cause, to give the adventurous author the encouragement which is due to him.

"All the author aims at," in this work, he

frankly tells us, "is to, plainly, truthfully, and "succinctly, detail what has transpired or may "in any way relate to the history of Delaware, "in a manner that may be understood by all;" and as he seems to understand, very clearly, how much of a task he has undertaken, even, in so simple an undertaking, we may reasonably hope that he will produce a very useful work.

In the two parts of the volume which we have received, Mr. Vincent has confined himself to the prefatory matter—geographical, geological, and physical—which seems to be requisite to a proper understanding of what is to follow; and he appears to have discharged his self-imposed duties, so far, with painstaking fidelity and, with here and there an exception, with commendable accuracy.

The work is to be issued in parts of thirty-two pages each, at thirty cents; and as it is neatly printed, it may properly find places in the many libraries in which American History is a recognized feature.

12.—*The Bible in the Public Schools*. Arguments in the case of John D. Minor, et al. versus The Board of Education of the City of Cincinnati, et al. Superior Court of Cincinnati. With the Opinions and Decision of the Court. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. 490. Price \$3, or, on tinted paper, \$3.50.

Foremost among the rising questions which are destined to convulse the country, is that fruitful bone of contention as to the right of the State to interfere in the education of our children and to embark, on her own account, in that purely parental business. Our opinion on this subject is already before our readers; and we cannot be otherwise than interested in all that relates to that subject.

The passage of the Resolutions of the Board of Education of Cincinnati, forbidding any religious education and the use of religious books, including the authorized English version of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, in the Common Schools of Cincinnati, has excited a general interest in, and discussion of, the important questions involved in it. The litigation to which it gave rise in the Superior Court of Cincinnati, has concentrated that interest, and rallied, upon each side of the controversy, the divided sentiments of the opposing parties.

This litigation began in an application, on behalf of certain citizens, to restrain, by an Injunction, the enforcement of the order of the Board. This application was exhaustively and ably argued, for several days, before the full Bench of the Superior Court of Cincinnati. There was no dispute as to facts, but only as to principles. The Speeches of the Counsel in the case, have been carefully reported and revised, and are now

published, together with the Opinions and Decision of the majority of the Court, granting the Injunction, as prayed, and the dissenting Opinion of one of the Judges. They furnish a storehouse of argument and illustration, for all who are interested in the question of religious training in the schools.

As it is scarcely doubtful that the ultimate decision of the case must be given by public opinion, the book becomes extremely valuable, since it furnishes a full and able statement of both sides of the question.

The questions at issue, and which now invite public discussion, are not of local or temporary interest. They enter into that larger religious controversy, involving the whole subject of the true relations of the civil and religious state—the secular society and the Church—which, in different forms, but the same in substance, agitates and divides opinion on the two Continents in which modern civilization is most advanced and developed.

This volume, it is not, therefore, too much to expect, aside from the intrinsic merits of its contents, as a contribution to that discussion, will be of historical interest, as marking the event which subjects it to the standard and criticism of judicial rules of decision.

The typography of this work, especially that of the copies which are on tinted paper, is very fine; and we have no doubt that an extended circulation will reward the enterprise, in publishing it, of the excellent house which has presented it to the world of letters.

13.—*The Mississippi Valley: Its Physical Geography, including sketches of the topography, botany, climate, geology, and mineral resources; and of the progress of development in population and material wealth.* By J. W. Foster, LL.D. Illustrated by Maps and Sections. Chicago: S. C. Grigg & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. xvi., 448.

The purpose of this beautiful volume was to describe, in a comprehensive form, the Physical Geography of the Mississippi valley—a region which already contains a majority of those who reside within the United States; and which, very soon, will probably be brought, directly, into the closest commercial relations with all parts of the business world.

Opening with a description of the Mississippi-river and of the countries through which it flows, Doctor Foster notices, successively, the system of Mountains and Plains which are involved in that examination; enquires concerning the origin of prairies; glances at the character and effects of forests; discusses the subject of irrigation; notices the climate and its phenomena, the geology of the basin, and its vegetable productions; and traces the progress of civilization, therein, from the beginning until

now. All this is done with the precision and accuracy of the scholar, yet with the simplicity of style which is demanded in every work which is intended for the ordinary non-professional reader.

It is evidently the work of a ripe scholar and a close observer of the phenomena of nature; yet, strange, to say, there is no affectation, no unnecessary parade of knowledge, no useless sentences, no ambiguity of style. Complete in all its parts, admirably arranged, clear and vigorous in its style, this work is as honorable to its author as it will be useful and honorable to the country; and we earnestly congratulate both the author and his publishers on the production of so admirable a work.

Considered typographically, this volume is one of the handsomest which is circulated through the ordinary channels of the Trade; and the workmen of the West may well be proud of it.

14.—*History of the Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770; consisting of the Narrative of the Town, the Trial of the Soldiers, and a historical Introduction, containing unpublished Documents of John Adams and Explanatory Notes,* by Frederick Kidder. Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsell. 1870. Octavo, pp., 1870. Octavo, pp. 4, (unpaged) 391. Price \$3.

What better evidence need we have, that Boston has passed into the hands of strangers and aliens, than the fact that the centennary of what she used to glory in, as "the Massacre," has passed without convulsing the country as much as she convulsed it, when, a year or two ago, she dedicated her Masonic Hall; or more than she was wont to convulse it, early in the present century, with one of her ordinary town-meetings; or more than she does, in our time, on St. Patrick's day? The city of Boston is, in fact no longer an *American*, but an *Irish* community; and the air-bubble of "the Massacre" no longer amuses her or arouses her sympathies, even when our venerable antipode, Frederic Kidder, from the minaret in Bloomfield-street, blows the horn and calls all the faithful to their knees.

This volume presents only one matter which is new to us—the eight pages which are occupied with the copy of John Adams's little memorandum of the evidence offered on the trial of the British soldiers—and we are astonished that even Frederic Kidder should have alighted so thin and worthless a covering from so chronic a mass of corruption as the story of "the Massacre." Why did he dodge, in his *Historical Introduction*, the discussion of the causes which led to the conflict between the soldiers and the citizens? Was he afraid to join issue with the Truth, that, by his silence, he so willingly acquiesced in the falsehoods which, during a hundred years, have been allowed to range, undisturbed, without Boston's contradiction? We challenge this mod-

ern historiographer of "the Massacre" to tell the *whole truth* concerning either the origin or the progress of this conflict between the street-loafers of Boston and her garrison; and if it will be any inducement, we will supply him with such evidence as Boston may have suppressed, concerning the rowdiness of her inhabitants, a hundred years ago, the *propriety* of the soldiers' fire, by which Massachusetts was relieved of some of her worst members, and the entire legality and the entire justice of the verdict by which the juries of Massachusetts subsequently upheld the majesty of the law and rebuked the wickedness of the mob: we will do more, *we will print what he shall have to say on the subject, whenever he dare tell the Truth concerning it*; and, what will please him most, we will do so without any charge, either to him or to Boston.

But this is not the only omission. The title-page of the volume tells us it contains, among other original material, certain "Explanatory "Notes by Frederic Kidder;" yet of the eighteen Notes thus referred to, *only one bears his initials*, while ten bear those of John Ward Dean, whose co-operation is not even recognized by the venerable and upright Editor.

But not alone by reason of his omission of important material has Mr. Kidder failed to do his duty as an Editor. Almost the only comment he has ventured to make on Mr. Frothingham's narrative of the conflict, which he has adopted and bodily transferred to his *Historical Introduction*, is one concerning the length of time which the trial occupied—"these trials *seem to have been THE FIRST IN THE PROVINCE*," he says, "WHICH LASTED MORE THAN ONE DAY." Now, we make no pretension to a minute knowledge of Massachusetts history, yet in this very same volume, which Mr. Kidder professes to have "edited," (page 220) Mr. Josiah Quincy, Jr., of Counsel for the Prisoners, is reported to have said, while apologizing to the Jury for the length of the trial, "But you should reflect, that no more indulgence is shown to the Prisoners now on trial, than has ever been shown in capital causes; *the trial of one man has OFTEN taken up SEVERAL DAYS*;" etc. Was Mr. Quincy or is Mr. Kidder the falsifier?

Again, on page 29, in a Note on Crispus Attucks, he says—or somebody says for him—"his ancestors were probably of the Natick tribe, who had intermarried with negroes who were slaves, and as *their descendants were held as such, HE INHERITED THEIR CONDITION*," etc. Judge Gray, and Professor Washburn, and Frederic Kidder, and divers others, have hitherto boisterously denied that slavery was hereditary in Massachusetts and insolently abused all who dared to affirm it. Shall we believe Frederic, then, or Frederic, now? If the latter, why?

But we have over-run our limits, in thus celebrating the handiwork of one of Boston's representative men, in the line of American History; and we must close the volume.

The volume is neatly printed, by our friend Munsell.

15.—*Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson*, prepared for his use in 1608, from the Old Danish of Ivar Bardsen. With an Introduction and Notes; also a Dissertation on the Discovery of the Hudson River. By the Rev. E. F. DeCosta. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1869. Octavo, pp. 102.

This is another of those historical trifles which Mr. DeCosta is so rapidly putting together, sometimes in one style and sometimes in another, and throwing upon the market.

Opening with his inevitable Eric the Red, Mr. DeCosta ranges, in his Introduction, over the entire series of navigators in American waters, from the period of that notorious Northman until the latter days of Henry Hudson, with all the airs of a master but without the essence of one.

Dealing liberally in positive averments which are generally based on a mere "perhaps," or a "probably," or an "it is reasonable to infer," or an "under the circumstances, he would not have" done so and so, or an "it does not appear probable," etc., Mr. DeCosta assumes, throughout his entire volume, the positive tone of one who possesses unquestionable knowledge and authority concerning what he writes; and he coolly and deliberately lashes those who have preceded and do not agree with him, with all the assurance and petulance of a venerable old-school pedagogue, whose every word or look is the supreme law. In all this, as we have said, he generally offers no testimony to support his naked averments—the ugly nakedness of which is too often made more evident by the acknowledged home-made foundation on which they rest—and we are coolly invited and expected to rest our faith on what *he* says, on his unsupported inferences, and on his hastily-formed and unintelligent guesses.

How reasonably all this pretension is made and how safely this demand may be acceded to, will be evident to every one who shall carefully examine his story: we have room for only one of the several instances which we have seen of the entire want of accuracy and of the entire absence of common honor to others, which prevail in too many of his statements. It is this, which we find on page 44 of his volume. Referring to the article on *Discovery of the Atlantic Coast of North America*, from the pen of the learned Buckingham Smith, Esq., which we published in our First Series, x, 373, and inaccurately quoting therefrom, as from page 368, he *omits therefrom the queries which the learned writer of that arti-*

cle considered necessary; and, in the very teeth of the authority which he cites to sustain the averment, he boldly avers, as an undoubted fact, what the master-mind, on that subject, only cautiously set forth with a query. Thus: we printed,

"From Cabo St. Johan to Cabo, or Promontory, de las Arenas, in 38° 20', are thirty leagues, N. N. E.; thence other thirty leagues, North, is Cabo Sanctiago, in 39° 30' (41° ?); thence the coast turns Southwest twenty leagues, to Bahia Sanct Chripstobal, in 39° (40° 30' ?); from that bend made by the land, the coast turns Northward, passing said Bay, thirty leagues, to Rio San Antonio, in 41° (41° 20' ?) which is North and South with the bottom of said Bay." We thus printed it, because the learned writer had reason to suppose, without being confident of his entire accuracy in that supposition, that Oviedo was thus narrating what was the discovery of Hudson's river by Estevan Gomez; yet Mr. DeCosta boldly takes this material; modernizes the style; omits the queries—in which, alone, reposes the result of Mr. Smith's researches—and, without alluding to the learned author of those important queries, seizes the information which they conveyed; publishes them as the result of his own labors; and virtually proclaims himself a master among pigmies in the history of American discovery. In all this, however, he forgot to cover his tracks, and unwittingly exposed, by his naked quotation from Oviedo, the fact of his unblushing plagiarism, since every one knows that if, in the words of Mr. DeCosta, "by the bay of St. Chripstobal is meant the lower Bay of New York . . . and that Rio St. Antonio is the Hudson-river," that gentleman has learned those facts from some other authority than Oviedo, who makes that Bay and that River thirty leagues apart. If Mr. DeCosta discovered, from Oviedo, alone, that the Bay of St. Chripstobal and the Rio St. Antonio referred, respectively, to the lower Bay of New York and the North-river, what does he propose to do with the "thirty leagues" which, the same Oviedo tells him, separated the one from the other? If he did not depend on Oviedo, alone, in obtaining that knowledge, on whom, pray, did he depend, beside that ancient author, and why was not that other authority cited?

The truth, undoubtedly, is, Mr. DeCosta never read a line of Oviedo, except in Mr. Smith's translation, in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE; and he never knew from any one, except from Mr. Smith's queries, inserted in that translation, and from that gentleman's paper on that subject, read by him before the New York Historical Society, in 1864, that Gomez ever approached Hudson's river. Yet he has boldly seized Mr. Smith's results, and published, as original with himself, what he had thus silently abstracted from another.

We need say little more, concerning the character of Mr. DeCosta, as a historical writer.

The *Sailin Directions*, extracted from Purchas's *His Pilgrimes*, with Mr. DeCosta's Notes, close the volume; and in this portion of the work, too, the notorious inaccuracy of the Editor is painfully evident. On page 13, Mr. DeCosta says of it: "It is there" [*in Purchas*] "stated that it was translated out of the Norsh language into High Dutch in the year 1560, and from the High Dutch into the Low Dutch by William Barentson, which copy" [Barentsen's] "was preserved by Jodocus Hondius to be translated into English, in 1608, by William Stere, for the use of Henry Hudson;" and, on pages 61-96, he has copied the paper, thus translated by Mr. Stere, *in extenso*, and, we suppose, with accuracy. He can have no excuse, therefore, for mis-quoting it; and no other reason than undiluted carelessness can be assigned for any such misuse of it. Let us see how Mr. DeCosta employs the authorities which he, himself, recognizes as authorities, in the construction of his narrative; and let us measure, from this, as best we can, the probable extent of his reliability on other subjects—whether Pre-Columbian or Post-Columbian, historical or theological—on which he writes.

I.—Purchas says the paper which Mr. DeCosta has re-produced, was, originally, in the Norsh language; and Mr. DeCosta does not dissent.

II.—Purchas says that paper was translated, in 1560, out of the Norsh language into High Dutch; and Mr. DeCosta does not dissent.

III.—Purchas says the High Dutch translation, to which we have referred, was, when he wrote his *Pilgrimes*, "in the hands of Jodocus Hondius;" and Mr. DeCosta does not dissent.

IV.—Purchas says that from this High Dutch translation, then in possession of Hondius, a Low Dutch translation was made by William Barentsen; and Mr. DeCosta does not dissent.

V.—Purchas says that, when he wrote, this Low Dutch version of the paper, by Barentsen, was "in the hands of Master Peter Plantius, who lent the same to me" [*Purchas*]: Mr. DeCosta boldly contradicts the statement of Purchas, by asserting, unequivocally, that Barentsen's copy "was preserved by Jodius Hondius," who, it will be remembered, was the possessor of the High Dutch version from which Barentsen had made the translation into Low Dutch, to which we refer.

VI.—Purchas says that, from this book which Master Peter Plantius had, one William Stere translated what were to be employed by Henry Hudson as his "Sailing Directions:" Mr. DeCosta says it was from the copy "which was preserved by Jodius Hondius," that William Stere made his English version, for Henry Hudson.

Now, it is of very little importance, *per se*, whether the *Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson* were in the original or translated from another language; and it is just as unimportant, if they were translated, whether they were thus translated from the High or the Low Dutch; but we insist that it is not unimportant, nor can it be so, that a writer of Mr. DeCosta's pretensions to accuracy has read his authorities so carelessly that he has not yet ascertained the true origin and history of the very paper which, alone, forms the subject of his entire volume: we insist that it is not unimportant, nor can it be, that he has so little confidence in the only authority on which his argument rests, that he may arbitrarily contradict that authority on some of the most important points of his narrative: we insist that it is not unimportant, nor can it ever be, that he is so careless in the discharge of the merely mechanical portion of his duties, that his statements, transferred from other writers, for that reason, cannot be relied on. We insist, too, that, while Mr. DeCosta was engaged on this subject, it was his duty to show that Henry Hudson had actually used those *Sailing Directions* while engaged in his explorations, and what benefit that use of them had secured to himself or to the world; and we also insist that, in the unfinished state in which Mr. DeCosta has left his subject, by omitting to notice this very important part of it, the mere re-publication of this paper has served no other end than to furnish a peg on which Mr. DeCosta has hung another of his useless speculations.

Whether Mr. DeCosta has not sufficiently studied his subject to enable him to understand it, or has not sufficient confidence in his authorities to induce him to rest his case on them, or has been too negligent in copying his statements for the press, the stern fact yet remains, that he has thereby unfitted himself for that historical knight-errantry which he aspires to, and which has already led him to level his lance at everything, from an old windmill to a delapidated bastion, from Newport, on the South, to Ticonderoga, on the North. His energies should be expended in some other occupation, where insufficient information concerning his subject, or lack of confidence in his authorities, or unwarranted indolence in the preparation of his facts for the press, would inflict less injury to himself and to the world.

The volume is a very neat one.

16.—*The Northerners in Maine*; a critical examination of views expressed in connection with the subject, by Dr. J. H. Kohl, in Volume I. of the new series of the Maine Historical Society. To which are added criticisms on other portions of the work, and a Chapter on the Discovery of Massachusetts Bay. By Rev. E. F. DeCosta. Albany: Joel Munsell, 1870. Octavo, pp. 144.

It would seem that the Reverend author of this volume has ceased to be a Minister of "Peace on Earth," since his delight is evidently, now, to stir up strife, there. Vermont was set in motion, a year or so ago, by his busy pen; Maine seems to have become his victim, now; and the sting in his tail, as seen in the closing pages of this volume, is evidently on its way, before this, to the cowering shoulders of poor old Massachusetts. So we go. Wonders will never cease.

We have seen the volume which has called forth this "critical examination," and we have read the examination itself. Some points of Mr. DeCosta's objections seem to have been well taken, if he has fairly stated the evidence concerning his statement, of which we have no means of judging; but, on the other points of his objections, even on the *ex parte* testimony which he has himself adduced, we are disposed to doubt the correctness of his conclusions.

There is, besides, throughout his entire work, too much assumption and too little supporting evidence, to please us or to give weight to his *dicta*; and his style very often betrays his own sense of his own weakness, even if we shall take as of no account, his frequent self-contradictions.

Mr. DeCosta first announces the high character, as "a distinguished scholar," of Doctor Kohl; and then he proceeds to show, as he supposes, how much superior to the Doctor, he is, himself, either in Icelandic or Danish, Latin or English, scholarship.

Doctor Kohl agrees "perfectly," with Mr. DeCosta, too, as to localities, he says, (page 6); and yet he gravely proceeds, page after page, to tell us how little they really agree and how much they disagree—the Doctor supposes, for instance, that Thorwald was buried to the eastward, and Mr. DeCosta supposes it was to the westward, of Cape Cod; the Doctor supposes Thorfinn coasted along the shore of Maine, while Mr. DeCosta supposes he did not; the Doctor supposes Thorfinn sailed "from Markland" (*Nova Scotia*) "whereas," Mr. DeCosta says, "they did not sail from Markland," (page 15) but from Helluland (*Labrador*); the Doctor suggests that Thorfinn, while searching for Thorhall, "might have gone somewhere in the inner parts of the Gulf of Maine," while Mr. DeCosta asserts, positively, (because he "very well knows") that the voyage was not as "far North as Boston," (page 21); etc. We need go no further to show how loosely Mr. DeCosta writes, with these illustrations of what, in his vocabulary constitutes a "perfect agreement" as to localities.

Mr. DeCosta's mode is seen on page 22, for instance, where he first opposes Doctor Kohl's conclusions concerning a specified locality with no other evidence than an "evidently;" and then, having laid a guess for his foundation, proceeds

with a "therefore" to build a superstructure—all of which may do in theology but it will not do in history. Another instance, which borders on the impertinent, occurs on page 26, where he meets a suggestion of the Doctor—"it is not "quite clear, but it appears to me probable"—with the curt remark "For this statement there "is no authority whatever," without the possibility of himself knowing anything "whatever" about the only "statement" which the Doctor had made, viz., that relative to *the appearance to him*, of some specified subject. Again, he dogmatically assumes, over and over again, when he knows of no existing evidence on a given subject, that there really is no such evidence in existence or known to any other person; as in the cases just alluded to; in the case of Bishop Eric, on page 27; and in many others.

But Mr. DeCosta's assurance was not confined to Doctor Kohl: Professor Rafn shares it (page 27); and that, too, on no other foundation than one of Mr. DeCosta's mere "implications," wherein the Newport Mill, which has puzzled the most learned, these many years, is disposed of with a single flourish of his pen; and we notice, too, that when the learned Professor's world-widely known *Antiquitates Americanae* and Mr. DeCosta's *Pre-Columbian Discovery* can possibly be brought together, *the latter leads, as the chief authority*, notwithstanding it had not possibly existed but for the pre-existence of the former.

The height of Mr. DeCosta's assurance is not reached, however, until he turns on Doctor Kohl, with a charge of *omission*, because he has not noticed a voyage "along the coast of Maine," for which even he can give no other authority than a "perhaps;" and concerning his own knowledge of which he rather equivocally maintains an ominous silence.

Let us supply what Mr. DeCosta has "omitted" on this subject. By accident, only, Mr. DeCosta learned, very recently, from a third party, that that accomplished scholar and gentleman, J. Carson Brevoort, Esq., of Brooklyn, had alluded, in conversation with another gentleman, to the strange oversight of scholars, in not noticing an allusion, in Hakluyt, to the discovery of the Massachusetts Bay by a navigator who had had no recent credit for it; and he immediately ransacked Hakluyt, in search of the passage; but his ignorance of the subject and of the volumes of Hakluyt caused his search to end without success. His relations with Mr. Brevoort were somewhat doubtful, he supposed—as they would have been, with almost any other person, under the same circumstances—and he hesitated, therefore, about addressing that gentleman; but, at length, he sought relief in an application, and found it, in a frank, open-handed reference, which, even then, he did not know how to use,

and subsequently by other courtesies which, we presume, have silenced, before this, the sneers in which he was wont to indulge at Mr. Brevoort's expense. In short, *Mr. Brevoort told him* of what may have been a voyage of Jean Allfonsce of Saintonge and of that navigator's possible discovery of the Massachusetts Bay, the knowledge of which possibilities he now throws into Doctor Kohl's face, as facts, without making *any* acknowledgment of his own indebtedness for them to another's research and generous courtesy, and flourishes them in his title-page, as a result of his own unaided labors.

But there is another point of Mr. DeCosta's argument which has amused us, as it will amuse others, who, like ourselves, have been witnesses of Mr. DeCosta's peculiar pretensions to scholarship in early American history.

The great body of our readers are aware, we suppose, that among the most celebrated, as he was one of the coarsest, of the French writers of the Sixteenth Century, was the distinguished FRANÇOIS RABELAIS, whom Lord Bacon was accustomed to style "the great jester of France." They know, too, that among the characters which that writer's fertile fancy created, were the Prince Pantagruel, his pilot, James Brayer, and a person whom the Prince met at sea—a "Frenchman "of Xaintonge;" and Lanternland, toward which the Prince was said to be sailing, on his way to the holy bottle, which lay beyond that country, near Cathay, in Upper India, will not fail to be recognized, as well as remembered, by all who have read that celebrated satire. (*Works*, Book iv., Chap. i.-v.)

Our readers need not be told that among the very last of the writers of the Sixteenth Century whom *we* should have appealed to as an authority in American history, would have been Rabelais; and we have hitherto supposed that the creations of the acute imagination of that subtle satirist are not very well adapted to figure, as veritable heroes, in anything which pretends to the least degree of respectability as *History*. Indeed, Dean Swift might as well be appealed to as an authority in history; and Robinson Crusoe as well be assigned a place among the great colonizers of heathen lands.

The readers of this volume—the last of Mr. DeCosta's historical works, and, therefore, probably, his best—will be surprised to perceive, in more than one of its pages, that its author has extended the bounds of recognized historical research and, as far as that gentleman can do so, elevated to prominent places in history, one, if not two, of the coarsest of Rabelais' creations.

On pages 109 and 110 of this volume, Mr. DeCosta tells his readers, that, "of the events "in the life of Jean Allfonsce we know but little, nor is this so remarkable, considering the

"the fact that he lived in an age when *one of his patrons*, the Prince Pantagruel, *was largely lost to sight, and is now, even, scarcely remembered*, EXCEPT BY ANTIQUARIANS;" and he has exhibited, his love of country, as a Massachusetts man, when, on page 113, he remarks, with an evident relish, in view of so notable an addition to the Fatherhood of that notable Commonwealth, "it is not altogether an unhappy circumstance that the first recorded visit to the shores of liberty-loving Massachusetts should have been made by a mariner of this lofty stamp, and a pilot of the *Prince Pantagruel*."

If Mr. DeCosta's taste leads him to feast on the fatness of Rabelais, it does not become us to interpose any objection, since he is a "Lantern-land"-man, a Clergyman, and our "equal before the Law;" yet, even in that case, we must demand fair play for his authorities, as such, and insist, since he seems to prefer Rabelais as one of them, either that the teachings of that dirty writer, *as such an authority*, shall be respected, or that that use of them shall be discontinued.

If none but "antiquarians" do more than "scarcely remember" the Prince Pantagruel, why did not Mr. DeCosta resort to those "antiquarians" who thus "remembered" that potentate, and tell his readers just what *they* said of him? As Mr. DeCosta undoubtedly knows, he, himself, could have told more in his book, of this Prince and his ancestors, than all the *antiquarians* in the world, combined, had he turned to the *Works of Rabelais*; and he might have learned, also, in these same *Works*, something more than he has yet told us, concerning this "Frenchman of Xaintonge," whom he has attempted to immortalize as Jean Allfonsce of Saintonge, the "pilot of the Prince Pantagruel"—a position which was really occupied, if Rabelais is worth anything as an authority in *history*, not by Jean Allfonsce, but by "James Brayer."

Notwithstanding our knowledge of some portion of the truth which is said to have been concealed under that husk of beastliness, we protest against the use of Rabelais' inventions, as veritable history. We protest against the adoption of the Prince of Pantagruel, and the "Frenchman of Xaintonge," and the pilot, James Brayer, and Lanternland, and the oracle of the holy bottle, into the family of verities, even by Mr. DeCosta; and, while we would not attempt to deprive that gentleman of any personal pleasure which he may enjoy in the perusal of the questionable pages of Rabelais, we earnestly protest against the transfer of either the characters or the style which that obscene writer employed, into what, whether reasonably or unreasonably, assumes to be veritable history.

The labors of Mr. DeCosta would have undoubtedly resulted in well-merited honor to him-

self, had he been contented with the honors which legitimately belong to him; but he is no longer a child, nor excusable for acting like a peevish pet of the family, whenever anybody, beside himself, opens the records of the Northmen's voyages, and crosses his conclusions with other conclusions not less respectable than his own. If errors have been made in the discussion of these early voyages, and those errors can be proved by authentic documentary evidence, there is no necessity for inferences; and Mr. DeCosta's substitution of the latter for the former, as testimony, is simply impertinent: if no such authentic documentary evidence exists to establish or disprove, the inferences of all parties must be tested by the reader's own judgment; and Mr. DeCosta's guesses are no better than those of others, while both are insufficient, without supporting evidence, as *History*.

As to Doctor Kohl and his volume, both of which are indirectly under notice in this article, we need say very little. The Doctor undoubtedly subjected himself to what was deemed a necessity in the political portion of the undertaking, and sent his work to press without those nice finishing touches, the necessity for which, in order to secure the greatest perfection, every writer as well as every artist knows so well; yet, even Mr. DeCosta is constrained to admit that he is a learned man, and by no means uninformed on the subject on which he wrote. Besides, whether Mr. DeCosta shall admit it or not, Doctor Kohl has really done a great service to American History, in the production of even this hastily-formed volume; and, as a first *resumé* of supposed explorations on our coast, it is really a remarkable work, as Mr. DeCosta would have found out, if he had labored nearly as hard to look for its strong, positive excellencies as he did to find what he supposed to be its weaknesses—a search, too, on Mr. DeCosta's part, which has really resulted in no injury to the character of the work, since that gentleman either does not possess sufficient knowledge of the subject or did not devote sufficient time in the search to find the weak points which are in it, which one who was better posted or more thorough in his labors could have readily perceived.

But we must go no further. The volume is of little practical use; and, if we except the Chapter concerning what may have been Allfonsce's discovery, it is little more than a literary curiosity, made up of guesses, and inferences, and grave uncertainties, some of which are unquestionably good for something, while more of them are quite as surely good for nothing.

The volume is handsomely printed, by Munsell of Albany.

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TO OUR READERS,

I.—The accumulation of Books for notice compels us, in order to prevent encroachment on the space appropriated for other matter, to add an extra sheet to this number, making it contain eighty instead of the usual sixty-four pages.

II.—The last of our delinquent numbers—that for December, 1868—is, we understand, nearly completed. It is passing through the press at Concord, N. H., under the supervision of JOHN WARD DEAN, Esq., of Boston; and, besides an engraving of unusual merit—which some of our readers will be glad to receive and preserve—it will contain an exceedingly valuable collection of material, from the best-known historians of our country, which will be welcomed, in every part of the Union.

The remaining delinquent number—that for November, 1868—moves slowly but steadily toward completion. It is under the direction of Colonel T. B. MYERS, of New York; and the material which he has supplied is as valuable as it is interesting—embracing unpublished papers of unusual importance, from the pens, among others, of all those statesmen who originally led the Republic into being, and who subsequently sustained it by their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

III.—Our current volume is being pushed forward, as rapidly as possible. If delinquent subscribers would pay what is due to us, without further delay, we should be enabled to do what we desire to do—as it is, we are able to do no more than we can do.

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I. **THE FEDERALIST**: a collection of Essays, written in favor of the New Constitution, as agreed upon by the Federal Convention, September 17th, 1787. Printed from the Original Text, with an Historical Introduction and Notes, by Henry B. Dawson. In two volumes. *Volume I, all yet issued. Octavo, pp.*

The text of this edition is that which the Authors printed to influence the action of the People in the ratification of the Constitution by the State of New York. The Introduction embraces a review of the political condition of New York, in 1787; the causes which led to the preparation of this work; the persons who wrote it; and the effect of its publication, together with a Bibliographical description of the several editions, as far as they have been found. The Notes will contain the various unauthorized changes which have been introduced from time to time in different editions of the work; together with MS. notes which have been found in the copies formerly owned by General Hamilton, Mr. Madison, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Fisher Ames, and Chancellor Kent, and other Historical, Political and Legal information collected from the writings of General Hamilton, Chief-justice Jay, Mr. Madison, and others, much of which will appear for the first time in this work.

II. **RECOLLECTIONS OF THE JERSEY PRISON SHIP**: From the original manuscripts of Captain Thomas Dring, one of the prisoners. By Albert G. Greene. Edited by Henry B. Dawson.

This work has been carefully edited, and contains numerous illustrative notes; an elaborate "Appendix" of seventy-four pages, in which are collected the Correspondence concerning the Prisoners between General Washington and the British Commanders; the proceedings thereon in Congress: Correspondence between the Prisoners and Commissary Sproat, and between the latter and Commissary Skinner; Address of the Prisoners to their Countrymen, imploring relief; Report of a Committee of American Officers on the Condition of the Prison-ships and Prisoners; Memoirs of Captain ABOARD, of the *Chance*, of Sailing-Master Rhodes, and of WILLIAM DROWNE, three of the Prisoners, with the Correspondence of the latter, from the originals, and of Captain ROSEWELL PALMER, also a prisoner, with his Statements, from the originals; Narratives of Captain ALEXANDER COFFIN, JUN., a prisoner, and General JEREMIAH JOHNSON, of the *Wale Bogt*; Historical Sketches of the *Chance*, the *Bellarius*, and the *Jersey*; Original Sonnets by WILLIAM PIER PALMER, Esq., and GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, Esq., and Portraits, now first published, of Captains DRING and ABOARD.

Only one hundred copies were printed in this style.

III. **TRIAL OF THE OFFICERS AND CREW OF THE PRIVATEER SAVANNAH**, on a charge of Piracy, in the United States Circuit Court for the Southern District of New York. Hon. Judges Nelson and Shipman, Presiding. Reported by B. F. Warburton, Stenographer, and corrected by the Counsel. *Octavo, pp. xxii. 335. New York, 1862.*

This very celebrated trial involved the principles which control the right of those who are in insurrection to resort to the seas, in the prosecution of their purposes; and it is probable that in no other work have those principles been so thoroughly or so ably discussed.

The arguments of Counsel, both those for the United States and those for the prisoners, and the charges of the Court, were corrected by their respective authors; and this volume was published at the joint expense of the United States and the friends of the prisoners.

IV. **THE CASE OF ELIZABETH RUTGERS versus**

With an Historical Introduction by Henry B. Dawson. *Octavo, pp. xlvii. 47. Morrisania, N. Y., 1866.*

Beautifully printed by Bradstreet, on tinted laid paper, with rubricated title-page. Only one hundred copies printed.

V. The same. *Quarto, pp. xlvii. 47.*

Only twenty-five copies were printed in this style.

VI. **TWO LETTERS** respecting the conduct of Rear-Admiral Graves on the coast of the United States, July to November, 1781. By William Graves, Esq., of the Inner Temple. *Quarto, pp. iv. 39. Morrisania, N. Y., 1865.*

This is a fac-simile of a privately-printed tract, issued for the purpose of relieving Admiral Graves from the censure which he encountered after the loss of the Army under Lord Cornwallis.

It is on tinted-laid paper, with rubricated title-page, and is by far the best specimen of the work of the justly-celebrated Bradstreet Press.

VII. **TRANSACTIONS** of the Medical Society of the State of New York, for 1858. *Octavo, pp. 655. Albany, 1858.*

VIII. **THE ORIGIN OF MCFINGAL**. By Hon. J. Hammon I Trumbull, President of the Connecticut Historical Society. *Octavo, pp. 40. Morrisania, N. Y., 1868.*

This is one of the best specimens of Bibliographical learning which has recently left the American Press. It was printed for private circulation only; and the edition numbered only about fifty copies.

It is large enough to be bound with the Hartford Edition of Trumbull's Writings; and collectors will do well to notice it.

IX. **THE SPEECH OF MR. JOHN CHECKLEY**, upon his trial at Boston, in 1724. With an Introduction by Rev. E. H. Gillett, D. D., of Harlem, N. Y. *Octavo, pp. xx. 32. Morrisania, N. Y., 1868.*

This very important New England tract was printed exclusively for private circulation—the edition numbering only fifty copies.

It is on tinted-laid paper, and beautifully executed.

X. **THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE**, and Notes and Queries concerning the Antiquities, History, and Biography of America. New Series. *Octavo. Morrisania, N. Y., 1867.*

Complete sets of the New Series will soon become scarce, as only a small number remain in our hands.

As we said, we hold these volumes, and those which we shall hereafter add to this list, for sale or exchange for other works which are in our line of study, and not already on our shelves. Of some of them we have more than one copy; but we are in no hurry to dispose of them for what we have no use for.

Other lines will be added to the list from time to time, as we shall find time to weed them out of our collection.

Address, by mail,

THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. VII. SECOND SERIES.]

APRIL, 1870.

[No. 4.

I.—THE CAMPAIGNS AGAINST CROWN
POINT, IN 1755 AND 1756.

*CORRESPONDENCE OF DOCTOR THOMAS WIL-
LIAMS, OF DEERFIELD, MASS., A SURGEON
IN THE ARMY.*

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS BELONGING
TO HIS GRANDSON, THE LATE STEPHEN W.
WILLIAMS, ESQ.*

I.—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1755.

1.—To his Wife.

ALBANY, June 6, 1755.

MY DEAR :

I arrived at this place yesterday about noon, & thro' the goodness of God have had a safe & comfortable journey; heartily hope that these may find you & your dear children under the smiles of divine Providence. When we shall march from this place I know not, have not yet had an opportunity to acquaint myself with what forwardness the Battoes ar, as also other articles as Wagons, &c., &c. I hear the Province stores, Tents, &c., are not yet arrived. Gov. Shirley is expected soon. Gen. Johnson has about 1100 of the blacks, little & great, male & female about him; he has the war dance, when the Indians painted up the General, & an ox was roasted whole, & the General with his cutlass went up & slashed off a piece, & each of the Indians took up their axes & followed. All the warriors that were then at Schenectady, which were about 500; had I been in three days sooner might have had the pleasure of seeing the transaction, but shall content myself that it will be a much greater pleasure if I can see them prosecute the affair against the

* The late Stephen W. Williams, of Deerfield, Massachusetts,—a lineal descendant of the celebrated Pastor of that Town, who was carried into captivity, by the Indians, in 1704—furnished copies of these papers to Colonel William L. Stone, when, in 1842, the latter was engaged on his historical works; but he does not seem to have used them.

We are indebted to his son, William L. Stone, Esq., of New York, for permission to use the copies, which, in Mr Williams's handwriting, were thus furnished to Colonel Stone; and our readers will need no word from us to inform them how important they are, as material for history, relative to the old French and Indian War, in Colonial New York.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

French with as much eagerness as I imagine they drank their wine & eat their roasted ox. The two lower Castles, Capt. Keliogg informs me, will be true & hearty. They incline in general to go to Crown Point, & say their Governor will have nothing but a dead Carcass to pick up at Niagara. There is some expectation that the General Joh—s—n is like to draw off the Cognawaws from the French interest, which if it should prove true will be of no small service. Our men, they say are in good spirits & eager for action, & I hope they will have it quick. I hear the Major General designs to march his men by next wednesday towards the Carrying place to mend the roads & make good bridges for the Wagons, & build store houses, &c. The people in general they tell me in this place are as hearty well wishers to the expedition as any in New England except four or five of their provincial traders, who by name I know not. I have take lodging at one Mrs. Wendell's, a widow Gentlewoman who has several sons & daughters, & it seems to be quite an agreeable family; they are very wealthy, as I judge by the appearance, Plate, &c., extremely neat, & live well; was directed by Col. Lydius to this place. I do not know but that Dr. Marsh, were he not pre-engaged might make a fortune by taking one of the Old lady's daughters, but I had like to forget that it was Sunday; it being very stormy, therefore dont go to church but I believe they will shortly call to dinner, therefore must conclude with my earnest prayers that a gracious God would keep & preserve you all, & in due time give us an opportunity to rejoice in his unmerited goodness towards us.

Your Affectionate Husband

& Humble Serv

THO^S WILLIAMS.

2.—To his Wife.

ALBANY, July 12, 1755.

MY DEAR RIB :

I long to see you, but dont be angry if I tell you that I want to see Crown Point more, but

when that will be I know not. The Expedition goes on very much, I should imagine as our Commanders manage the business of the public, that is as a snail runs 18 knots in 14 hours. Our forces have not yet all arrived & but part of our stores. No medicines for the sick men, nor kettles for the well, to boil their provisions, belonging to the Province, are yet come. In short our Province which ought to have been the head, is like to become the tail, & thereby will become a scorn, a reproach, & a bye-word, &c., &c. The Major General told me yesterday that they waited only for our Province, that they have been ready some time. Our men begin to drop down one after another with Fevers & Fluxes, & some Dysenteries. I conclude for want of kettles proper to freshen their meat. They have but one small kettle to 15 men, & were it not for the kindness of the inhabitants they would suffer prodigiously; but they are exceeding kind & obliging, & I believe in general hearty well wishers to the expedition. In short I have quite a different opinion of them than I had before I got here. The General has certain intelligence of 2000 ready to defend Crown Point, who are encamped at Montreal, & can push off at an hour's warning. Our Batteries not yet complete; hope they will be finished this week; no train of artillery yet arrived, that is mortars, shells, cannon shot, &c. I very much fear the consequence of our long stay here. Things look with a dark aspect. I am often urging the necessity of our speedy march, but what can we do? Move we can't till such times as our stores arrive, neither will the General suffer it, he says, till two thirds are ready, or a suitable force to oppose their army, should they attack us, as doubtless they will if their numbers are superior, which they can know by their Indians who will view us every day, & if they should cut our first detachment they may defeat the expedition.

JULY 16th. This afternoon Col^l Titcomb is come within 5 miles of the city, whose Surgeon is come on shore & tells me that the medicines for our regiment are on board, which you may needs think is very agreeable news, considering I have had the mortification to be obliged hitherto to the Continental Surgeons for medicines, & to say the truth could not think myself much obliged neither, considering the quantity & quality of their medicines; but will give the gentlemen credit, that as to their service & good will it has been generous. Orders have been given out by the General this morning for the marching of the first division consisting of 12 or 1500 men in order to repair the bridges & ways for the wagons to Lydius Carrying Place, so that things put on a better face, & I doubt

not by to morrow to see a more cheerly countenance in the men's phizzes, which were continually dejected, fearing as they expressed it another Canada expedition. Our regiment is very much scattered three companies being two miles & a half or three miles down the river, & the others scattered up the river four or five miles, so that I have quite exercise enough at present to prevent an addition to the accumulation of my Corpus; & as for a horse I have not been upon one since I came here, but use the flat of my foot every day four or five miles, & sometimes more, which, by the way, I hope will not be a disservice to my footing of it to Crown Point, provided my wages will find me shoes. Major General Shirley is yet here, designs as the report is to march up to Schenectady to-morrow to join his troops that are there. As our medicines & necessaries are now come, & coming near by, I suppose we shall be upon the march directly, having awaited them with the utmost impatience; but I must conclude with my hearty & sincere prayers that God would keep & preserve you all, & give us an opportunity to rejoice together in his loving kindness & tender mercies towards us in our absence from each other.

Your very affect^d Husband
THO^s WILLIAMS.

3.—*To his Wife.*

LYDIUS'S CARRYING PLACE,
Aug. 14, 1755..

MY DEAR:

I have been very ill with the Fever & Dysentery; but through the goodness of God I have recovered so much a measure of health as to be able to do my duty in the regiment respecting the sick. Have heard from you but once by letters by Dr. Field, since I came from home. Have sent, if I mistake not, 5 letters. The remainder in part (viz) Gen. Johnson, Col. Titcomb, Col. Guttridge, & their regiments, with my Brother's & the rest of his regiment joined us this day, & not before. The Yorkers & R. Islanders are yet behind, & it seems if we drive on (not Alexander like) we may possibly see Crown Point by this time twelve months. I this day hear the melancholly news of Col. Williams, of Weathersfield, death. Pray God sanctify the awful bereavement. In general our men healthy for such an army; but two or three deaths since we arrived, & none from our parts. The men our way pretty well. Officers & men in good spirits, but the Post forbids my adding save that I am,

Your affectionate Husband,
THO^s WILLIAMS.

4.—To his Wife.

CAMP AT THE CARRYING PLACE,
Aug. 17, 1755.

MY DEAR WIFE:

I write by every opportunity to you, & many times when I have none, to be ready against time of need, therefore it would be an unpardonable crime, should I miss this favorable one by Ensⁿ Barnard, who arrived here yesterday. I am, thro' Divine Providence, recruiting strength daily; heartily hope that these may find you & my dear children who are often upon my mind, under the protection & favorable smiles of a gracious God. It was like good news from a far country, & rejoiced my heart to hear of yours & the family's health by Ensⁿ Sheldon; & it would have added to the pleasure could I have had but one line from your dear hand.

As for news I can write but little, as the General arrived but thursday last. It is a fortnight this day since I came to this place & was in hopes that ere this time we should have advanced to the other side of the Carrying Place, but the old proverb is, "great wheels move slow." I wish it may be sure; am pretty certain of a long expedition, & I cant say I dont fear a fruitless one. We knew not yet which way we are like to proceed, as the country has not yet been sufficiently reconnoitered, at least so as to give us satisfactory intelligence, notwithstanding we had about eight days ago 300 men at work cutting the road to Fort Ann, supposing we should go by Wood Creek, & in two days they cleared a road thirty feet wide, about 8 miles, or two thirds of the way to the Wood Creek, but now that is stopped, & 40 picked white men, with 3 of the General's Indians are gone to view that whole country, in order to find out the best way for us to proceed. Capt. Taylor, of Hartford, a vigilant, active, good officer, goes ahead. Capt. Burke is also this day going with 10 picked men, & 3 of the General's Indians to Lake St. Sacrament to view that road. With submission to the General officers, I must think it a very grand mistake that the business was not done two months ago, but so it is, & impatience will only add to difficulty. I endeavor to keep myself calm & quiet under our slow progress, & to wait God's time who orders all events, trusting he will yet appear for our help, & his own time favor this our cause which I believe to be just & good. I was not insensible the fatigues of a campaign were great, when I undertook & came from home & to which the additional affliction of leaving the Dear wife of my bosom, pleasant children, & agreeable relatives & friends, I could not have reconciled myself unto, had I

not thought I had a clear call, to serve my God my King, & country in this shape, & I have no reason yet to alter my mind respecting the same, therefore I trust the same Divine Providence who has hitherto kept & preserved me will still keep preserve & return me again to you in safety, to whose kind & benevolent care I commit you & my dear children & subscribe myself

Your affect^d Husband,
THO^s WILLIAMS.

5.—To his Wife.

FROM THE CAMP AT THE CARRYING PLACE,
Aug. 23, 1755

MY DEAR :

I having an opportunity to send to For Massachusetts, improve it to let you hear from me, as also the rest of my friends there, if I have any, which I might rationally suspect I have not, by not receiving any tokens thereof above a month past, excepting a line from the Rev. Mr. Ashley, which favor I have a few days since returned him my thanks. I am now at the same place where I was 20 days ago. The Expedition goes on very slowly, in some expectation of marching 2 days hence to Lake St. Sacrament, [*Lake George*] as they have this day begun to open a road that way, not being able to find one any other. I suppose the several governments are sent to, to reinforce us with more men, which I hope will be cheerfully complied with, if they desire we shall be successful against Crown Point. My compliments to Major Williams, let him know I expect he will, agreeable to his promise, be here with some of his first recruits. Saving a too great laxness of my bowels, which is common in the army, I am in considerable health. Want very much to hear from you & the dear children, who are often in my mind. Our army in general pretty healthy, not having more than 20 of the Province forces in the Hospital, & but one or two dangerous. have lost 8 of our troops who died at the Flats, ere they reached this place. Capt. Kellogg died at Schenectady last monday, after an illness of 15 days. Fever & Dysentery.

You affectionate Husband
THO^s WILLIAMS.

6.—To his Wife.

LAKE GEORGE, Sept. 11, 1755.

MY DEAR SPOUSE:

Last monday, the 8th instant, was the most awful day that my eyes ever beheld, & may I not say that ever was seen in New England considering the transactions of it. Having intelligence that an army of French & Indian

that were discovered by our Indian scouts, part of our army were detached to intercept their retreat, as it was supposed they were designed for Fort Lyman, [now Fort Edward] at the south end of the Carrying-place; about 1000 whites under the command of my dear brother Ephraim who led the van, & Lt. Col. Whiting who brought up the rear & about 150 Mohawks under the Command of King Hendrick, their principal speaker, were attacked by the French Army consisting of 1200 regulars, & about 900 Canadians & Savages, about 8 miles from our encampment. & the main of our detachment it is said, put to a precipitate flight, but the certainty is not yet known, besure those brave men who stood fighting for our dear country perished in the field of battle. The attack began about half an hour after ten in the morning, & continued till about four in the afternoon before the enemy began their retreat. The enemy were about an hour & a half driving our people before them, before they reached the camp, where to give them due credit they fought like brave fellows on both sides for near four hours, disputing every inch of ground, in the whole of which time there seemed to be nothing but thunder & lightning & perpetual pillars of smoke. Our Cannon (which under God it appears to me) saved us were heard down as low as near Saratoga, notwithstanding the wind was in the south, & something considerable, & which by the way was a great disadvantage to our troops, as the smoke was drove in our faces. The wounded were brought in very fast, & it was with the utmost difficulty that their wounds could be dressed fast enough, even in the most superficial manner, having in about three hours near forty men to be dressed, & Dr. Pynchon, his mate & Billy (one of his students) & myself were all to do it, my mate being at Fort Lyman attending upon divers sick men there. The bullets flew like hail-stones about our ears all the time of dressing, as we had not a place prepared of safety, to dress the wounded in, but through God's goodness we received no hurt any more than the bark of the trees & chips flying in our faces by accidental shots, which were something frequent. Our Tent was shot through in diver places, which we thought best to leave & retire a few rods behind a shelter of a log house, which so loose laid as to let the balls through very often. I have not time to give a list of the dead which are many, by reason I have not time to attend the wounded as they ought to be. My necessary food & sleep are almost strangers to me since the fatal day; fatal indeed to my dear brother Ephraim, who was killed in the beginning of the action, by a ball through his head. Great numbers of brave men, & some of the flower of our army died

with him on the spot, a list of which I refer you to Capt. Burke's letter to Lt. Hoit, having not time to get a copy of one myself. Twenty odd wounded in our regiment, amongst whom some, I fear will prove mortal, & poor brother Josiah makes one of the number, having a ball lodged in his intestines, which entered towards the upper part of his thigh & passed through his groin. Poor Capt. Hawley is yet alive, though I did not think he would live two hours after bringing him in being shot in at the left pap (& the ball cut out near his shoulder blade) cutting his pleura, & piercing through the left lobe of his lungs. As the violence of his symptoms are this day somewhat abated, I have some small hopes he may recover. Our Mohawks suffered considerable in the action, having thirty three killed, with the brave King Hendrick, which has exasperated them much, so that it is with a great deal of difficulty that we can keep them from sacrificing the French General & Aid-de-camp, & the rest of the French prisoners, about 21 in number, which we have taken. The French General is much wounded, whose name & title is as follows: (as appears by his papers) *M. Le Baron des Dieskau, Marshall de Camp et Armies Envoye in Canada pour Commander Tout les Troupes*. It seems he was a Lt. Col^d under Count Saxe last war in Flanders; & was sent over with the same power & command from that country that the late Gen. Braddock was from England; but must conclude, being interrupted every moment by my patients wanting something or other.

Our recruits begin to come up, which if the remainder soon join, hope we shall yet see Crown Point in a few weeks, & by God Almighty's assistance make it our own. The remainder of the French army were attacked by 250 of the New Hampshire troops after they left us; & put to a precipitate flight, as they were not apprised of those troops, they left their baggage & most of their provisions, packs, & some guns, & many dead bodies on the spot where the attack began in the morning, when our troops came upon them, as they were sitting down to rest after their fatigue with us. The French General says he lost 600 of his men, & the Aid-de-Camp says more, & that they have lost 1000. It is certain they were smartly paid, for they left their garments & weapons of war for miles together after the brush with the Hampshire troops like the Assyrians in their flight. If we had had 5 or 600 fresh troops to have followed them it is thought very few would have gone back to Crown Point to tell what had become of their brethren. It is now 11 o'clock at night & I have had scarce any sleep since the action, must therefore wish you a good night, looking to a merciful & gracious God to

keep & preserve you with all my dear relatives & friends & in his own due time return me home to you in safety laden with the experience of his salvation, & a grateful sense of his divine mercies to us all. With love to my dear children & proper regards to all, as due, I subscribe myself

Your affectionate Husband till Death.

THO' WILLIAMS.

MRS. ESTHER WILLIAMS.

7.—*To his Wife.*

CAMP AT LAKE GEORGE,
Sept. 26, 1755.

MY DEAR:

I this morning received a letter from Dr. Field, informing of the health of the family, for which I bless God, & pray that these may find you still under the smiles of Divine Providence.

I have not had my health quite so well for 8 or 10 days since, being almost wore out in attending upon the sick & wounded which are many. I design when our new recruits arrive, if I dont grow any better, to get liberty to come home & recruit, as I believe riding would much serve my health under my present lax state of my bowels. Poor Capt. Hawley was buried yesterday after lying 16 days, & one lobe of his lungs was putrefied & consumed by the ball which passed through. Brother Josiah I am in hopes will recover, though yet in great danger of an ulcer of his bladder which the ball passed through. Mical Harrington died of the wound he received through the fleshy part of the thigh, the ball undoubtedly poisoned, as also one Jonathan Burt of Brimfield, by a poisoned ball through the arm, & one Bisbee by a slight shot in the leg which threw him into convulsions. The art of man could not stop the mortification which seized the wounded part, & presently a few hours shut up the scene. Oh! cursed malice that the fatal lead should not be thought sufficient without being rolled up with a dissolution of copper & yellow arsenic as I am thoughtful was the case by many of their poisoned balls which were brought in out of their bullet pouches taken among the plunder. I trust a righteous God will one day avenge their barbarous rage, cruelty & malice against us. I am forced to steal time to write thus much, & having numbers round to answer questions to, all the time, must, therefore conclude, hoping, God willing, to see you shortly.

Your affⁿ Husband

THO' WILLIAMS.

MRS. ESTHER WILLIAMS.

I fear the expediton is over for this year.
Sub^a Rosa.

8.—*To his Wife.*

CAMP AT LAKE GEORGE,
Oct. 8th, 1755.

MY DEAR WIFE:

I wrote a line by Dr. Mattoon to Dr. Field, desiring him to send two horses by the first opportunity to Fort Massachusetts, in order to Capt. Wyman's sending them to Albany. Was in hopes of being there this week, but find myself sadly disappointed in that scheme—have been very urgent to get home before cold weather gets to be tedious, as I supposed the Expedition to Crown Point for this year was at an end. But as our recruits begin to come in daily, & the road is full of men & provisions; as they say, & the General, as yet not having positive orders from the several Governments what to do, whether to make a stand or to proceed, he is very loth to have me come home, but lets me know he expects in a few days to receive orders, & then he shall know how to act. I must say he is a complete gentleman, & willing to oblige & please all men, familiar & free of access to the lowest Centinel, a gentleman of uncommon smart sense & even temper; never yet saw him in a ruffle, or use any bad language—in short I never was so disappointed in a person in the idea I had of him before I came from home, in my life; to sum up he is almost universally beloved & esteemed by officers & soldiers as a *second Marlborough for coolness of head & warmness of heart*. We are now building a strong fortress, expecting to go no farther considering the advanced season & difficulty of provisions being brought us, which is extremely great, but know not what our constituents will order should we stop here; hope God willing to be at home in three weeks or a month.

Your Sincerely affectⁿ Husband,

THO' WILLIAMS.

9.—*To his Wife.*

LAKE GEORGE, Oct. 19, 1755.

MY DEAR WIFE:

Having one moment cheerfully improve it to let you hear from me. Thro' Divine goodness I am in some comfortable measure of health except a bad cold & cough, which is prevalent thro'out the camp. Some of the late recruits are very sickly, & more die of them than of the old troops. We have lost by sickness but 3 of this regiment since our arrival at this place, & have two or three more dangerous of nervous fever. It is said that the fortress will be made defensible in a fortnight, when it is supposed the old troops will be dismissed, at least as many of them as have no desire of enlisting to keep it. For my part my

eyes are towards New England, seeing we are not like to proceed this year.

I am in very great haste your tender &
Very affect^a Husband
THO^a WILLIAMS.

MRS. ESTHER WILLIAMS.

10.—*To his Wife.*

LAKE GEORGE, NOV. 2, 1755.

MY DEAR:

I gladly embrace every opportunity to let you hear from me. Through Divine goodness I enjoy a comfortable degree of health. Should be glad to hear from you & the rest of the family. It is a long time since I have heard any thing from you. Wrote to you by Serj^t Dickinson, of Hatfield, but fear he has not got home, but has fallen into the enemy's hands, from a report which came from Albany last night. By him I sent for two horses to be sent by the first opportunity. Should my letter have failed desire you would send them as soon as you can. Aaron Scott or Gad Corse will come if desired; should be glad if one would if no other opportunity offers. I am in hopes the Fort will be so far done as to be left in one week from this time. About 200 men are going this day to the Narrows to give the enemy's advanced party a salutation, who by Capt. Rogers' account from them are about 100 in number. He was sent with about 80 men three days since, & this morning sent a man back for the 200 with which he thinks he can do the job. This Capt. Rogers a few days since killed a Frenchman & took his scalp within 60 rods of Crown Point walls. But the bearer waits, must conclude with my hearty prayers for your health & prosperity.

Your Affect^a Husband
THO^a WILLIAMS.

II.—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1756.

11.—*To his Wife.*

ALBANY, 19th June, 1756.

MY DEAR:

I extremely want to hear from you, more especially as your health was at so low an ebb when I left home, trust you will not fail of writing by the first opportunity. One you may have by the Post every week by sending a letter to Capt. Millers, or Lieut. Clapp's at Westfield, where the Post will call for letters. As I have been confined ever since I came have no news. The main of the forces are encamped at the half moon, & so on to the Lake. By what I can learn our whole number dont amount to 5000 men, & I cant learn but that they are mostly come along that are raised. If my fits (fever &

ague) dont return I shall be able to join the troops in a few days when I may be able to give a better account. Yesterday 200 N. Carolinians joined us for the Crown Point expedition under the command of Maj^r Dobbs, the Governor's son. The regulars that belonged to Braddock are also to join us, I suppose under command of Gen. Webb, who is hourly expected from York. But my hands & eyes begin to fail & therefore subscribe what I really am

Your very Aff^a Husband
THO^a WILLIAMS.

12.—*To his Wife.*

CAMP AT STILL WATER,
July 16, 1756.

MY DEAR:

Yesterday about 12 we decamped at the half moon, save a company from each regiment to keep the ground still. The regulars from Albany take possession & arrived at this place about 1 P. M., that is the front of our army. The heavy artillery is yet upon the road, & I believe will not be here to night, the roads are so extremely bad, & the 18 pounders, of which we have 4 to take along, monstrously large & heavy. The great rains we have had for 3 weeks past, almost every day more or less, have made the roads almost impassable, but the men's spirits hold up yet pretty well, & are pretty generally healthy, considering the extremity of the heat & plentiful rains. July 17th. Marched from Still Water about 11 A. M. Arrived at Saratoga with the bigger part of our troops & baggage about sunset, a hard days march, & fatigued our men very much, as they were obliged to mend the roads for the wagons. 18th. This morning the rest of our troops came up, but as it is a day of rest by Divine institution we dont oblige them to march, but give them a breathing spell. This afternoon Capt. Rogers came down with 4 scalps, & 8 prisoners, which he took on Lake Champlain, between 20 & 30 miles beyond Crown Point. They were coming to Crown Point with stores, about 800 bushels of flour, a large quantity of Brandy, Wine, some money. The plunder exclusive of the cash sold for £52 York money. Our men sunk the flour, & knocked out the heads of the casks, & let out the liquor, save what they wanted for their own use, then drew up the whale boats & hid them, & marched thro' the woods upon the west side of the Lake to Fort William Henry, a brave action, & will undoubtedly fill them with consternation, if they can find out what has become of their party it will oblige them to leave their habitations, & draw into their strong-holds. Not one escaped to carry tidings. July 19th. This day

we are sending along our stores as fast as possible with about 200 wagons & teams are to march tomorrow morning by 5 with the artillery—hope to reach Fort Edward tomorrow night where we must make a week or 10 days stay, the vessels not being ready to transport our artillery & stores,

Your affectionate Husband
THO^s WILLIAMS.

13.—To Colonel Israel Williams.]

DEAR SIR:

I have been to the Lake with a party to guard the teams, wagons, artillery, viz, 120 wagons, 50 ox teams, three 18 pounders, 2 howitz four pounders, guard 250 men. A Council of War have been sitting a week or ten days to answer an important question of Gen. Abercrombie, viz.

What effect a junction of the king's troops with the provincial (in the present expedition) would have upon his Majesties service? It is unanimously agreed that if we must lose rank by the junction it would have the effect to destroy the greater part of the troops. It appears to me that the settling ranks among ourselves may (if gone into according to some gentlemen's minds) be campaign enough for one year. We have 2 Vessels between 20 & 40 tons finished, some time since, & 4 more upon the stocks, two of almost 40 tons nearly ready to launch, the other two fly-boats. The whole may be ready in 10 days if the rigging arrives from N. York. Most of the artillery, stores, &c., are sent to the Lake.

Respy Yours,
THO^s WILLIAMS.

14.—To his Wife.

CAMP AT FORT EDWARD,
July 31, 1756.

MY DEAR SPOUSE:

I wrote you yesterday but my letters got drowned, & so I send the express again to try a second chance. Dont know but the Express & Paquet may drown together this time but hope not—wish it safe to your hands—am troubled with a bad cold, & inflammation in one of my legs which has in some measure confined me for 2 days past, but this afternoon, am much better—hope by the goodness of God to get about again in 2 or 3 days. We are at work all hands getting provisions &c. up to the Lake while they that are there work night & day almost in preparing the vessels in order to transportation. We shall have six vessels from 20 to 40 tons burthen, 4 large gundaloes—Whale boats & battoes a large number—artillery from 18 pounds to swivels, & I believe that we have strength along also 2 thirty two pounders, mortars, &c.

I believe we shall be ready in about ten or 15 days for a general remove not to stop till we have accomplished our business, if God give us success. What the event will be he only knows. Our numbers are much shorter than was proposed, & our army which we have are sickly, perhaps 1000 or 1500 invalids out of 6000, or at least 6500, but we hear that there are 800 coming from our Province to make up our deficiency, which am glad of, as we shall want them, I have no doubt, & as it will stop the mouths of the officers of the other governments, who complain we have more officers than men. As to the Regulars believe upon the whole they will not join us, but dont certainly know, am thoughtful if they should it would knock the expedition in the head, at least for this year. Two days since we heard L^d Loudon is arrived at Albany with a declaration of war. What effect his coming will have upon our affairs know not. He took a sick Martinico man of war in his passage laden with sugar & indigo, & also brings the good news that Admiral Byn had fell in with the Brest fleet, taken 8 men of war & taken 2. Hope to have a line by the bearer who I have given liberty to be at home but 2 nights at most, as he is sent with a party to collect men left at home & at Fort Massachusetts—hope he will be faithful & speedy

Your affect^d Husband
THO^s WILLIAMS.

15.—To his Wife.

CAMP AT FORT EDWARD,
Aug. 25, 1756.

MY DEAR:

Yours of the 6th Inst. came safe to hand the 21st by Serj^t Severance, which gave me no small pleasure, as I was extremely concerned for the Scout, as they had exceeded the time of their return by 10 days. What added to my concern was a current plausible story spread in Camp two days before the Scout arrived, that six men were found killed & scalped on the Hoosack road. As there seems at present no prospect of our proceeding this year my heart & eyes look home-wards—dont see what service we can be of here, unless to demolish the provisions which has taken up all summer to get to the Lake, & not finished yet. But it is not for me to say; must leave prudentials with superiors. Thairs is to command—mine to obey. You have doubtless heard ere this that his Majesties important garrisons at Oswego are taken, & Col. Mercer, the command, er killed, which has altered our plan of operations, & orders from Lord L—d—n that we proceed no farther at present, but fortify strongly at this place, a plan of which is laid out by the King's engineers here, & which will take us no

small time to accomplish under the present disposition of our men, which is, they had rather die than dig. This moment a party arrived from Albany, & contradict the news of Oswego being taken—say the first account was brought by some that deserted, which I hope is true, as the reverse would have thrown this country especially the southern governments into the utmost confusion, & indeed opened a wide door for their desertion. The sickness in our army does not increase nor abate as I can perceive. We bury about two a day, one day with another, for about three weeks past—by what I can learn much so at the Lake. Whilst I am writing another messenger arrives & says Oswego is certainly taken. What to believe no man knows. The last account they say comes from Gen. Johnson in a letter from him at his fort to Albany—hope the truth will shortly appear. Col. Dwight has been home about 3 weeks, went from Albany to Stockbridge last Saturday sennight—his son here quite sick with the Camp fever taken about 15 days since. This is the second trip the Brigadier has been home since I have been in Camp. What a fine privilege my Dear, it is, to have one's Rib live so near a camp—but this moment am called to attend my duty, & must conclude with my hearty prayers for the restoration of your health, & compliments to all friends.

Love to Dear Children &c.

Y^r Affⁿ Husband,
THO^s WILLIAMS.

16.—To Colonel Israel Williams.

CAMP AT FORT EDWARD,
Aug. 28, 1756.

DEAR SIR :

A grievous sickness among the troops—bury 5 or 6 a day—not more than two thirds of our army fit for duty. Long encampments are the bane of New England men, & prove almost as bad as *rutabane*. At the Lake sickness & mortality about the same as ours—97 of our small regiment are invalided. The sickness I think owing to a want of fresh air, warm lodgings, proper nursing, & a suitable nutritious diet. We are forbid proceeding at present by my L^d Loudon & directed to strengthen & fortify this place, in the best place. The plan of works laid out here will hold our men in full employ till near winter.

Y^r Humble Serv^t,
THO^s WILLIAMS.

17.—To his Wife.

CAMP AT FORT EDWARD,
Sept. 2, 1756.

MY DEAR :

I just write you one line to let you know I am

alive & some better, than when I wrote you last, but apprehend I shall not regain my strength in this unwholesome country. I desire next week to get liberty for a day tour to Albany, & as there is no prospect of our proceeding this year, I believe I shall get along to Stockbridge, after resting awhile at Albany, but in order thereto must obtain leave, whether I can obtain, know not. Gen. W—n—sl—w has forbid any invalid to go off upon any consideration whatever, even if the consequence of staying were certain death, & death it will prove to many scores, that were they allowed to go to a good air, would live & be useful members of community. Our army yet holds very sickly, & we bury 5 or 6 a day, & it is nearly so at the Lake, though deaths there for some days past hardly so frequent. We have not 300 effectives in the whole army, & many of them miserable creatures, & were so when they came from home. Idiots & cripples are as numerous in our small army, as I believe ever were in an army since the world began. Oswego has changed masters, & I think we may justly fear that the whole of our country will soon follow, unless a merciful God prevent, & awake a sinful people to repentance & reformation. Our crying sins are undoubtedly the procuring cause of the heavy judgments we groan under, & greater ones we may expect unless we turn to the Lord with our whole heart, & not feignedly. When I shall be at home God only knows. To his care & blessing I commit you, my Dear Soul, & the dear children, to whom give my love & compliments to all friends as tho^s named.

Your Affectⁿ Husband
THO^s WILLIAMS.

II. — PRINTERS, PUBLISHERS, AND BOOKSELLERS, IN BOSTON, BEFORE THE YEAR 1800.

NOTES OF REMARKS BEFORE THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY, BOSTON.*

By SAMUEL G. DRAKE, Esq., FORMERLY ITS PRESIDENT.

Whoever has given this subject much thought, might undoubtedly greatly increase the list which I shall give at this time. Indeed, I only intend to introduce a few of the many upon my memoranda. Although notes were made, through a course of many years, the subject is only commenced. An old ac-

* These Notes were sent to us by their Author, at our urgent request, in order to assist us in our necessary labor, while we were confined to our bed, by severe injuries sustained in a fall on an icy sidewalk, in New York.

They were originally made without any reference to anything except the publications of the persons named—that is, without any aid but from the works which the latter had, themselves, produced, as Authors, Printers, or Book-

quaintance, long a Bookseller and Publisher in Boston, has a large volume of MS. reminiscences upon this subject, having been himself personally acquainted with a great number of his craft, extending over a period of no ordinary length. And, when we add to this the period of the generation which closed when the gentleman (now among the seventies) was young, quite a constellation of luminaries, it will be readily perceived, must be comprehended. But these preliminary remarks are a little digressive; and I will leave them, and proceed, alphabetically, with my notices:—

Among those of the name of ADAMS were *S. Adams*, who, in 1702, printed *George Cocking's War: an Heroic Poem*, in octavo; *Thomas Adams*, Printer to the General Court of Massachusetts; *Adams & Larkin*, who, in 1794, printed *Fleming on the Rise & Fall of Ppacy*, the Laws, etc.—the firm was afterwards *Adams & Nourse*.

JOHN ALLEN was an early Printer. The first work I have seen printed by him, is dated 1691. He printed many works between this date and 1715.

ANDREW BARCLAY is met with, in 1773, "at the Sign of the Gilt Bible." He republished Tate and Brady. In 1769, he gives notice "that he is removed from the shop, N. side of the Three Kings, to the other side of the way, nearly opposite the Heart & Crown, about half way between the Old Brick Meeting House & Dr. Sewalls, where he binds all sorts of books, gilt or plain, in the neatest & best manner;" "N. B. At the same place may be had a variety of Books in Divinity, History, Pamphlets, Plays, Singing books, &c."

E. BATTELLE published Fisher's *Young Man's Best Companion*, 1783, a duodecimo. In 1786, his shop was in Marlborough-street. He is first noticed "Near the State House," in 1784.

The BELKNAPS were long in the Book trade: *Nathaniel's* shop, in 1723, was "at the North End, at the Corner of Scarlet's Wharf, next door to the Miter Coffee House." *The New England Diary, or Almanack*, for that year, was published by him, also a Sermon on the Death

of Doctor I. Mather; and, in 1724, Doctor Cotton Mather's *Life of his Father*. *Joseph Belknap* was at No. 8 Dock Square, in 1794. Several works bear his imprint. He was the Belknap of *Belknap & Hall*, and afterwards *Belknap & Young*. Their imprint is in the third volume of *Belknap's New Hampshire*, 1792. The first volume had no name of Printer. The same year, they printed *Gardiner on the Theatre*, octavo, and the *Life of Baron Trenck*, duodecimo, for B. Guild and others. Their office was in State-street.

CALEB BINGHAM was a School-master and Bookseller. He compiled several school-books which had a wide circulation, and are still highly prized by those who know them. In 1799, his "shop" was at No. 44 Cornhill, a locality which he occupied fifteen years or more. In 1802, he translated Chateaubriand's well known work called *Atala*, of which a second Edition was printed for him, in 1814, by Samuel T. Armstrong.

WILLIAM P. BLAKE, Bookseller and Publisher, 1793—5. As late as 1805, he kept a library at No. 3 School-street.

J. BLANCHARD, at the Bible and Crown, in Dock-square, 1748—1752.

NICHOLAS BOONE was "over against the Brick Meeting-house," 1701—1714. When the first Newspaper was started in Boston, in 1704, Boone was the Publisher. About 1714, or earlier, he was at the sign of the Bible, in Cornhill. As late as 1729, he was at the last-named place. A list of the works published by him would be of great interest. Among them were the second Edition of Morton's *New England Memorial*; Doctor I. Mather's *Disquisition concerning Ecclesiastical Councils*, 1716; and his *Ichabod, or the Glory of New England Departing*.

BOWEN & NORMAN, Printers, 1785, Marshall's-lane—probably Daniel Bowen and John Norman.

BOWES, NICHOLAS—in 1762, *Wharton & Bowes*. *Wharton* was dead, in 1768. Bowes carried on the business of Bookseller under his own name, "opposite the Old Brick Meeting House," in 1769. He, I think, went to England, not long after.

JOHN BOYLE was a very extensive Publisher. Works with his imprint are met with, from 1773—92. His place of business was "Next door to the Three Doves," in Marlborough-street.

JOSEPH BROWNING was a Bookseller, here, from 1683 to his death, in 1691. His shop was "on the corner of Prison Lane, next the Town House." John Dunton says he was a Dutch Bookseller; and hence we see his name, as printed by himself, *Brunning and Browning*.

sellers. The form, too, in which these Notes have been sent to us, is only that of the briefest kind, drawn from our friend's original memoranda, at two hours notice, for his guidance, in an off-hand address delivered before The New England Historic-Genalogical Society, in place of one expected from some other person who had disappointed the Committee. Our friend's ready pen then relieved the Society's Committee, in an emergency: now, it serves to relieve us, when the least relief is a most perfect God-send.

It will be seen that our friend's Notes extend only to the letter E; and in a private note to us, he says, concerning them, "whether I shall get time to draw out the other portion of my Notes, is quite uncertain: if I do it for anybody, it will be for you." Let us hope that that good time "is coming."—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

THOMAS BROMFIELD republished, here, in 1762, the *History of the Great fire in London*. In 1769, he advertised Bowman's *Seven Sermons*. He kept in King-street.

JOSEPH BUMSTEAD, Printer and Bookseller. In 1791, he printed in Union-street. He probably did not print much later than 1795. He was a dealer in second-hand books for some thirty years—lastly on the spot now occupied by Mason & Lawrence's store, in Milk-street. A large number of books were printed by him, generally in a very inferior style.

J. BUSHEL, a Printer, is met with, as early as 1742. He was associated with *J. Green*; and was one of the firm of *Green, Bushel & Allen*. They printed, in that year, Shepard's *Sound Believer*. It was *Bushel & Green*, as late as 1749.

ALFRED BUTLER, Bookseller, "at the lower end of King Street, near the Crown Coffee House," 1727-8. I have seen but two works printed for him.

NICHOLAS BUTTOLPH, a Bookseller and Publisher, 1719 to 1728. In the latter year, he was one of the Publishers of Hodder's *Arithmetic*; and his store was in Cornhill.

S. CABOT appears in 1794; but how much of a Publisher he was I cannot state, as I find his name only to Doctor John Moore's *Journal of a Residence in France*, in two volumes, duodecimo.

DUNCAN CAMPBELL had a store "over against the Conduit at the Dock Head," in 1693, in which year he published the Reverend Charles Morton's *Spirit of Man*. Ben Harris printed for him.

ISAAC CAZNEAU sold books near the Mill Bridge, in 1798; and, in 1795, he was in Marshall's-lane.

JOHN CHECKLEY, Bookseller, "at the sign of the Blue Gate, over against the West-end of the Town House," 1723. He published some of his own productions—one of which is, *A Short and Easy Method with the Deists*. He being an Episcopalian, and having classed the Deists and Dissenters together, he was prosecuted for "publishing and selling of a false and scandalous libel;" and was sentenced by the Court to "pay a Fine of Fifty Pounds, and to give surety for his good behavior six months, and pay the cost of prosecution." Fifteen years afterwards, he published, in London, a second Edition of his Trial, and a Speech which he made at the Trial. These are sometimes found bound up with the *Short and Easy Method with the Deists*. An Edition of both was printed at Windsor, Vermont, in 1812. It is not determined whether or not John Checkley was a connection of the earlier residents of the same surname, in Boston.

WILLIAM T. CLAP sold books at the Corner

of Proctor's-lane, in 1795. Four years later, he was in Fish-street, and there published *Marine Rules and Regulations*, an octavo of sixty-four pages.

I have met with the name of J. CONDY, as Publisher, but once; and that in 1785. He, in that year, issued, with others, Fisher's *Young Man's Best Companion*, a duodecimo.

NATHANIEL COVERLY has been off the stage nearly forty years. He published many works; but was at first a Printer. His publications were generally small pieces; as small story-books, ballads, etc. As late as 1823, his shop was in Milk-street; and, in the *Directory* of that year, his place is styled a "Pamphlet Shop." It had then been so styled, several years. He probably died in 1823 or '4, as his name is not in the *Directory* of 1825. His imprint is found as early as 1774. In 1781-2, Coverly & Hodge published *An Impartial History of the War in America, Illustrated with beautiful Copper Plates*, in two volumes, octavo. But those plates were shocking "specimens of humanity." I remember Mr. Coverly well, when he kept a little shop near the present site of Little, Brown & Co., in Washington-street. This was in 1816. The walls of his shop were nearly covered with ballads, in broad-side.

COVERLY & HOYT, Printers, "at the corner of Back Street," 1789. I have met with but a single tract with their imprint, namely, *Minutes of the Warren Association*, octavo.

T. COX was probably an Englishman, and did not reside here very long. His store was at the "Sign of the Lamb, at the South side of the Town House," in 1734. He issued quite an extensive Catalogue in that year, the titles of works in which number eight hundred and fifty-six. One, G. Vaux, managed the business, who, in the Catalogue says "he intends to re-turn to London in three months from the issue of the Catalogue."

COX & BERRY's name appear in Stickney's *Musical Companion*, an oblong octavo, in 1774.

T. CRUMP printed Mr. Cooper's *Confessions of Faith*, etc., in 1716, a duodecimo, appended to Colman's *Sermon at the Ordination of Mr. William Cooper*.

JOSHUA CUSHING, 79 State Street, printed *The Youth's Library*, in 1808, for William Biglow. It was a duodecimo of one hundred and eighty pages.

MICHAEL DENNIS was a Bookseller, near "Scarlet's Wharf," in 1741. In 1758, he printed Doctor S. Mather's Funeral Sermon on the death of Mr. William Welsted, and that on Ellis Gray, both in octavo. He died in 1763.

FRANCIS DEWING engraved and printed Bonner & Price's *Map of Boston*, which was published in 1722.

DRAPER. Few names, early or late, connected with Printing, have been more extensively known than that of Draper. To give even a partial list of works containing their imprint would far exceed the object of this sketch. The earliest works now before me with a "Draper" imprint, is 1740. In that year, *J. Draper & J. Edwards* printed Jennings' *Two Discourses*, etc., a duodecimo. The same year, *J. Draper* printed, for J. Edwards, Cooper's *Doctrine of Predestination*, etc. Also (the same year) for J. Edwards and H. Foster, in Cornhill, Cooper's *Election Sermon*, Doctor Colman's *Sermon on the occasion of the death of the Honorable Samuel Holden*, and that for Daniel Henschman, and Joseph Sewall's *Election Sermon*. In 1752, *John Draper* was "Printer to his Excellency the Governor and Council." Hence, as Public Printer, his imprint appears on Government issues: among them, before me are *A Conference with the Eastern Indians, at St. George's*, 1742, a quarto, and another Conference at the same place (with Indians) published in 1752, quarto. From 1742 to 1752, his publications are too numerous to be particularized. Mr. Draper's death is thus noticed in the *Boston Evening Post* of the sixth of December, 1762:—

"On Monday evening last, departed this life after a slow & hectic disorder, Mr. JOHN DRAPER, Printer, who, for a long time, has been the publisher of a Newspaper in this town, & by his industry, fidelity & prudence in his business, rendered himself very agreeable to the Public. We hear the Newspaper & other printing business will be carried on as heretofore, by Mr. Richard Draper, son of the deceased."

RICHARD DRAPER was established in the Printing business before the death of his father. I have before me, Mayhew's *Sermon on the Earthquake*, 1755, in octavo. His place of business was in Newbury-street. In 1761, he printed the Funeral Sermon, by Dr. Mayhew, on Stephen Sewell, Esq., an octavo.

In 1768, the firm of RICHARD & SAMUEL DRAPER is met with. In that year, appeared, with their imprint, Dr. Mayhew's *Eight Sermons*, in a handsome octavo.

EDWARD DRAPER in 1777, printed in Newbury-street, probably in the place before occupied by Richard Draper, whom the Revolution had disturbed. In the year last named, he printed the first volume of Backus's *History of New England*, etc. In 1785, he printed David Osgood's *Sermon Introductory to Peter Thacher's entering upon duty in Brattle Street Church*. This Mr. Osgood was afterwards the well known Doctor Osgood, of Medford, Massachusetts.

JOHN DUNTON was for a short time, a bookseller in Boston. He had a wild career as

Printer, Bookseller and Author, and is too well known to require any extended notice here. He was a careless Printer, judging from some twenty or thirty of his works, of all of which he was Author or Printer, in my library. His reprint of Cotton Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World*, 1693, is as shabby a specimen of typography as anything issued by "Nat Crouch," whom he says so many hard things about. He seems to have always been in a "Dublin Scuffle" with somebody, and to have come off second best; with the exception of that with the "Prince Society," where his *shade* was more potent than his real person would have been, in all probability.

BENJAMIN EDES, the "Patriot Printer," was one of those driven out of Boston in the Revolution. He set up his office in Watertown, in 1775, where he printed *A Declaration of the United Colonies*, an octavo. After "the Evacuation," he returned to Boston, and was the Publisher of the *Boston Gazette*, the issue of which, on Monday morning, the first of September, contained the news of the Battle of Bennington, which came by way of Albany, in a letter dated August 1st. No paper, it is claimed, did more to promote the cause of Independence, than that of Mr. Edes. He lived to near the end of the year 1803, dying at the advanced age of eighty years. He was a native of Charlestown; and commenced business in 1755. The name is still an honored one in that town. *John Gill* was his partner. They published a large number of the *spicy* political pamphlets, from 1762 to the close of the Revolutionary War. Among them, Otis's *Vindication of the House of Representatives*, 1762, octavo; *Letters to the Ministry, from Governor Bernard*; etc., 1769; *The conduct of the Administration examined*, 1767, octavo; Chauncey's *Sermon on the Earthquake of the 18th. of November*, 1755, octavo; Mayhew's, on the same event; *Remarks on a late Piece*, etc., 1757; Stevens's *Sermon on the death of Sir William Pepperrell*, quarto, 1759; Hancock's *Oration on the Fifth of March*, 1774, quarto.

Like many others, Mr. Edes's patriotism doomed him to close his days in poverty. His faith that the Government would redeem its obligations, led him to invest his hard earnings in its paper-money. I should have mentioned before, that the printing-office of *Edes & Gill* was "next the Prison, in Queen Street," in 1755; that, in 1766, they printed Samuel Moody's *Judas the Traitor hung up in chains, to give warning to Professors*, etc. This Author was the well known fighting Parson, familiarly called "Father Moody." He was a Chaplain in the Louisburg Expedition of 1745; and of whom many curious anecdotes are told.

PETER EDES collected and published the fa-

mous *Fifth of March Orations*, in 1785, in a neat small duodecimo volume, at his office in State-street.

III.—MOOSE ISLAND AND ITS DEPENDENCIES, FOUR YEARS UNDER MARTIAL LAW.

BY LORENZO SABINE.

[INTRODUCTORY NOTE.]

Moose-island: my home for twenty-eight years: where, in the words of another, "You see, often enough, the fisherman's humble boat, with an ugly black sky above and an angry sea beneath, and watch the grisly old man at the helm, carrying his craft with strange skill through the turmoil of waters, and the boy—supple-limbed, yet weather-worn already—with steady eyes that look through the blast, understanding commands from the jerk of his father's white eye-brow: now belaying, and now letting go, now *springing* down into mere ballast, or baling out Death with a pipkin."

Moose-island: to which I went to seek my fortune, in 1821, with the patrimony of poverty, with the high hopes of whistling boyhood, and with a very considerable stock of ignorance. Moose-island: almost East of sun-rise; where fog is made, by nature's freak, to bewilder the mariner along the coasts of New England; and where the easterly winds are compounded, by one of "nature's journeymen," of pulverized ice, red-pepper, and needle-points, in equal parts, for the special use and behoof, forever, of Boston and the Cape of Gosnold's naming, and of the Pilgrims earliest shelter.

Moose-island: how many times have I gathered, high above the sea and in its stormy woods, the poor, stunted wild-flower, leaning over to pluck it from the crevices of the very outer and even projecting rock, to be sure of a trophy from the north-eastern extremity of the United States: how many times have I gazed upon the magnificent scenery * of the Bay, with feelings akin to those of Domine Sampson, as he pronounced the word—"prodigious."

Moose-island: on the opposite side of the harbor, are islands once belonging to the ancient Acadia—to Acadia, that half fabulous country of Wars and Treaties between France and England, for nearly a century; and, with a "North-west angle," in our own diplomacy, which has never yet been found. To Acadia: where,

said the banished "Tories" of the Revolution, the tide rises and falls sixty feet; and where there are nine months of winter and three months of cold weather, in a year. And the ancient Acadians,—here and there, one of the race is still to be seen—memorable in Colonial History by their sufferings, and memorable in our day, in poetry, by Longfellow's *Evangeline*.

Go to Moose-island, dear reader, the coming Summer. You will be well cared for in the new Hotel; and you will find yourself among a people of as high culture, among a people as well fed, as well dressed, and as well housed, as in any other maritime town of a population of five thousand, in the whole country. And mark, sojourners there, unless the conscience be utterly scared, you can "sleep o' nights," when visitors some of the present fashionable resorts, are gasping for breath. Mark, too, as concerns the conscience, each of the seven Churches, though each differ in faith, teach the *only* true way to bliss, hereafter.

A single word more, in a less playful mood. I designed, years ago, to write a History of East-port; * but feel, at last, that I must leave the task to a younger and less weary brain. And yet, I cannot bear to think of longer keeping in manuscript, the only account of the *Four Years under Martial Law*, extant, probably, or which was ever prepared with reference to a place in the annals of the Town. I say, *only*, because not one† of the persons who, year after year, communicated to me their own knowledge of, or personal participation in, the events of that interesting period, now survive; and, as far as I know, were never asked by any person other than myself, to be allowed to commit their recollections, in detail, to paper, and then to meet and correct the differences which might be found in memory, on comparing the statements of each of them. True, as concerns records, another can glean materials from the official papers preserved in the Custom-house and elsewhere, as I have done; but who can supply the narratives—which are indispensable—of Solomon Rice, Samuel Wheeler, Samuel Tuttle, Doctor Mow, Jonathan D. Weston, and George Hobbs; or, of Jabez Mowry, Jonathan Bartlett, the Shackford's; and of others who have laid down mortality, leaving of their own, no manuscripts touching British rule?

To conclude this introductory note—already too long—I will merely add, that a paper for the Magazine may possibly follow, giving an

* Especially, from the parade ground, Fort Sullivan; from Prince Regent's Redoubt; at the turn of the "Old Road," as it passes the British burying-ground; and in the highland, near the "Old Prince-house," just South of Shackford's Cove; and, still again, from the site of the Meeting-house—first built—in Lubec.

* The corporate name of "Moose-island." The fishermen of the adjacent islands, and many of the descendants of the "Tories" of the Revolution, in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, still retain the ancient name.

† William Shackford and Darius Pearce, to whom I am indebted for some facts, are still living.

‡ John and Jacob.

count of *Moose-island*, during the *Embargo and non-intercourse Laws of Congress*; with incidents no where else possible in the United States, save on the southern border of Georgia, which, at that time, was also the southern frontier of the Union.

[THE CAPTURE AND POSSESSION.]

During the Winter of 1814, the inhabitants of Eastport suffered little annoyance from the British cruisers. The Sloop-of-war *Fantome*, Captain Lawrence, made her appearance, however, in April; drove two vessels on shore; captured a number of boats; and committed several other hostile acts near the town, in the course of that month and in May; but these were the principal events of any importance until midsummer.

In the afternoon of the eleventh day of July, a large fleet of ships was seen coming up the White Horse Way,* or the eastern passage, and approaching the town. But, as communication with the cities in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia; had continued to be frequent and easy, only five days previously, a gentleman from St. John had brought intelligence that a Frigate had arrived at Halifax, with news of an armistice and, probably, of peace.* the alarm was not, at first, very general. The common impression was, that these ships were merchantmen, under convoy of a frigate, bound to St. Andrew, for timber. The wind was South-east, the tide was fair, and they came up the passage rapidly. When off Indian-island, it was ascertained that the largest ship was of seventy-four guns, and that her consorts were, also, vessels of war. Familiar with the sight of British cruisers, many still believed that no hostile intentions against Eastport were meditated; but that the fleet would pass the town, and proceed to the Bay to St. Andrew.

Their progress was so swift, that there was no time to remove, none to deliberate; and while numbers were anxiously watching the movements and indulging in speculations as to the objects of the visitors, the leading ship, wearing a white flag, hove to, off the town, and sent a boat on shore, at Hayden's-wharf. A person, in uniform and with a flag, landed, and started, at a very rapid pace, for Fort Sullivan. Solomon Rice, who had been a close observer of everything, from the earliest moment, followed this messenger, without delay, and entered the garison with him, and heard him announce himself as "Lieutenant Oats, of the British Army, and

"of the staff of Sir John Cope Sherbrooke." He said that he bore a written summons for the surrender of the Fort and of the Island; and, handing to Major Putnam, the commanding officer, his watch and the summons, required an answer in five minutes. Mr. Rice remarked that he had come on a serious errand, and that the time allowed to consider the proposition was much too short.

Major Putnam asked both gentlemen to enter his quarters and to be seated. Lieutenant Oats complied with the first part of the invitation, but continued standing. The request that he would sit during the interview, was repeated, several times; but the Lieutenant as often replied, "Good day, good day, sir, my orders are imperative. I cannot stop." Several of the principal inhabitants had now repaired to the Fort; and, among them, were Samuel Wheeler and Aaron Hayden, who, on learning the state of affairs, united with Mr. Rice, in an endeavor to produce some arrangement which should prevent a sacrifice of life. Major Putnam was sick; but he declared his determination to disregard the summons, and to fire upon the ships.

The citizens, present, strenuously opposed such a course and earnestly enquired why they were to be needlessly sacrificed. They stated, and with truth, that all resistance on his part would be in vain; that a force would be landed and overpower him, almost before he could harm a single vessel of the fleet with his small battery; that, should he refuse to surrender, the Fort would still be taken; and that, to save the town from destruction, under the circumstances in which he was placed, was his imperative duty. He called a council of his officers: they were divided in opinion: he became angry, and threw away his sword.

Meantime, the different ships had taken up positions off the business part of the town; and were in readiness to begin an attack. The ship of the line, with her ports open, guns run out, matches lighted, and men at quarters, was directly under the Fort, and quite near Burgin's-wharf; while the vessels of inferior force were further South, and, principally, between Hayden's-wharf and Shackford's-cove; though one of them had anchored near the Bucknam stores, and commenced landing troops, before Lieutenant Oats had returned to the flag of truce.

Major Putnam finally consented to accept the terms offered to him; and accordingly struck his colors. It had been arranged in the fleet, that, if the American Commander complied with the demand, Lieutenant Oats should embark in his boat with his head covered; but if otherwise, with his cap in his hand. He entered the boat bare-headed; but, observing the flag at the Fort descending, when about half way

* A gentleman left Eastport, on the seventh, for Boston; arrived there on the fourteenth; and communicated this news; and, that messengers had been sent with dispatches to St. George Prevost, to suspend hostilities. The tidings were generally believed; and having been published in the Boston papers, was communicated to all parts of the country; but it was soon ascertained that the whole story was a fabrication.

to the ship, he swung his cap, and placed it upon his head.

In less than an hour from the time of the summons, fifteen barges, containing five hundred troops, had landed; and, before night, the streets were filled with armed men, cannon, and the various munitions of war. In the course of the following day, the debarkation of men and military stores was completed. The proceedings, on the day of capture, were extremely regular and precise; and every act showed that the captors had provided for every emergency. Besides the force which came up the eastern passage, a sixteen-gun brig was dispatched from the other ships, when the fleet was outside of the island of Campo Bello, to enter the harbor through the "Narrows," to sail round the island, and command Tuttle's Ferry, which was the only place of ready communication with the main-land. This brig and her boats intercepted every person who attempted to escape, without, it is supposed, a single exception.

As soon as the town was in quiet possession of the victors, their strength and character were ascertained. The naval force was found to consist of the *Ramilies*, 74; the *Martin*, of eighteen guns, Captain H. F. Senhouse; the *Borer*, fourteen guns, Captain R. Coote; the *Breame*, eight guns; the *Terror*, a bomb-ship of eight guns; a sixty-four gun-ship, one of ten guns, and several other transport vessels of smaller size, under the command of Sir Thomas M. Hardy, Bart.; with a Regiment of Infantry and a Battalion of Artillery, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Andrew Pilkington. The sixty-four gun-ship, after landing her troops, anchored under Campo Bello; and the American soldiers were sent on board of her, on the evening of the capture. Some of the ships were direct from the Bermudas, and sailed from these islands on the first of July; and, joining others at Shelburne, which were despatched from Halifax, accomplished, on the eleventh, the special purpose for which the expedition was fitted out, without the firing of a gun or the loss of a man. The troops had been on service in the Chesapeake, and had obtained an unenviable celebrity for their depredations, at Hampton and other places in the vicinity of that Bay.

In narrating the occurrences of the four years which intervened between the capture and the restoration of the island, I shall confine my attention to such as seem to rest on credible testimony; and give a view of the state of society during that period. *It should be stated, in the outset, that the permanent annexation of Moose-island to the British Empire was the distinct and avowed object in taking possession of it.* The expedition sent against it and its dependencies was fitted out in obedience to specific orders from

the British Ministry; and the official account, in announcing success, spoke of "*the restoration of the Islands in Passamaquoddy Bay*," not of their capture. The tone of the British newspapers was similar; while Sir John Sherbrooke's Proclamation declared that, in "annexing" *these Islands to New Brunswick, to which Province they belonged*, there was no design to carry on offensive operations against the people on the main, unless their conduct should provoke severity; and that, if they continued quiet, neither their persons nor their property would be in the least molested.

This pretension, while it was calculated to lessen the apprehensions, and actually did ameliorate the condition, of the inhabitants of the island, was viewed, throughout the country, as a new obstacle to the conclusion of a Treaty of Peace, for the reason, that no one supposed our Government would consent to relinquish any portion of the territory in possession of the United States, before the War, for any considerations or equivalents that could be offered. Nor were the fears that our Commissioners would be compelled to break off negotiations and return home in any wise lessened, when it was ascertained that the British Government intended to revive the claims set up, at the close of the Revolution—namely, that the Penobscot formed the eastern boundary of Maine—and were about to form the territory between that river and the St. Croix into a Colony, both on the ground of original right to it and of the recent conquest and present possession of its military posts and principal towns. That there was some foundation for the doubts and suspicions which these plans of annexation or "restoration" occasioned, will be seen in another place.

The people of Eastport had many reasons to lament the attempt, thus made, to bind their necks in the yoke of colonial vassalage; but yet, their situation, after their subjugation, as already remarked, was far better than it would have been had they fallen under British rule, in the ordinary course of war. As conquered citizens of the United States, they would have been exposed to many injuries which, as *subjects* restored to their rightful Sovereign, they escaped. The fact, then, that Moose-island and the other islands which were inhabited by Americans were claimed and held as forming a part of New Brunswick, is to be borne in mind, as serving to explain the course which was pursued towards those who occupied them.

By the terms of capitulation, the public effects were to be given up to the captors; the officers *

* The two Captains were Fillebronn and Varnum. Major Putnam reached home, Salem, Mass., early in August; the soldiers were sent to Halifax, N. S., and arrived there on the twenty-ninth of July.

of the garrison were to be allowed to depart on parole; the soldiers were to be retained as prisoners; and the property of non-residents and absentees was to be disposed of as the Prince Regent might determine; but, the inhabitants were to be protected in their private rights, employments, and interests.* To exact an oath of allegiance was deemed consistent with the stipulations which related to the residents of the islands; and, within three days of the arrival of the fleet, they were called upon to take and to subscribe to it.

It may not be just to say that Sir Thomas Hardy intended to violate the conditions which he imposed, and which, from necessity, were submitted to; but this demand was unexpected. While the Proclamation which he issued, a copy of which is now before me, as I write, declared that the municipal laws established by the American Government, for the peace and tranquillity of the captured islands, would be allowed to remain in force; it also declared that, unless the persons who inhabited them appeared at the School-house, in Eastport, and there bound themselves to certain obligations to His Britannic Majesty, they would be compelled to depart in seven days. The alternatives presented were alike distressing; and many hesitated which of them to choose. To men with families, the abandonment of home, property, and employment, mid the general prostration of business, was an act which involved the most serious consequences; while, on the other hand, to remain, on the terms offered, was painful and humiliating. Nearly all submitted—a few, perhaps, without extreme reluctance; but most to save themselves from apprehended destitution, if not from absolute ruin. Those who refused to take the oath were summoned, by a subsequent Proclamation, to appear and be conducted to the main-land, on pain of being sent to Halifax as prisoners of war.

Leaving now, for a time, the *new* and unwilling subjects of England; let us turn our attention to those who held them to obedience, under the stern exactions of military law.

The night of the capture, a patrol, consisting of officers and soldiers, nearly forty in number, was established to protect the inhabitants from insult and plunder. They divided into parties, and walked the streets, until morning, when strong

guards were posted, in various parts of the town, for the same purpose. Similar means, to ensure quiet and good order, were adopted for several days afterwards; and, while the soldiers remained without proper and fixed barracks.

A number of the officers, as will be more particularly mentioned; brought their wives and children; and, strange to say, the very first enquiry made of the citizens was for a school-room. A place* was procured, within eighteen hours of the surrender, and a school opened for instruction in the common branches of education.

The Military Governor,—for such the commander was—apprehensive that an attempt would be made to dislodge him, labored, without intermission, to strengthen Fort Sullivan and to erect new defences and batteries. While employed in fortifying the island, the soldiers were kept on fatigue duty every day, including Sunday; nor were they allowed any relaxation from their toil, until cannon were mounted on the most commanding and important heights.

The soldiers lived, at first, in tents; and the level land, in rear of the Fort and in the vicinity of the Bell-house and Burying-ground, was covered with temporary shelters erected for their accommodation. As soon, however, as the more important affairs were arranged, barracks were fitted up in various parts of the town. Some of the officers had their quarters at the Fort; others in the "Shead-house;" some in the "Jones-house," Washington-street; others in the "Prince-house," at the Cove which bears his name; while still others lodged with "Wood," who kept in the "Quoddy-house," and in the house of Mr. Weston. But Wood's receipts from the officers and other customers, turned his head; and he soon took down his tavern-sign, saying that "he had made money enough." While he kept his house open, three or four men were required to attend at the bar; and his gains were supposed to have been eighty to one hundred dollars per day.

The officers soon formed a *Mess*. The mess-house was the "Bell-house," subsequently owned by John Hinkley. Occasionally, some of the citizens were their guests; but, generally, their visitors were British subjects, whom business or curiosity brought to the island. The mess-table was well supplied whenever, by money or adventures into the country, the best articles of food could be procured. The table furniture was abundant and rich. Silver forks and spoons, and other silver plate, china tea and dinner sets, cut glass dishes, tumblers, wines and finger-glasses, all bearing the marks or initials of the

* An offer of one hundred guineas, and even of a larger sum, was made to the late Solomon Rice, to give information of the property of non-residents, in order that it could be identified and sequestered. This gentleman, a person of the highest respectability, (and on whose authority I have relied with the most implicit faith,) retained sufficient self-possession to manifest no indignation at the overture; and, giving a pleasant turn to the conversation which ensued, upon the subject, so managed the matter, as to be an instrument to save the coveted estates from the grasp of the captors.

* In the second story of the building at the foot of Boynton-street, long occupied afterwards by the late John Norton.

Regiment to which they belonged, were in constant use.

To mention, very briefly, the principal officers, may not be improper, or, in completing a picture of the time, wholly unnecessary. These men were our enemies; none of them, I suppose, now survive; and I would speak of them, not only justly, but generously.

Sir Thomas Masterman Hardy was well known, on the American coast, during the War; and, unlike the infamous Cockburn, was respected as an honorable foe. He was a bosom friend of Lord Nelson—was with him in his last moments; and some notice of their parting interviews, though not strictly belonging to our subject, may not be destitute of interest. Just before the great Captain set his memorable signal: "England expects every man to do his duty," he retired to his cabin, wrote a prayer, and a remarkable paper, chiefly relating to Lady Hamilton, to which Sir Thomas was a subscribing witness. After the commencement of the battle, while Nelson and Sir Thomas were in conversation, a shot struck between them, tore off Hardy's buckle and bruised his foot. "This is too warm work, Hardy," said Nelson, "to last long." They separated for the moment. When his Lordship was wounded, Sir Thomas was near, and saw three men lifting him from the deck. "They have done for me at last, Hardy," he remarked, as he saw his friend. "I hope not," replied Sir Thomas. "Yes," he rejoined, "my back bone is shot through." He was carried below. Missing Sir Thomas, he became impatient to see him. Hardy was repeatedly sent for; but could not quit his post on deck. Nelson's anxiety became intense. "Will no one bring Hardy to me," he often exclaimed. "He must be killed—he is surely dead." An hour and ten minutes elapsed, before they met. They shook hands in silence. Sir Thomas struggled to suppress his anguish; for he saw that Nelson was indeed dying. The death-stricken Chief was the first to speak. "How goes the day with us," he asked. "Very well," was the brief reply. "I am a dead man," then said Nelson. "I am going fast. It will be all over with me, soon. Come nearer to me." Other words were uttered, but they need not be related here. Sir Thomas, with a bursting heart, returned to his duty in the awful contest, which continued raging between the two vast hostile fleets. In less than an hour, he again entered the cabin and announced that the victory was complete. Nelson promptly ordered him to anchor. Hardy gently hinted that Collingwood would now take the command. "No—not while I live," said the expiring Admiral,—"not while I live. Do you anchor." Both were silent. Nelson at length said, "Kiss me, Hardy." Sir Thomas knelt and kissed his cheek, and continued

standing over him, in an attitude of deep sorrow. "Now, I am satisfied," ejaculated Nelson. "Thank God, I have done my duty." Sir Thomas knelt again, and again kissed him. "Who is that," asked Nelson. "It is Hardy," was the answer. "God bless you, Hardy," he faintly uttered: when Sir Thomas left him—forever. Thus do friends part in war. Such, a thousand times repeated, have been the leave-takings, mid the roar, the crash, the carnage, of the dreadful strifes, between the children of one Father, which politicians produce and legalize.

Sir Thomas landed the first day of the capture, and received several of the citizens who called upon him, with great politeness. He fixed his quarters at the Bucknam-house, South of Shackford's-cove—burned in 1833—where he continued to entertain visitors, from town and the Colonies, during his stay; though his balls and special parties were on board of his flag-ship, the *Ramilies*.

Among the pleasant things related of this noble and gallant seaman, is the story of his attempt to ride on "Old Steel's pacing mare," to the delight of "all observers." He made poor work of it, indeed; for saddle, stirrups, and bridle were gear to which he was not accustomed; while the beast would not obey *quarter-deck* mandates.

A deputation of the principal inhabitants endeavored to prevail upon him to change the form of the oath which was prescribed for all those who remained on the island. A gentleman, who was present, relates that he listened to their appeal and treated them with great courtesy and respect, but assured them that, as the oath, as it stood, formed a part of his instructions, he was compelled to administer it, without change. Yet, he said that he could make a verbal explanation which would, probably, relieve their apprehensions as to its extent and force, namely, that it was to be regarded as an oath of neutrality while they remained under British jurisdiction, rather than of perpetual allegiance. During the interview, continues my informant, he spoke, also, of the War. He said it was an unnatural contest; and that, while he would not declare an opinion as to which Nation was in the right, he would still remark that England did not begin it. And he said further, that to carry out the orders of his Government, in such a contest, gave him great pain.

Sir Thomas, was nearly six feet in height, of full face, and inclined to corpulency. His complexion was florid, hair light and thin. His appearance was very fine, and his manners dignified, mild, and even kind. He departed, with his ships, towards the close of July; when an Address * was presented to him and to Colonel

* The original reply to this Address with the signatures,

Pilkington, by a Committee of the citizens. Early in August, Sir Thomas was off Stonington, and employed the bomb-ship *Terror*, in his celebrated bombardment of that place. He died an Admiral in the British Navy, and Governor of Greenwich Hospital.

Captain Senhouse was a nephew of Admiral Fleming; and a man of fine talents. He was bred a lawyer; but is represented to have been one of the best seamen in the fleet. He was engaged in the coercive measures of England against China, in 1841, at which time he was Sir Humphrey R. D. Le Fleming Senhouse, Knight, and senior Officer in the Chinese Seas. He died on board the *Blenheim*, in Hong Kong Bay, June, 1841, of excessive exertion and fatigue.

Colonel Pilkington, who was Deputy-adjutant-general of the British Army, remained but a short time. He went first to Castine, and thence to Machias, and was in command of the British force that took possession of the military post at the Port, near the entrance of Machias-river. He was succeeded here by Lieutenant-colonel Harris, who was left in charge of a garrison of about eight hundred men. In the course of the Autumn, a reinforcement arrived; and, until the Peace, the number of troops was nearly one thousand.

A single word here of the prominent British Officers who were stationed at Eastport, after the departure of Sir Thomas Hardy and his fleet.

Colonel Harris resided at the Fort; and was unmarried. He was neither respectable nor respected; and I pass him with the single remark, that some of his own soldiers seized him at night, in town, and, in revenge for a deep wrong to one of their number, whipped him so severely as that he was unable to leave his room for several days afterwards.

Colonel Gubbins,* the second Military Governor, was impatient of contradiction; and not remarkably placable. His wife and children were with him; and his quarters were at the "Bucknam-house." He was very exact in his pecuniary affairs; maintained a large establishment; and kept eleven fires. He had a taste for mechanics; and at his leisure, indulged it in making articles of ornament and use for his family. On leaving the post, (1816,) it is believed that, he went directly to England. He died a General.

Colonel Renney, who succeeded Colonel Gubbins, was a favorite; and is remembered with

feelings allied to affection. With his family, he occupied the house owned by the late Solomon Rice. He named a child, born here, "Moose-island Renney." Mr. Rice, whose feeling heart was, his life long, open to soften asperities and to relieve the sorrowing and needy, possessed his confidence to an eminent degree, and used the influence which he acquired, to obtain favors and immunities for such of his fellow townsmen as were objects of consideration and kindness. Colonel Renney retired from the post in 1817; and went to France the same year.

Major Anstruther, the fourth Military Governor, was a Scotchman. He was six feet and three or four inches high; and his limbs and person were of a corresponding size. He was a finished boxer and an adroit swordsman; and a lady, who was then a bride and with whom he opened a ball, adds, that he was an elegant and graceful dancer, notwithstanding his huge proportions. His quarters were in the "Starboard-house," near the bottom of Washington-street. He had served in Egypt; and was in the battle in which Abercrombie fell. While in command at Eastport, he would never acknowledge the right of the Governor of New Brunswick to interfere in the affairs of the island. Colonel Renney, much to his regret, subsequently, had allowed the civil authorities of that Colony, to serve a process here; and the Sheriff of the County of Charlotte desired to repeat his visit, for the purpose of arresting a merchant and carrying him away prisoner. Major Anstruther sent the Sheriff a message to the effect that, if he came on such an enterprise, he should have lodgings in the "Black-hole." On another occasion, Wright, the Collector at St. John, N. B., came to Eastport, to seize goods which had not been entered and paid the duty to the Crown. The merchants shut their stores, and applied to the Major for protection. On the other hand, Wright made application for troops to assist him in breaking locks and taking the goods. The Major stood by the merchants, and told the Collector to refer the matter, if he wished, to Earl Dalhousie; and, in this course, he had the concurrence of Colonel Renney, who, though he had surrendered the command, was still in town.

The Major was a rough man, but, unlike Colonel Gubbins, of a generous nature. The gentleman, who adjusted his affairs, on the eve of his departure—and the same who enjoyed the particular regard of Colonel Renney—reported to him that some persons, either by accident or design, had presented their bills though once paid, and claimed a second settlement. "Never mind," said the Major. "Pay them again—pay every body that asks you—you have money enough—satisfy every one."

Captain R. Gibbon, the first and last in com-

of Sir Thomas and Colonel Pilkington, and several other papers, written and signed by Colonel Gubbins and other British Officers, are in my possession. Some of them are of historical interest: the perusal of others would cause an American citizen to exclaim, "deliver me from living under martial law."

* All his signatures in my hands, are "J. Gubbins, Colonel Comd."

mand, will be spoken of in another connexion.

Mr. Aiken, the Chaplain, lived in the house lately occupied by Mrs. Dawson, South of Shackford's cove. His family consisted of a wife and two interesting daughters. He was a patron of the theatre—presently to be mentioned—and at the balls, would have the last dance. He was a fine looking-man, and a merry Parson. His servant killed a servant of Colonel Gubbins, and hung himself, the day before he was to have been shot for the murder.

Other Officers who had families, were Captains Steele, Maddan, and Minchen, and Lieutenants Cruger* and Villars. The silver plate of Villars was valued at twenty-five hundred dollars. He was the only subaltern who gave dinner parties. He was extremely fond of drawing; and among his sketches, were several views of the Bay and Harbor. A view of a cottage in Wales, in which he lived, while on duty there, was long preserved by a lady in town. Villars had been in service in India, where, he said, he kept thirteen servants. The first Surgeon, was Doctor Davis: he was succeeded by Doctor Johnson, a Scotchman: the last, was Doctor Bett.

Town-major Williams occupies a prominent place in the narrations of several persons of whom I have solicited information; and the accounts of him are contradictory. He was often involved in difficulties with the inhabitants; and a written representation of his conduct was finally made, by a Committee of citizens. He was but nineteen or twenty years of age; was rash and impetuous; and it was a mistake to entrust to him the performance of duties which allowed him to indulge his passions, to the injury of those who were subject to his authority. The gentleman with whom he lived for some time retains the opinion that he was not a bad man; and remarks that he was a wild and thoughtless fellow; full of wine, jokes, fun, and frolic. He received a Commission in the revenue from the Collector of St. John, and made seizures, which Colonel Renney disapproved, and demanded him to return. "What," said the Colonel, "a British Officer acting as a mere tide-waiter? Sir, resign one Commission or the other. Sir, I give you half an hour to restore the property you have seized." Williams went from Eastport to Malta; but soon retired from the Army.

Of Lieutenant Villars, who was on guard duty at an out-post near the "Carrying Place," at the upper part of the island, there is a pleasant anecdote. He mistook the roaring of a bull, in the stillness of night, for the noise of American troops approaching to attack the British forces,

and retreated to the Commandant's quarters, to give the alarm and to prepare him for the apprehended contest. The circumstance afforded much amusement; and the Lieutenant became the subject of jokes and witticisms on the part of his fellow officers.

Many of the British Officers were excellent men, and in their manners and habits were irreproachable: some, however, were rough and profane. A few drank liquor to excess; but the number of those who were addicted to daily intoxication was limited. The habits of all were soon ascertained: and, as the dissipated drank nothing in the forenoon, there was a time in which business could be transacted with these as well as with the sober and regular. With hardly an exception, all of them paid the debts which they contracted with the citizens, at the time appointed: while several would barely ask the amount and count out the sum stated to be due, without looking at their bills.

After the "old Meeting-house" was removed from the turn of the "Old-road" to the head of Boynton-street, public worship, in the Episcopal form, was seldom omitted on the Sabbath; and the attendance was general, on the part of the officers, their wives, and children.

The officers devised various amusements: theatrical performances, horse-racing, and dancing, were among them.

The fall after the capture, the "Old South School-house" was fitted up for a theatre. A stage was built at the East end, which was approached from the exterior, and, through a window, on the North side. Boxes, on an inclined plane, were erected high on the side and West end walls, and were accessible from the entry by steep stairs. Underneath the boxes was the pit.

In front of the stage was a drop-scene; and in use, upon it, were a number of shifting scenes, all of which were painted by the Officers or soldiers. There was an orchestra, occupied by the large band of the One hundred and second Regiment. The performers dressed in character; and those now remembered are the two Lieutenants Lester, Town-major Williams, Lieutenant Duff, Lieutenant Carr, Lieutenant Brandeth, of the Engineer-corps, Mr. Whitney of the Commissary department, and Lieutenant Cruger. The female parts were assumed by Brandeth and Whitney; while the inferior characters were performed by soldiers.

On the entrance of the Military Governor to this, the first *Moore-island Theatre*, the audience rose; the band struck up "God save the King;" and followed with "Yankee Doodle." There were both a play and an after-piece, each night of performance. The principal pieces recollected, are *Douglas* and *Venice Preserved*.

* Possibly of the lineage of the "Loyalists" of this name, of New York.

Many of the citizens attended. The price of a ticket to the boxes was one dollar; to the pit, half that sum. The receipts were considerable, and, after defraying the expenses, were devoted to charity. "Graunny Hackett" was a favorite with the officers; and shared liberally from the fund.

The Spring after the Peace, one wing of the One hundred and second Regiment was ordered away; when the Drama declined for the want of music and performers. But the racing of horses depended on no such contingency, and was continued, from year to year. The regular race-course was on the "Old road," between the Norwood-house, subsequently owned by Rev. Mr. Harris, and the "old Bell-house," opposite to the Burying-ground. Besides this, there was a ring of about half a mile in circuit, in town. The southern track of this circle was on the brink of the hill, South of the First, and the northern track, just South of the Central, Congregational Meeting-house. Within a diameter thus vaguely described, there were but two or three buildings; and the whole space was an open pasture. In the races, the horses of the Officers were almost invariably opposed to those of the inhabitants. The *British bloods* were the best fed and the best groomed; but the *Yankee scrubs* beat them, with hardly an exception. The money at stake, at each race, was from five hundred to six hundred dollars. Race-day was a holiday, and was devoted to the noise, excitement, drinking, and betting usual on such occasions.

Of the Balls, a single word: the first was in the "Jones-house," Washington-street; there were several in the "Estey-house," Boynton-street; and the last, was at Pine's, or the "Quoddy-house."

Before the close of 1814, a breast-work of sods and earth was built from the Fort to the "Old-road," which crosses Fort-hill; and the two redoubts on the Clark land were finished. The works on Holmes's-hill, called Prince Regent's Redoubt, were not completed until the next year. Mr. Holmes, who owned the land on which this Redoubt was built, claimed recompence for the timber cut on it and for other injuries to his property. The question of damages was submitted to three of his townsmen, who awarded several hundred dollars. The Officer of Engineers, under whose direction the reference was agreed upon, told one of the referees that he need not be particular about the sum; and to be sure to give Mr. Holmes sufficient to satisfy him. Neither of these Redoubts was constantly occupied with troops. Besides the soldiers stationed at the Fort, a considerable body occupied the large store on Hathaway's-wharf; guards of thirty or forty men each were continually on duty at the most exposed points, including a large guard at Broad-cove; while single sentinels

were posted at Prince's-cove, and on every principal wharf and headland. Soldiers were often severely whipped. The citizens were not allowed to be present; but they heard the groans and screams of the culprits, and sometimes at a considerable distance. Desertions, at times, were frequent; about twenty soldiers escaped within a month of the capture. Common camp-women were numerous. Both officers and soldiers enjoyed excellent health. Lieutenant St. John, who was sick at the time of his arrival, was the only Officer who died, during the four years which the captors held the island; while the mortality among the privates was small. Two soldiers, at the burning of the guard-house, perished in the flames; and a third, who was under sentence of death for crime, committed suicide.

British ships of war often came into port, for supplies, for shelter, to receive news, or for dispatches. The *Arab*, *Fantome*, *Rifleman*, *Breame*, and one other, lay at anchor, off the town, at the same time. The dogs kept by the Officers were a great nuisance; and the inhabitants ventured, at last, to levy a tax, in Town-meeting, of a dollar on each of the canine race, to aid in supporting the poor, but subject, of course, as all votes were, to the approval of the Military Governor.

Martial law was strictly enforced: but the rights and property of individuals were scrupulously regarded. The morning after the capture, a number of persons, from Deer-island and Campo Bello, on the New Brunswick side of the harbor, who had unsettled difficulties with some of the inhabitants, came over for the purpose of "getting," as they said, "satisfaction out of their hides;" imagining that, as they were British subjects and as Eastport had changed flags, its new masters would allow the use of club-law. They landed, and seeking out the persons with whom they were at variance, commenced threatening and abusing them; but the officer in command, on hearing of the affray, which he soon did, came among the assailed, in person, and assured them of his protection; and turning to the assailants, he told them that if they, or others like them, attempted to settle old grudges thus, they should be put in the "Black-hole," at the Fort, till bread and water cooled their blood.

Yet, delinquents among the citizens were punished, occasionally, with cruel severity. Several were tied up at the *triangles*, on Hayden's Wharf, and whipped; and one, who was a feeble spare man, died of the lacerations inflicted by the *cat o' nine tails*.

Until the close of hostilities, no person was allowed to leave the Island, without a written pass from the Town-major. It was necessary to show this document to every sentinel stationed between town and Tuttle's-ferry; while an armed

vessel performed guard duty in the harbor, and brought to boats that put off from the shore.

All Ordinances, for the government of the inhabitants, were proclaimed by the Drum Major, from the head of his drum, as he stopped for the purpose, at the corners of the streets; and he always ended the reading, with a "God 'save the King."

Justice was prompt. All complaints were heard and decided by the Military-governor. His judgment was final. Men who were sentenced, were turned over to Serjeant Crook, who enforced the decree, or placed them in the "Black-hole," where they fed and lodged themselves as best they could. A case brought before Colonel Renney excited much remark at the time, and is yet related. It appears that the agent of Mr. Thomas West, a merchant of Boston, came here on business for his principal, and, among other things, to collect a note of considerable amount, of Mr. —. The latter took the agent to his house, for the professed object of paying the demand, actually counted the money, and received his note. Instantly, after securing the evidence of the debt against him, he swept the money back into the desk drawer from which he had taken it, and ordered the astonished agent out of doors. The agent knew not what to do. He wandered about town, for several days, in a sad state of mind, fearing to return to Boston, because the transaction was so remarkable that Mr. West would not, probably, credit his story. At length, he related the circumstance to an acquaintance, who advised him to apply to Colonel Renney for redress. He did so. Mr. — was accordingly summoned to Head-quarters, where he met his accuser, who, in his presence, gave an account of the fraud. Mr. — did not deny the truth of the statement; and his countenance evidently showed that he had no defence. The Colonel, looked Mr. — sternly in the face and said: "Sir, I cannot now pronounce upon the 'justice of the debt; but you have stolen your note. Of that I am satisfied; return it, return it, Sir; place this man precisely where he was before you saw him. Sergeant Crook, take charge of Mr. —!" This affair was re-regarded as the most infamous one that occurred while the British were in possession of the Island; and the delinquent, utterly ashamed of his conduct, gladly obeyed the Colonel's decree, and subsequently paid the note to lessen the odium which he had incurred.

Another matter of a more amusing cast was referred to Major Anstruther, who succeeded Renney. I relate the story as it was often told me by the late Doctor Mowe, one of the parties. Dr. B. and Dr. M. were rival Physicians. The first, though regularly bred to the profession, had not received a medical degree; while the lat-

ter was a disciple of the celebrated Doctor Thompson. Doctor B. complained to the Colonel, that his competitor was a quack in the practice of medicine, without a diploma; that he was then in attendance upon a woman in child-bed, whom he would certainly destroy; and besought the Major's interposition. The presence of Doctor M., at Head-quarters, was required forthwith.

As soon as all parties were present, the Major, in his lofty military way, exclaimed,—"Well—well you heaven-inspired Doctor, where were you educated? where did you get your degree?—show your diploma, Sir!" "I was 'educated,'" replied Doctor M. "by Doctor 'Thompson.'" "And where did he obtain his 'medical knowledge?'" asked the Major." "From the large and extensive book of nature," "Sir," was the prompt reply. A student of law came in, and offered his services as Doctor M.'s Counsel, but the Major ordered him to withdraw. Doctor M., who knew that the Complainant was as badly off as himself, now quietly turned to him, and said, "Doctor B., you are the 'oldest Physician: suppose you show your diploma first." Doctor B., thus caught in his own trap, retired with the best grace he could.

At another time, and while Major Anstruther was in command, an effort was made to banish Doctor Mowe from the Island, on the ground that he was a dangerous man and would be sure to cause the death of all who employed him; and he was threatened with a walk through the streets, tied to the tail of a cart, unless he departed. He had a patient,* at the time, who was very sick, and who desired his continued attendance. Doctor Mowe learned that Lieutenant Duncan, who was friendly to him, would be the Officer sent to inquire into the affair; and he prepared to foil his enemy a second time. As soon, then, as he got wind of the movement against him, he sent for the barber, who shaved the patient, dressed his hair, assisted in putting on a well-starched shirt with a prodigious ruffle, and helped to otherwise arrange his person in a manner to show him off to the greatest advantage. The Lieutenant, as was expected, was the Major's messenger to Doctor Mowe, to order him to desist from practice. The Lieutenant loved good wine; and the Doctor had procured some excellent "old south-side," which the officer, after being seated a moment in the sick man's room, was desired to taste. Pressed to drink again, he was finally asked to consider the wine as entirely at his disposal. Thus solicited, he drank of it freely, and praised it at every glass. Conversation ensued, in which the patient bore his share. The sick man looked so well—prepared as he was for the occasion—he talked so well; and defend-

* The late Samuel Tuttle.

ed Doctor Mowe's treatment of his case so zealously; and the wine, withal, was so good, that the Lieutenant went away quite satisfied with what he had seen; and so reported to his superior. Major Anstruther, considering that he had done all that was required of him, declined further interference; though he sent word to the patient that if he allowed Doctor Mowe to kill him after this, he must thank his own obstinacy. Here the affair ended, and Doctor Mowe was not again molested.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

IV.—THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1800.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE COURT-HOUSE, IN UNION, FAYETTE-COUNTY, PENN., ON THAT DAY, BY DOCTOR SOLOMON DROWNE, OF PROVIDENCE, R. I.*

On turning over the historic page, we find that in the first general assembly of the Greeks after the important Battle of Platea, Aristides proposed a Decree: That Deputies from all the States of Greece should meet annually at that place, [*Platea*] to sacrifice to Jupiter, the Deliverer; and that, every fifth year, they should celebrate the Games of Liberty. This passing into a Law, the Plateans undertook to celebrate the anniversary of those that were slain and buried in that place. The ceremony was as follows: the procession began at break of day, preceded by a trumpet which sounded the signal of battle. Then followed several chariots full of garlands and branches of myrtle. Then came some young men that were free-born, carrying vessels full of wine and milk, for the libations, and cruets of oil and perfumed essences—no slave being allowed to have any share in this ceremony, sacred to the memory of men that died for liberty. The procession closed with the Archon of Platea, clothed with a purple robe and girt with a sword; and, carrying in his hand a water-pot taken out of the public hall, he walked through the midst of the city, to the tombs. Then he took water in the pot, out of a fountain; and, with his own hands, washed the little pillars of the monument and rubbed them with essences. Last of all, he filled a bowl with wine, and, pouring it out, said, "I present this bowl to the men who died for the liberty of Greece."

When that inestimable blessing, LIBERTY, is brought into view, shall Americans discover less sensibility than ancient Greeks, or shall they prove less grateful to Heaven for an event, far more important in its consequences than the vic-

tory obtained at Platea? No, surely: each anniversary of the glorious Fourth of July, '76, will be celebrated by the genuine Sons of America, with every demonstration of heart-felt joy and gratitude, as the auspicious era that gave birth to the liberty and independence of our beloved country, and that opened the way for the establishment of the freest, safest, happiest, Government that has ever been experienced on Earth—a Government of Laws, whose mild sway will justify the emphatic language of the Poet:

"Man knows no master save creating Heaven,
"And those whom choice or common good ordain."

In order to form a just estimate of the superior felicity of our situation, perhaps it would be necessary that the various nations of the globe should pass in review before us with their accumulated oppressions and misery. With few exceptions, the inhabitants of the old parts of the world labor under the most humiliating degradation. But, while our bosoms are touched with pity for their deplorable situation, let us turn from the painful spectacle, and, with greater caution than ever, guard the sacred charter of our freedom. Even circumstanced as we are, a vast ocean separating us from the jarring powers of Europe, yet difficult has the task been to avoid the vortex of their destructive politics; for, as no Nation, however solicitous to preserve peace, by observing the strictest neutrality in her conduct towards foreign Nations in a state of warfare, can expect entirely to escape the shock of their horrid collisions; so one of those Nations, taking advantage of our defenceless state with respect to the protection of foreign commerce, committed the most unprovoked depredations thereon, till a Treaty arrested their progress. But, while we strove to shun *Scylla*, we had almost struck upon *Charybdis*; for another belligerent power, no less ingenious in inventing pretences, pursuing a like nefarious policy, subjected the commerce of America to the most humiliating spoliations. Remonstrances were made; but, instead of redress, propositions were offered, insulting to an independent people and utterly inadmissible. Having, to use the expression of our late arch-patriot, "exhausted, to the last drop, the cup of reconciliation," America was reduced to the inevitable alternative of an appeal to arms; and her citizens, wishing for peace yet prepared for either event, beheld, with wonted intrepidity, the bloody banner of War which that martial Nation waved over the world, and which seemed ready to shed its baleful influences on our tranquil shores. Reason, at length, resuming her sway in the Gallic councils, overtures of reconciliation were made. Commissioners were appointed on both sides; and, in consequence of their negotiations, we are happy to announce, on this auspicious day,

* We are indebted to the grandson of the author, Henry T. Drowne, Esqr., of New York City, for the copy of this Address which we have used in printing it.—Ed. Hist. Mag.

the termination of the differences lately subsisting between the two Republics.

But to whose steady and faithful guidance, through the impending tempest, are we indebted? Even to that Socrates to whom so many seemed ready to offer the deadly hemlock draught; though, to whom whilst living, they ought rather to be disposed to decree statues. But,

"To be and not to seem, is this man's maxim;
"His mind reposes on its proper wisdom,
"And wants no other praise."

I speak not this from a spirit of party; for, professing to be of the party of humanity only, I disclaim any political alliance with over zealous partizans, on either side. But I am confident a discerning and impartial posterity, will know how to appreciate and venerate the virtues of ADAMS. O! may the happy period soon arrive, when every American, rallying round the sacred Ark of the Constitution—that palladium of our freedom and safety—shall cultivate and cherish that condescending harmony, so essential when the dearest interests of our country are endangered; when the hot alkali of one party and the sharp acid of the other shall commix; and, to use a chymic phrase, form a *Tertium quid* that shall no longer disturb America: when, in fine, those opprobrious epithets of *aristocrat* and *democrat* shall be done away,—words without meaning in a Representative Government; and only conjured up to sever the ties that should unite us in one generous bond of brotherhood and amity.

Thrice and four times happy Americans! did they but know their happiness. Here, Agriculture and all the arts of Peace, with Sciences and useful Literature, shall continue to flourish. Here, civilization will attain its highest perfection. Here, fair Liberty and Astrea will deign to take up their final abode. It is now I pride myself on being an American. I felicitate you, my worthy auditors, on being Americans. Americans, in all future time, may justly lay claim to the highest, happiest national rank on the terraqueous globe!

But, while we rejoice together on this view of our national felicity, the bosom of sensibility will not refuse to yield the homage due to virtue, by rendering the merited tribute of gratitude to the memory of those illustrious men who contributed so much towards establishing that independence and happiness which we now celebrate. On mentioning this duty, an unusual gloom seems setting on your countenances. Ah! too soon for us, the Father of his country—the benefactor of humanity, in general—was welcomed to the high circle of immortality, by the venerable shades of Warren, Montgomery, Laurens, Greene, Franklin, and the other il-

lustrious departed patriots, who co-operated with him.

Let us inscribe on the pedestal of his statue,
"Columbia's light! great WASHINGTON behold!
"For worth, for deeds of arms, by fame enroll'd.
"Eight years his banners graced the martial field,
"And his great virtues proved his country's shield."

V.—A NAVAL HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 118.

BY HON. JOHN RUSSELL BARTLETT.

Governor DUDLEY PREFERS CHARGES AGAINST RHODE ISLAND TO THE BOARD OF TRADE. LORD CORNBURY DIRECTED BY THE BOARD TO INVESTIGATE THEM. HIS REPORT.

V.

Governor Dudley appears to have entertained no friendly feelings towards Rhode Island, for we find him, in November, 1705, in pursuance of the commands of the Board of Trade, preferring most serious charges against the Colony, in a communication addressed by him to that body. The charges are but a repetition of those before made to the King, which the Earl of Bellomont had made the subject of his visit to Newport, some years before.

Besides the specifications which charge the Colony with a non-observance of the Acts of Trade and Navigation, the too free granting of Commissions to Privateers, and the protection given to free-booters, Governor Dudley complains that she did not "furnish her quota of troops towards the fortifying of Albany and assisting of New York;" and for not giving "due assistance to the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, against the French and Indians." These go to show of what importance our little Colony was, a hundred and fifty years ago, when the greater Colonies of New York and Massachusetts required her to furnish aid to repel the French and the Indians on their borders, hundreds of miles distant; and, at the same time, too, when the Home Government was calling upon her to send out her private men-of-war, against the enemies of England. In this state of things, it is not surprising that the people, in choosing between the demands of their Sovereign, Queen Anne, to annoy her enemies at sea, by sending out private armed ships against them, and the demands of her sister Colonies for aid in repelling the French and Indians, far from her frontiers, should have given the preference to the former service. In that, the people of the Colony who fitted out ships at their own expense, derived a direct pecuniary advantage when they succeeded in capturing the vessels of the enemy, and obtained their condemnation by the Court of Vice Admiralty. But, in the latter case,

they had no direct interest. The French posts on the frontiers of Canada and Acadia, were at a great distance; they were separated from the English Colonies by dense forests, which were occupied by hostile Indians, and neither glory nor advantage was to be derived from contact with such enemies. The people thought, too, that Massachusetts, with her more numerous population, should be able to protect her own frontier from hostile Indians. These seem sufficient reasons why they did not furnish the aid required of them, by the Colonies of Massachusetts and New York. The same causes explain why so many of the young men of these same Colonies left their homes, which was another subject of complaint by Governor Dudley, where they were obliged to serve against the Indians, as well as to contribute by taxes for the support of maintaining these Wars.

In quoting from the letter of Governor Dudley, wherein he prefers charges against Rhode Island, it is necessary to give only those portions which refer to the particular subjects under discussion. These charges are embodied in no less than eighteen specifications.

"RIGHT HONORABLE :

"In observance of your Lordship's command, I caused the Governor and Company of Rhode Island to be served with the charge drawn up against the Government, consisting of several heads, and have endeavored to collect and obtain proofs to make out each Article; which I humbly offer to your Lordships, in the following method, with the proofs contained in the papers accompanying this, referred to by their numbers, as they severally relate, to make out the particular charge, viz :

"1. That the Government of Rhode Island does not observe the Acts of Trade and Navigation; but countenances the violation thereof, by permitting and encouraging of illegal trade and piracy.

"2. That Rhode Island is a receptacle of pirates, who are encouraged and harbored by that Government.

"3. That the Government of Rhode Island harbors and protects seamen, soldiers and servants that desert from other of her Majesty's Plantations, and will not deliver them up when they are claimed, etc.

* * * * *

"9. That the Government have refused to submit to her Majesty's and his Royal Highness's Commissioners of the Admiralty and for commanding their Militia; and have defeated the powers given to the Governors of her Majesty's Colonies, in this behalf.

"18. That two privateers, Lawrence and Blew, commissioned by Colonel Dudley,

"took a Spanish ship upon the coast of Cuba, which they brought into Rhode Island, where the men were debauched by that Government and prevented from sailing to their commissioned port, where they would have been made accountable for her Majesty's dues and the rights of the Lord High Admiral. And, although he wrote to the Captains, directing them to bring their said prize to Boston, where they had received their Commission, and where the owners and sharers dwelt; but, on the contrary, the receiver of her Royal Highness's dues was hindered from receiving the same.

"All which is humbly submitted by your Lordships' most humble servant,

"J. DUDLEY.

"BOSTON, November 5, 1705."

Dudley sought out all who had any cause of discontent against Rhode Island; procured affidavits from them; and lost no opportunity to render the Colony as obnoxious as possible, in the eyes of the King and his Ministry. Among the complaints was the outrage upon the French settlers, some years before, the particulars of which were set forth by Pierre Ayrault, in a remonstrance to Governor Dudley. To add to the bulk of the evidence, he procured depositions in New York, concerning piracies which had occurred years before, and in which other Colonies were as much implicated as Rhode Island.

The various papers embodying the evidence in support of these charges, are embraced in forty-two documents, and are found among the manuscripts in the possession of Mr. John Carter Brown, of Providence, copied for him from the originals in Her Majesty's State Paper Office, London. They immediately follow the charges, but are too voluminous for publication. Many of them consist of extracts from the proceedings of the General Assembly; some are certain Laws of the Colony; while others are the recital of events covering a period of many years. They were all arranged under the thirteen Articles of impeachment.

The Board of Trade, on receiving the charges against Rhode Island, transmitted the same, on the eighteenth of April, to Lord Cornbury, then Governor of New York, with instructions to him to investigate them. On the twenty-sixth of November, his Lordship thus replies:—the passages referring to matters not connected with naval affairs, are omitted.

"MY LORDS :

"Your Lordship's letter of the eighteenth of April, 1705, is come safe to my hands, with the Articles against the Charter Governments of Connecticut and Rhode Island, with her Majesty's Order in Council, of the twelfth of February last, by which I am commanded to send

"copies of the said charges to the respective
"Governors of Connecticut and Rhode Island,
"for their answers. This I have obeyed, by
"sending copies by an express, who delivered
"them to the respective Governors' own hands.
"But I have yet no answer.

"And I am further directed to transmit to her
"Majesty depositions taken in the most publick
"manner, upon oath, to the truth of the severall
"matters laid in the charge against the said
"Charter Governments. I will pursue her Maj-
"esty's commands in this, as far as I am able.

"The first Article is not observing the Laws of
"Trade, and encouraging illegall trade and pi-
"racy. This Article relates to both Governments.
"That the people of Connecticut carry on an il-
"legal trade with the East of Long Island, is
"known to every body here, and appears by the
"condemnation of a Sloop belonging to Connect-
"icut, named the *Rachel*, which was condemned
"for illegall trade. That they encourage pi-
"racy, appears by the depositions of Orchard
"and Hicks, to which I beg leave to refer you.

"The next Article is, that they harbor pirates.
"Some time before I received these Articles, I
"was informed that two of Avery's crew were
"settled in Connecticut. I asked the person
"who told me of it, if he could make oath of
"it. He said no. But that he would inform
"himself better, and would give me a further
"account. He did go into Connecticut, on pur-
"pose; but is not yet returned. So I cannot
"send any affidavit upon that Article.

"The next is for harboring and protecting sol-
"diers, seamen and servants, who desert from
"other Plantations, and refused to deliver them
"when reclaimed. This will appear by the af-
"fidavit of Captain Matthews, to which I refer.

* * * * *

"The ninth Article is for refusing to submit
"to her Majesty's and his Royall Highness's
"Commissions of Vice Admiralty, and for com-
"manding their Militia. I don't doubt but those
"who have had the honor to serve the Crown in
"this Government before me, have given full ac-
"counts of that matter in their time. As for
"my time, I must acquaint your Lordships, that
"two years ago, Colonell Winthrop, who was
"then, and now is, Governor of Connecticut,
"came to make me a visit. I then took the op-
"portunity to tell him that I would go into Con-
"necticut, and publish my Commission for the
"command of their Militia, and my Commission
"to be Vice Admirall. He told me when-
"ever I would come into Connecticut, I should
"be welcome; but they would not part with
"their Militia.

"Your Lordships' most faithful humble ser-
"vant,

"CORNBURY."

By Lord Cornbury's letter, it will be seen that Rhode Island was not alone in being charged with carrying on illegal Trade and encouraging Piracy, but that Connecticut was equally implicated. Indeed, his Lordship has more to say against Connecticut than Rhode Island. He desired to effect the repeal of the Charter of Connecticut, and add that Province to New York. With this view, he resorted to the same means to accomplish his end, as Dudley did to destroy the Charter of Rhode Island; but they both failed in their objects. As it regards Privateers, we can only account for the number of them, in the English Colonies, from the hostility that existed in them all against the Spanish, French and Dutch, who had planted Colonies in America, and from the fact that they were glad to avail themselves of the slightest pretext to annoy them on the sea, as well as on land, and particularly to take their ships and cargoes.

VI.

THE REPLY OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO THE CHARGES PREFERRED AGAINST RHODE ISLAND. OPINIONS OF THE KING'S ATTORNEY AND SOLICITOR GENERALS. PREPARATIONS TO REPEL THE FRENCH FLEET. A VESSEL TAKEN OFF BLOCK-ISLAND BY A FRENCH PRIVATEER. TWO SLOOPES FITTED OUT IN NEWPORT, AND SENT IN PURSUIT OF THE PRIVATEER. GALLANT ACTION AND CAPTURE OF THE FRENCHMAN. THE PRIZE ALSO RETAKEN. ACTION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY THEREON.

In August following, the General Assembly, at a Special Session for the purpose, adopted an answer to the several charges made against the Colony, which had been submitted to that body, in a communication from the Lord's Commissioners, dated at Whitehall, March 26th, 1705. Their reply to the specifications, before quoted, bears date the twenty-eighth of August, 1705. We give such portions of it as refer to the specifications, before quoted.

"These Respondents, saving to themselves the benefit of exceptions to the uncertainties and imperfections of the said charges, which, (with humble submission, being so many and apparent, do not require any answer,) nevertheless, in obedience to her Majesty's Order in Council, to which these Respondents shall ever pay all due obedience, answer as follows:

"1. and 2. As to the first and second charge, they deny that the Government of said Collony does not observe the Acts of Trade and Navigation, or countenances the violation thereof by permitting and encouraging of illegall Trade and Piracy; or that the Collony is a receptacle of Pirates, who are encouraged and har-

"bored by the Government. And for further answer to the said Articles, do say the same contains matters highly criminal; and that they do not only detest such practices, but are not capable of being guilty of the same; but to the utmost have endeavored to suppress all such crimes with the abettors; and likewise to uphold and maintain not only the Acts of Trade, &c., but all other her Majesty's Laws relating to the Government of said Collony.

"3. As to the third Article, so much of it as relates to harboring and protecting soldiers and these that desert, and giving shelter to malefactors, by the Government, without delivering them up when demanded, &c., these Respondents deny the same; and for answer say, that if, at any time, persons under these circumstances fled into said Collony, upon notice thereof given, due methods have been taken as the Law in such cases directs.

"As to the other parts of said Article, these Respondents further say: this her Majesty's Collony is free for any of her Majesty's subjects to come and inhabit there, nor is it in the Respondents' power to hinder or prevent them therefrom. And further say, that where one person or family hath removed out of other Provinces or Collonies into this, there hath five times the number gone out of this Collony (which were inhabitants in the same) and settled in other Provinces, &c. The which we deem to be the privilege of every English subject; and we do deny that any considerable number of young men hath fled out of other Provinces into this Collony, or have been any ways harbored or sheltered in the same; or that no rates or taxes are raised in said Collony for the support of her Majesty's interest and Government, but on the contrary say that they have been at more than six thousand pounds charge, within seven years, in fortifying and other charge occasioned in maintaining and defending her Majesty's interest against the common enemy, and support of the Government.

"9. As to the ninth Article, that the Government have refused to submit to her Majesty and Royall Highness's Commission for commanding their Militia of said Collony, &c.

"These Respondents say, that they are advised by Counsell learned in the Law, that the Militia of said Collony or power of commanding thereof, is fully granted to them by their Charter; and that they have been in possession of the same above forty years; and as to the Vice Admiralty, these Respondents further say, they have fully complied with her Majesty's commands in that behalf, saving to themselves their right granted by Charter, for granting Commissions to private men of war for the de-

fence of her Majesty's interest and the annoying the common enemy, pursuant to her Majesty's Declaration of War against France and Spain and her Majesty's command to us upon the same, by [the] Right Honorable Earl of Nottingham, one of her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

"13. As to the last Article, relating to Lawrence and Blew, &c., their being debauched by the Government and prevented from going to their commissioned port, and hindering the Collector and Receiver from receiving of His Royall Highness's dues.

"These Respondents for answer say, the same is uncertain and generall, and the charge is false and untrue, and cannot be maintained or justified. And further say, that said Lawrence and Blew, &c., according to their instructions, brought said prize into this Government, and put the same into the Governor's possession, for the security of the Lord High Admiral's dues, as the Law in such cases provides. Notwithstanding, they had their liberty to go to their commissioned port, if they had seen cause, without any debauchery by the Government, as insinuated; and all due methods and care was taken to prevent embezzlement and the security of the Lord High Admiral's dues, to the satisfaction of the Collector and Receiver, and content of the owners and sharers.

"These Respondents pray leave to amend, alter or add to this their answer to the aforesaid charges, as there may be occasion.

"Signed by order of the Governor and Company of her Majesty's Collony of Rhode Island, above said, this twenty-eighth day of August, 1705.

"WESTON CLARKE, Secretary."

This reply of the Colony was a complete and convincing refutation of the charges which Dudley, Cornbury, and other enemies had made against her. The Agents of the Colony, in London, too, had faithfully performed their part, having appeared before the Board of Trade, with the voluminous evidence on both sides. With regard to the charge of a refusal on the part of Rhode Island to furnish her quota of Troops for the war and to contribute her part towards the common cause, the evidence showed that she had, within seven years, expended more than six thousand pounds, in military defences and operations; that she had furnished her quota of men to Massachusetts, besides "keeping and maintaining scouts upon the frontiers of that Province, whose service had been thankfully acknowledged by it."

The Board of Trade, in January, 1705-6, in obedience to the Order in Council, directing them to enumerate to Her Majesty, Queen Anne, the

several misfeazances and illegal proceedings of the Charter and Proprietary Governments in America, made a representation that they had not conformed to the Acts of Trade and Navigation; that the Governors of Connecticut and Rhode Island had not taken the oaths required; that they were the refuge of Pirates and illegal Traders; that they refused to submit to the Royal Commissioners of Vice Admiralty, etc., etc.; indeed, the proceeding was but an enumeration of all the charges preferred by Dudley and others. This, with the letters of Dudley and Cornbury, was submitted to the Attorney and Solicitor Generals, who gave their opinion that, in certain extraordinary emergencies, Her Majesty "may constitute a Governor of such Province or Colony, as well for the Civil as Military part of the Government, and for the protection and preservation thereof; with the addition only, that as to the Civil Government, such Governor is not to alter the rules or methods of proceeding, in civil causes established by their Charters."

The year 1706 opened with renewed activity, on the part of the Colony, to repel the French, who, with a powerful fleet, were known to be in the West Indies, where it had sacked and plundered the islands of St. Christopher's and Nevis, and was momentarily expected on the coast. Everything was put upon a war footing; large numbers of volunteers were enrolled in the Militia; scouts were placed along the whole line of the coast; and a body of troops was placed upon Block-island. "These precautions were necessary," wrote the Governor and Council to the Board of Trade, "as the French General and Admiral has given out threatenings against these parts, so that we are upon the watch, and raised up several breastworks and batteries about the town of Newport, in order to prevent the enemy landing near the town." In addition to these, the Colony had several vessels on the coast to guard against Privateers, as well as to give early notice of the approach of any hostile fleet.

In June of this year, a French Privateer took, near Block-island, a Sloop laden with provisions. The particulars of the capture were immediately sent, by express, to the Governor, at Newport. Proclamation was at once made for Volunteers; and, within two hours, two Sloops, fitted and manned with one hundred and twenty men, under the command of Captain John Wanton, were dispatched in pursuit of the enemy. In three hours, Captain Wanton came up with the French Privateer, at once gave her battle, and captured her; retook the prize she had taken; and brought both in safety to Newport. The Privateer was manned with forty men; and was hastening with her

prize to Port-Royal, where they were in great want of provisions.

The success of this gallant affair gave great satisfaction to the whole country, and added fresh laurels to the naval flag of the Colony. The General Assembly, which met at Newport, in July, voted two hundred pounds towards defraying the expenses of the expedition and for supporting the prisoners taken. They also acknowledged the great service rendered by the Governor in his prompt action; and voted him a "present gratuity" of five pounds. In addition, they empowered him "in case of invasion, to press any vessels for the Colony's service, with other necessities as may be by his Honor judged needful." The vessels so taken up, were to be appraised by two men, one chosen by the Governor, the other by the owners. Byfield, Judge of Admiralty, in giving an account of this exploit of Captain Wanton to the Ministry, said he condemned the prize without exacting the legal fee, "in order to encourage so brisk an action."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VI.—RECORDS OF FRIENDS' MONTHLY MEETING, AT PERTH AMBOY, NEW JERSEY, FROM 8TH MONTH 3RD, 1686, to 9TH MONTH 14TH, 1688.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, NOW FIRST PRINTED.*

[Page 1.] The 3^d of the 8th Month 1686

Freinds at Amboy agreed to have a Monthly Meeting their, and that upon the Second 4th day of each Month, and the first to begin the Second 4th day of the 9th Month 1686

At the Monthly Meeting, held in Amboy the 10th day of the 9th Month 1686 agreed that all the freinds belonging to this Monthly Meeting bring Minuts of yr Births & Burials (since they first came into this place) that they may be Recorded.

At the Monthly Meeting held in Amboy the 8th of the 10th Month 1686 Freinds agreed to pay three pounds Mony of this Province for the year

* We are indebted, for the privilege of printing this record, to our friend, C. C. Dawson, Esq., of Plainfield, N. J., in whose temporary possession the manuscript is; and he informs us that this portion occupies four pages of the original. "The first two pages," he says, "except the last note on the second page, are in the hand-writing of John Reid: the third and fourth pages, except the last paragraph on the fourth, are in the hand-writing of Benjamin Griffith. The excepted passages appear to be in a different hand." He also informs us that, in copying, he has "followed the original as nearly as possible."

As one of the earliest records of Friends in America, this transcript will be peculiarly interesting to many of our readers.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Rent of the Meeting Room : & the year to begin this day.

Likeways finds it necessary that there be six fúrmes for seats in the Meeting-Room The Making of which John Laing take into consideration

At the Monthly Meeting held in Amboy the 12th of the 11th Month 1686-7 Miles Forster & Rebecca Laury proposed to the Meeting there Intention of Marriage. The Meeting apoynts John Mill & William Bethell to Inquire into the Matter, to see, if all things be clear with these persons in order to there Mariage, & to make Report thereof against next Monthly Meeting.

At the Monthly Meeting held in Amboy the 9th of the 12th Month 1686-7 Miles Forster & Rebecca Laury came the second tyme to the Meeting expecting freinds answer The Meeting being satisfied had nothing to object against there Marriage & yrfore allowed them to apoynt a Meeting of freinds—wherein to solemnize the same.

At the Monthly Meeting held in Amboy the 9th of the first Month 1686-7 Inquiry being made there is nothing fownd to be proposed to the Meeting except to put freinds in mynd to bring in yr contribution for the six fúrmes which John Laing caused make.

At the Monthly Meeting held in Amboy the 13th of the 2^d Month 1687 John Pearce being present the Meeting told him, that, he had don wrong in sending a paper to the people of the world (desireing to be suplyed with a cow (he being poor) and not comming to the Monthly Meeting of freinds to lay his necessities before them. And thus left him to considder & whither he would Redress his fault if he feels it in himself.

At the Monthly Meeting held at Amboy the 11th of the 3^d Month 1687 Enquiry being made if any have to offer to the Meeting—its thought fit that John Barclay Receave the contribution for the fúrmes & pay for the same. And that John Reid or his wife take care that widow Mill do not want & give Report to the Meeting.

freinds apoynts Andrew Hanton & John Wrane to speak to widow Mitchel that shee do not talke of Peter Sonmans as it seemes shee doth. Rather wish hir to come to the Meeting and if yr be difference lay it before freinds according to the order of truth.

At the Monthly Meeting held in Amboy, the 8th of the 4th Month 1687 Peter Sonmans & Mary Mitchell Refer'd the whole Matter in difference betwixt them unto Miles Forster, John Barclay, Benjamin Griffith & Edward Guy to determine the same & does promise to agree unto there decision.

John Barclay gives an accompt that, he has received the contribution for the fúrmes & payed for them.

[Page 2.] Its apoynted that, what freinds has a mynd to contribute towards the Rent of the Meeting-Room or for the help of widow Mill that they bring it into John Reid.

Freinds desires John Mill & Benjamin Griffith to speak to Benjamin Clerk about his absenting himself from freinds Meetings & to desire him to come to next Monthly Meeting.

At the Monthly Meeting held in Amboy the 13th of the 5th Month 1687 The freinds apoynted to speak to Benjamin Clerk brought his answer, which was, that he would not come because Governor Laury called him a divil (as he sayes) wherewith freinds not being satisfied desires George Keith & John Barclay to speak to him again.

At the Monthly Meeting held in Amboy the 10th of the 6th Month 1687 John Barclay brought Ben. Clerk's answer being the same with what he said before.

At the Monthly Meeting held in Amboy the 14th of the 7th Month 1687 William Bethell haveing a designe to Mary a woman who lives at Philadelphia desir'd a certificat from this Meeting which accordingly was granted.

At the Monthly Meeting held in Amboy the 12th of the 8th Month 1687 Enquiry being made there was nothing found to be proposed to the meeting.

At the Monthly Meeting held in Amboy the 9th of the 9th Month 1687 John Lufborrow & Gertrud Holland proposed there Intention of Marriage to the Meeting who apoynts them to come next Monthly Meeting to receive there answer.

At the Monthly Meeting held at Amboy the 14th of the 10th Month 1687 John Reid who hitherto kept the book for this Meeting being now remov'd with his family to another county desir'd freinds to order another in his stead wherenpon the Meeting apoynted Ben : Griffith to keep the book & receive the contributions &c.

Mary Forster Daughter of Miles Forster and Rebeckah Forster was born the 18th of the 8th mo:th 1687.

[Page 3.] At a Monthly Meeting held in Amboy the 11th day of the 11th month 1687:

It being proposed to bring Contrbutions towards the Rent of the Meeting-house John Barclay inform'd That the yearly rent was 3^{lb} and that there was thirty Shillings thereof paid 10^s by James Miller 10^s by John Reid and 10^s by John Barclay. John Lufburry promised to Contribute a bushell of winter wheat, John Sim the like. John Barclay D^r for John Laing 4^s Miles Forster 10^s.

At a Monthly Meeting held at Amboy the 11th day of the 4th month 1688.

John Barclay inform'd the meeting he had discharged the money due to the Widdow Bunn for Nursing Widdow Mills Child viz: £:2: 6: 0—Towards which Miles Forster promis'd to pay 10^s: John Reid 10^s—John Barclay 6^s. John Laing 4^s: Ben. Griffith. 6^s:

At a Quarterly Meeting a Amboy the 31 day of the 5 month 1688.

The following paper was there read.

From Our Yearly Meeting held at Philadelphia the 7th: of y^e 7th moth: 1687.—To the Quarterly Meeting held in the Province of East Jersey.

It being recommended to us from y^e Quarterly Meeting of Philadelphia y^e great evill and bad effects that has appeared by selling y^e Indians Rum or other strong liquors And a paper being by them p^resented wth: was read amongst us relateing thereto, w^{ch} upon due consideration was approved of & in concurrence therewith wee give forth this following Testimony, being deeply sencible & heartily grieved wth: y^e abuses of this nature, that is too frequent up & down amongst us, especially in that some that goes under y^e profession of Truth (whom it was expected should have been better Examples) we feare is not wholly clear of it, & Therefore we give forth this as our sence That y^e practice of selling Rum or other strong Liquors to the Indians directly or indirectly, or exchanging Rum or other strong liquors for any Goods or Merchandize wth them considering y^e abuse they make of it, is a thing contrary to y^e mind of y^e Lord & great grief & burthen to his People & a great reflection & dishonour to y^e Truth, so far as any professing it are concern'd. And for y^e more effectual p^reventing this evill practice, We advise as aforesaid, That this our Testimony may be entered in every Monthly meeting book & every friend belonging to their Monthly meeting to subscribe the same

Signed at and in behalf of the Meeting By
ANTHONY MORRIS.

[Page 4.] At a Monthly Meeting in Amboy the 14 day of the 9th month 1688.

Was read a printed paper From the yearly Meeting held in London the 4th 5th & 6th Dayes of the 4th: month 1688. Directed To the Monthly & Quarterly Meetings of Friends in England, Wales, and elsewhere.

There was also read another printed paper att the bottom whereof was G. F.

At a Monthly Meeting in Woodbridge the 17th day of the 8th: moth: 1689.

It was agree'd that the monthly meeting should be kept, the third Fifth day in every month, at Benjamin Griffith's in Woodbridge That Friends

of the Ministry coming to Visit us, should be taken care of.

The above said Monthly Meeting fell from y^e year 1689 to y^e year 1704 by reason of George Keiths Separation which was 15 years and Then was appointed to Be kept att woodbridge first by a preparative Meeting and ab^t 2 years after Kept a Monthly Meeting.

VII.—REMINISCENCES OF THE CAMPAIGN ON THE RIO GRANDE.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 108.

BY MAJOR GEORGE DEAS, U. S. A.

During these operations of the Army in the field, the garrison in Fort Brown had had no easy time of it. Unfortunately, the work was constructed in a bend of the river which admitted of a converging fire from the opposite shore. Of this, the enemy took advantage, and kept up an annoying cannonade and bombardment, at intervals, from the third to the eighth of May. The construction of bomb-proof covers afforded shelter to the garrison; nevertheless, the fire being severe at times, several men were lost, and the heroic defender, Major Brown, was mortally wounded. But one bastion was garnished; and the supply of ammunition being limited, the fire from the besieged slackened after the second day, not before, however, the destruction of the principal battery of the enemy. Summons to surrender was replied to with disdain. The brave men there penned up had but to await with fortitude the result of General Taylor's conflicts in the field. Disaster to him was destruction to them; for nothing could have followed but unconditional surrender. Great relief was, therefore, felt by the garrison when victory crowned our efforts at Resaca de la Palma. Too much credit cannot be given to the faithful defenders of Fort Brown. Ignorant of what was taking place with the main body of the Army, upon whose success their only dependence lay; surrounded and harrassed by a numerous and ferocious enemy; assured by the Mexican Commander that General Taylor had been defeated, they yet held out, in full confidence that succor would arrive. It was an exhibition of patient courage worthy of all praise.

After the Battle of Resaca de la Palma, General Taylor proceeded to Point Isabel, to confer with Commodore Connor, commanding the Gulf fleet, which had appeared off the coast, on the eighth of May. The object of this meeting was to devise a plan for the occupation of Matamoros, by a combined movement—the Army to cross near the city, assisted by a naval force in small boats, which were to ascend the river from its

mouth. The heavy rolling surf, however, defeated the passage of the boats; and the General was, therefore, left to his own resources for the means of passing his Army to the right bank of the Rio Grande. The enemy had taken over with them and destroyed all boats of size sufficient for the transport of Artillery. Some smaller boats were secured, and a scow constructed for taking over the field-pieces. In the mean time, Arista was collecting together what remained of his defeated Army, probably with a view to oppose the passage of the river. General Taylor had resumed his position in camp, as before, and had resolved upon crossing. Deputations from the city authorities were received. They demanded terms. No terms could be given. With this reply they returned to Matamoras; and Arista prepared to evacuate the city, which he did on the seventeenth of May. The eighteenth, the Army crossed, about three miles above, at a point which was fordable nearly all the way over. Without opposition, it was comparatively easy; with an enemy in front, it would have been simply impossible, with the means we had at hand. The Mexican General must have had good reasons for thus permitting the American Army to seize Matamoras as it did. What they were must ever remain a mystery to us. Suffice it to say, that on the day that General Taylor crossed the Rio Grande, the Mexican Army was in full retreat towards the interior. Placing the whole of his Cavalry under Colonel Garland, the General directed that officer to follow up the enemy and annoy his rear. Marching immediately, they came up with the stragglers of Arista's force, the next day; but his movements had been so rapid that it was found impossible to reach the main body. The pursuit was, therefore, abandoned, satisfactory intelligence having been obtained by Colonel Garland, that Arista had evidently abandoned the valley of the Rio Grande. He retired towards Linares and Monterey, leaving to our care his hospital filled with wounded, with only two Mexican Surgeons to attend to them. Every attention was paid to these unfortunates—fully as much as was given to our own men—and when cured of their wounds, they were permitted to return to their homes. Humanity and consideration for the Mexican people attended every step of the Mexican Army. Denounced, as we had been, as cut-throats and barbarians, they were surprised to find our soldiers considerate to a degree far beyond their hopes or expectations. No excesses followed the occupation of Matamoras. The markets and shops were opened; and all supplies were paid for. A rigid police were established. Order was preserved in every part of the city. The Army was encamped just beyond the suburbs; the guards and police force being marched into town every morning.

Shortly after this, the volunteers from Louisiana arrived—full of ardor, but undisciplined—regretting that they had come too late to share in the glory which had been shed upon our arms. As I have before observed, this force remained but a short time, and then returned home. The law did not allow the enrollment of volunteers for less than twelve months; and these had been, by mistake, received into service for six. Some excellent irregular Cavalry, from Texas, was also added to our force.

From a state of apathy, or indifference, as to the course of events upon the Rio Grande, and the situation of the Army, the country was aroused to the highest pitch of excitement and ardent patriotism. War against Mexico was declared by Act of Congress on the thirteenth of May, 1846. The President was empowered to raise a force of volunteers not to exceed fifty thousand men, and ten millions of money were placed in his hands. The numerical strength of the regular Regiments was increased to one thousand men; and the recruiting service pushed forward with redoubled activity. Thousands flocked to the national standard. Men enrolled themselves in such numbers that the means of transport were not sufficient for their conveyance to the seat of war. It was determined by the Government to invade the northern Provinces of Mexico; but here, again, ignorance of the topography of the country to be invaded, and its resources, presented itself. Taking an old map of Mexico as a guide, different points were selected for occupation by our forces, without the slightest knowledge as to how they were to march there. Chihuahua was to be reached by way of San Antonio, in Texas, which, afterwards, proved to be an impossibility. New Mexico was to be conquered and Monterey taken. All these were exterior points, at immense distances from the vital parts of the Mexican Republic. Not until the genius of General Scott was brought fully into the councils of the Nation, did the Government adopt the plan of striking at once at the Mexican capital, by way of Vera Cruz. Instructions were immediately sent to General Taylor to occupy Monterey, an interior city, the capital of the State of Nuevo Leon. This was supposed to be a military point, which it really is not. But, nevertheless, the Mexicans were believed to be fortifying the place, with the view of concentrating their forces—which, afterwards, turned out to be correct. The whole energy of the General and his Staff was directed upon this movement. Instead of marching directly from Matamoras, with his whole force, he determined to establish an intermediate depot at Camargo, near the mouth of the San Juan, and at the head of steamboat navigation on the Rio Grande. Steamboats arrived from New Orleans, as soon as it was possi-

ble; but not as quickly as could have been desired, considering the large amount of supplies which it was necessary to send up the river. Early in July, the regular Regiments began to move towards Camargo; and in about a month were concentrated in camp, near that place. Thousands of volunteers and recruits came pouring into the country, until, at last, the General found himself at the head of upwards of twelve thousand men. With this number, he would have wished to march upon Monterey; but the means of transportation were not in proportion to the numbers so suddenly brought together. After weeks of great exertion, and the plentiful use of money, a supply of pack-mules was obtained, sufficient for the transport service of six thousand men, with which force General Taylor, having with him all his regular troops, moved, by slow marches, from Camargo towards Monterey. The Army marched by Brigades, as before—the First on the of August—with several days interval between the Brigades.

During our stay at Matamoras, the country, towards the interior, had been sufficiently well reconnoitred. It is a desolate region indeed. From the immediate valley of the Rio Grande to the slopes of the Sierra Madre—with the exception of here and there a little oasis, it is a hideous wilderness, destitute alike of trees and verdure. The cactus, of which there is great variety and beauty, is here found in abundance, much of it growing thirty feet in height, forming quite a tree. Some of the flowers put forth by this plant are superb, and would grace the finest conservatory in the world. On the spot of their growth, their magnificence is truly thrown away. Between Camargo and Monterey, and near the base of the Sierra Madre, is a pretty little town called Cerralvo. At this point, the advance of the Army, under General Worth, halted; the other Brigades, in the rear, halting and encamping also, in order to await the final dispositions of the General-in-Chief with the raw volunteers to be dispatched from Camargo. Every arrangement for the campaign having been made at that place, General Taylor moved up to the front. The several Brigades advanced, until, on the seventeenth of September, the whole force was concentrated at a small town called Marin, fourteen miles from Monterey. Strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless true, that the strength of the enemy, the extent of fortification in Monterey, and even whether they would certainly defend that city, were matters entirely of conjecture. The spies who had been employed, returned with the most contradictory statements and information. The General could rely upon no one. As for their description of the defences of the city, it was all trash. Besides, they were Mexicans, and, in consequence, might have purposely

given false information. Assuming, however, that Monterey was garrisoned in force, General Taylor hesitated not an instant to attack it, trusting to circumstances, as they might occur, to develop the best mode to accomplish the fall of the place.

Monterey is situated in a beautiful valley formed by spurs of the Sierra Madre range of mountains, and contains about eight thousand inhabitants. It is very substantially built, of solid limestone, quarried just beyond the suburbs. The houses are generally two stories high. The streets are regularly laid out at right angles, and are well paved. Near the center of all Mexican towns is the Plaza, or "place of arms," varying in size according to the actual or contemplated population. This open space is sometimes used as a market-place and exchange, in time of peace; and, in time of war, it may be called the citadel of the city. The principal church, or cathedral, occupies one face of the plaza. The houses are constructed of the most solid masonry, with flat roofs, and are perfectly fire-proof. They, of themselves, therefore, act as parapets and bulwarks; while the streets being, generally, narrow, are easily barricaded. Thus it is very easy to perceive that a Mexican plaza is susceptible of strong defence, with comparatively little trouble or expense. In this manner, the Plaza of Monterey was defended—the barricades being built of masonry, twelve feet thick, each containing one or more pieces of heavy ordnance, completely enfilading the streets. Exterior to this system of defence, was another, on the northern and eastern sides of the city, consisting of a *tête-de-pont* and three advanced works of considerable strength, covering a space of about a mile. Within range of the approach of these works, more to the northward and exterior to the city, was a fortification, called by us "The Black Fort," with four bastions, whose fire being of extended range, was exceedingly annoying to us, when moving to the attack. On the western and southern sides of the city, are two parallel ranges of heights, which were fortified, and commanded the road to Saltillo, the river San Juan running between them. On one of these heights, which slopes into the city, about two-thirds of the way from the summit, is situated a strongly-built edifice, called "*The Bishop's Palace*." This place was fortified; and constituted the place of arms, on that side of the town. From the extreme heights, on the Saltillo road, to the forts on the eastern front, the distance is about three miles in a strait line. To defend these positions the Mexican General (Ampudia) had at his disposal about ten thousand men, including his Cavalry.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VIII.—THEVET'S SPECIMENS OF THE INDIAN LANGUAGE OF NORUMBEGA.

BY HON. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL, PRESIDENT
OF THE CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

André Thevet, in his *Cosmographie universelle*, printed at Paris, in 1575, gave (vol. ii., ff. 1008, 1009,) an account of a visit which he professed to have made, in 1556, to the Great River of "Norumbegue." Doctor J. G. Kohl admits that "Thevet is not esteemed as a very reliable author," but regards his description of Penobscot-bay as "very accurate, and, altogether, with the Indian words contained in it, so remarkable" that he gives it in full, in his *History of the Discovery of Maine*, published, last year, by the Maine Historical Society.

The Rev. B. F. DeCosta has criticized this portion of Doctor Kohl's work, and has given (in *The Northmen in Maine*, pp. 63-79,) good reasons for concluding that Thevet "could have had no real knowledge of the place he endeavored to describe;" and that "the most reasonable view is that he never made the voyage in question, but constructed his story from maps and the relations of others."

CARTIER, 1545.

<i>Aiayascon</i> ,	Les bras.
<i>Aquehan</i> ,	Ung homme.
<i>Agrueste</i> ,	Une femme.
<i>Addegesta</i> ,	Un garçon.
<i>Agyaquesta</i> ,	Une fille.
<i>Cabata</i> ,	Une robbe.
<i>Canocha</i> ,	Une maison.
.....	
<i>Azista</i> ,	Feu.
<i>Casigno agnydahoa</i> ,	Allons nous coucher.

Casigno casnouy, Allons au basteau [bateau, canoe.] *Casigno casnouy danga addagriu*, "Let us go on Damga, La terre.
Addagnin, Mon frere.

Here Thevet blundered. He intended to take from the vocabulary, the word for "Allons," and, by mistake, took with it the word for "canoe," *casnouy*.

<i>Ame</i> ,	Eau.
<i>Quahouascon</i> ,	Chair.
<i>Carraconny</i> ,	Pain.
<i>Quenhia</i> ,	Le ciel.
<i>Damga</i> ,	Le terre.
<i>Ysnay</i> ,	Le Soliel.
<i>Assomaha</i> ,	La lune.

"*Coaquoca*" and "*Arca somioppach*" are not found in Cartier's vocabulary.

It would be easy to show that it is not for his Indian words only that Thevet was indebted to Cartier or to some of Cartier's companions. There are several passages in the description of the visit to Norumbegue and the intercourse with the

There is one item of evidence which Mr. De Costa did not present, and which, independently of every other, is sufficient to establish the justice of his conclusion and to convict Thevet of dishonesty and untruthfulness. The "Indian words" introduced in the account of Norumbega belong to a language which was not spoken on the coast of Maine or Nova Scotia, at the time of Thevet's pretended visit. They are of Iroquois origin; not Algonkin or "Souriquois;" and, with very few exceptions, they are manifestly taken from the vocabulary of the language "*des pays & Royaulmes de Hochelaga & Canada*," which was appended to the Brief Recit & succincte Narration of Cartier's second voyage, printed at Paris, in 1545, or, possibly, from a manuscript copy of that vocabulary. The exceptions—four words not found in the Brief Recit—were probably of Thevet's invention.

To put this matter beyond doubt, compare Thevet's specimens of the language of "Norumbegue," with their equivalents in Cartier's vocabulary of the language of Hochelaga. I take the former from Doctor Kohl's translation, (*Coll. Me. Hist. Society*, II., i., 417-419;) and the latter from the Paris reprint of the *Brief Recit* (Tross, 1868).

THEVET, 1575.

<i>Aiayascon</i> ,	"a man's arm."
<i>Aquehuna</i> ,	"the men."
<i>Peragruastat</i> ,	"the women."
<i>Adegestat</i> ,	"the children."
<i>Aniuggestat</i> ,	"the girls."
<i>Rabatatz</i> ,	[clothing of skins.]
<i>Canoque</i> ,	"a house."
<i>Peramich</i> ,	"a little king."
<i>Asista</i> ,	"fire."
<i>Cazigno agnydahoa</i> ,	"my friends, do not start "from here; you shall sleep this "night with us."
<i>Casigno casnouy danga addagriu</i> ,	"Let us go on "land, my friend and brother."
<i>Coaquoca Ame Couascon Kaaconny</i> ,	"Come to drink and eat "what we have."
<i>Arca somioppach Quenhia dangua yamay assomaka</i> ,	"We assure you upon oath "by heaven, earth, moon "and stars, that you shall "fare not worse than our "own persons."

native, that are more likely than not to have been manufactured from materials supplied by the *Brief Recit*, or some manuscript relation of Cartier's voyage.

HARTFORD, CONN.

J. H. T.

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I have abbreviated the titles, but still every one is recognizable. The dates of publication and the size of many could not be ascertained; but it is believed that very few, if any, coming under my heading, properly, have escaped me.—J. G. M.

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[TO BE CONTINUED.]

X.—THE PAPERS OF GENERAL SAMUEL SMITH.—CONTINUED.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

1.—Major Smith's Commission.

[In the usual form, as "Major of Colonel "Gist's Battalion of the Maryland Line," signed by "John Hancock, President," and "Chas" Thomson, Secretary," and dated "Philadelphia, the 10th of December, 1776."]

2.—Extracts from a letter from his father.

BALT^o 7th Aug^t 1777.

DR SAM. * * *

I am Sorry to hear the situation your soldiers are in, but I believe you need not Expect from this state any thing similar to what the New England Troops receives, indeed if we were [ever so] well inclined, it would not be in our Power to Supply [] Cheap as you say you get them, as Rum Sells here [] at 5/ or 6/ ^{per} lb, Coffee 7/6 ^{per} lb Shoes 85/ @ 37/6 ^{per} p^r and every thing in [] Proportion, and rising every day. how these Matters [will end it is] not Possible to Tell. but I am afraid if some Method [is not adopted] by those in power to Prevent this growing evil [the army] must disband. I never heard of an Army before, [in which] the Gen^l did not regulate the price of every thing brought [] into his Camp. I am really of opinion if your Gen^l would do some [thing of the] sort it would Effect the prices all over the Continent for the Traders is Scattered from North to South Collecting Articles for the Army, at any price, knowing they have nothing to do but ask & have. I am very uneasy on this Acco^t, as I fear our Cause will be ruined by the Exorbitant prices every thing bears, even if the enemy would Lay Idle, and give you no Trouble, and it don't Appear they intend fighting you this year, if they should be gone to the Eastward of Boston or to South Carolina, you can't Possibly follow them, and if you did. you would soon be obliged to return for want of Bread. as it would be impossible to Supply the Army with that Article by Land Carriage at so great a distance from the bread Country. I therefore think Gen^l Washington must employ his Troops in reducing New York. the Taking that Place can't be a Difficult Task, for I presume the Garrison cannot be Strong. if it is the Army with Howe must be weak. however that may be, I see nothing Else you [can do] but either Lye Idle or invest New York. if it could be taken [it would] I appre-

hend Prove a Valuable Acquisition, in Stores, Ammunition and Merchandise. it would compensate for our Loss at Ticonderoga. [

] you must have had a dreadful March this Hot weather, since you [left the] North river. I hear you are now at Correll's Ferry. hope the [] not sicken again. I feel sensibly for them. Poor Jemmy * * *

Your affectionate Father

J^s SMITH.

Augt. 12th. Since writing the Above I rec^d a letter from your Uncle Smith informing that your division Haulted at Bound Brook, so that you have been Saved some days March, wth is a great Matter this Extreme hot Weather. by a Letter from Col^l Hall to your brother John, wh^{ch} I opened I find he Left you Sunday was a Week, on your March back to Peaks Kill. hope you make Slow Marches this hot Weather. one Severe day would kill Many of your Men. We have nothing new here, but that Gen^l Schuler is retreating before the enemy. the last Acc^t says he was at Saratoga, and it was Expected the next would be that they were at Still Water or Albany. Our affairs there bear an unpromising Prospect.

I forgot to tell you that Letters are rec^d from Capt. Handy of the Privateer Enterprize, informing She was arrived in Martinique without taking one Prize. She was Chased by a Frigate and with difficulty Escaped. his Pork & Beef was Spoil'd for want of being well enough Salted. which Occasioned his going in there for a Supply. I wish the Enterprize may not run us in debt this Cruise. [] small to make any hand this Year. I wish we were [well rid of] her. as we are of the Beggar. the owners of the Beggar [] difficulty in Manning her, Altho' they give Twenty [] Bounty, and bear the Expence to Newbern, which I [believe will] be near Twenty Dollars more.

Captain Norwood Expects in a few days to have his Crew Completely full. he wants not more than Twenty now. and [is filling] fast. I wish all your officers were as successful as he [is, as] would be the Case if they applied themselves as well.

I am Yours []

JNO SMITH.*

3.—General Washington to Lieutenant-colonel Samuel Smith.

HEAD QUARTERS, CAMP NEAR POTSGROVE,
Sept^r 23, 1777

SIR,

You will proceed with the detachment under

* Those portions of this letter which are in brackets, have been torn off from the original; and where it has been possible to supply them from the context, it has been done. Where the blanks remain, that was impossible.—H. B. D.

your command to Dunk's ferry on Delaware, if you find in your progress the way clear & safe. When arrived there, you will take the safest & most expeditious method of conducting the detachment to fort Mifflin; by water would be easiest & least fatiguing to your men; and if practicable & safe, will certainly be most eligible: otherwise you will cross the Delaware, & march down on the Jersey side to fort Mifflin. In the whole march you will make all possible despatch—keep your men in the most exact order—suffer no one to Straggle—make each officer take a list of his platoon or division, and at the beginning of each march, see that every man be present, you will also take every necessary precaution to prevent the enemy's surprizing you on your march, by keeping out small van, flank, & rear guards, & sentries when you halt.

The keeping of the fort is of very great importance, and I rely strongly on your prudence, spirit, and bravery for a vigorous & persevering defence. The Baron Arundt will be appointed to the chief command; and when he arrives, you will give him every aid in your power.

A Commissary must be appointed (if there be not one already) to supply the garrison with provisions. And it may be highly expedient to lay in a stock of salt meat, if to be had, & a quantity of bread, flour, & wood, for at least one month.

Immediately on your arrival make enquiry of the Stock of ammunition for musquetry as well as artillery, & if either be wanting lose not a minutes time in getting a supply.

Wishing you all desirable success, I remain your friend and servant,

G^o WASHINGTON.

To Lieut. Col^l SAMUEL SMITH.

4.—Lieutenant-colonel Smith, to General Washington.

FERRY ANCOCUS 26th. Sept. 1777

SIR :

I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency that I have just arrived here, with my party, & expect to throw myself into Fort Mifflin this night. The want of provisions has detained me much, & the men not being properly chosen for such an expedition has been a great stop to our march. Few of them have Shoes or Stockings, many of them without Coats or Blankets, & scarce any who have more than one shirt. Without their clothing it will be very injurious to their constitutions; and disagreeable to hear their constant murmurings. I have been obliged to send thirty-six men, by water, to Cooper's ferry, who could not march farther. Many of these men have their clothes in the wagons; but as it will be difficult to collect them, & take up

much time, will it not be better to send what we want immediately from the Clothiers especially the Shoes and stockings. A list I enclose, which I expect your Excellency will order to be forwarded immediately to us. Col. [] supplied us last night with Rum & some bread; & I believe we shall be provided with other provisions at the fort.

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's M. O. S.

SAMUEL SMITH.

His Excellency GEN^l WASHINGTON.

5.—*"A Return of Ordnance Stores wanting at
"Fort Island."*

200 Rounds of Grape & Case Shot with flannell
Cartouches for 4 pdrs.

400 Tubes for D^o

50 Round Shot for Ditto & as many paper Cart-
ridges.

1 dozen Portfires & port fire Staffs.

100 Tubes for 12 pdrs.

700 Round paper Cartridges for 18 pdr. Ham-
mer & Nippers for 4 pounders.

J. TREAT, Capt. Artillery.

27th Sept' 1777

6.—*Lieutenant-colonel Samuel Smith to General
Washington.*

FORT MIFFLIN, 27th Sept', 1777.

SIR :

I, last night, threw myself into this Garrison, where, I am sorry to inform your Excellency, I find every thing in the utmost confusion, not as many Cartouches as will last one day, and the very necessary Cartouches for the Block-houses, not sufficient for an hour. Sixty untrained militia are all the artillery-men in the Fort; the provisions almost out. The Militia refused obedience to Captain Treat, and have underwent no sort of training. This day, one of the Frigates was taken by the enemy, which effectually cut off our Communications with Trenton. As Commodore Hazlewood thinks it will be very imprudent to attempt an attack on her, so well guarded as she is by their batteries, the stores I send for, by this express, to Trenton, must come by land, which will take up much time. Should the enemy, in the meantime, make a vigorous attack on the Chevaux de frise and the frigate come down on our backs, where we have no battery, and no cover but pickets, the Fort and Garrison may probably fall into their hands.

General Newcomb, with five hundred militia, is now at Woodbury. I expect they will garrison Billingsport. We cannot spare time to dismantle it. I am endeavoring to put the Fort

into the best posture of defence I can, for which purpose I have drafted fifty of my men to serve the cannon. Captain Treat has taken charge of them, and if they will give us some time to prepare we will be able to make a tolerable defence. I have sent the Commissary to provide for us at Gloster, where, I am informed, there are some provisions belonging to the Continent.

A Flag has just appeared from Lord Cornwallis, demanding to know why the Commodore wishes to fire on the defenceless inhabitants of the city; and that, sh^d a repetition of the kind happen, he must expect that he would retaliate on the prisoners in his hands. And he further observed the folly of future attempts, as he had sufficiently fortified the approaches, by water, to the city. He further added that he still held up the hand of clemency & mercy to all who would submit; and he begged we would consider the situation we were in; that in a very few days he would be able to attack with such a formidable force that it would be impossible for us to resist. Captain Robinson of the Navy, for answer, informed that Lord Cornwallis must have been misinformed of the intention of the ships being sent up, as the commanding officer had orders from the Commodore to prevent any works from being thrown up.

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's M. O. S.

SAMUEL SMITH.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

7.—*Lieutenant-colonel Samuel Smith to the
Commissary.*

FORT MIFFLIN, 27th Sept' 1777.

SIR :

I enclose you a return of Cartouches wanting for use at Fort Mifflin, which I now command. The greatest expedition must be used to send them down, as we have not now in Garrison more Cartouches than we can expend in one day. The Service requires your utmost exertions, & I make no doubt you will use them. Wagons must be provided, as I do not think it will be safe to send by water. To Mantua Creek will be the best place to send it, all the Boats being collected there. The Militia will forward it from there, or the Guard must inform us of its arrival.

I am, Sir, Your Dev^d Servant

SAMUEL SMITH.

Col [], or his Deputy.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

XI.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

ABOUT OLD GRIST MILLS.—In a number of the *Germantown Telegraph*, under the head of "Reminiscences connected with an old landmark," is an account of an old Grist-mill in Germantown, said to be the first, and for many years, the only grist mill in Pennsylvania. The article says: "We have alluded, several times, 'of late, to the 'Old Grist Mill,' on Church-lane, and the probability of its being soon demolished. The structure was erected in 1683, 'by Richard Townsend, who brought the machinery and nearly all the woodwork from England. When this mill was completed, the 'present city of Philadelphia, as described by Postorius, the founder of Germantown, 'consisted of three or four little cottages, all the 'residue being only woods, underwood, timber and trees, among which I several times 'lost myself in traveling from my cave, by 'the water-side, to the hut of Bour, a Dutch 'baker, who made my bread.' For many 'years this was the only grist-mill in Pennsylvania, and supplied the inhabitants of Philadelphia and the surrounding country with 'flour. The settlers would carry the grain to 'the mill on their backs, 'save one man who 'had a tame bull which performed this labor.' 'The building changed owners frequently. In '1762, it was sold by Moses Hall to Nicholas Burkhardt and Jacob Brown, with seventy-six and three-quarter acres of ground, and remained in the Burkhardt family, with the 'exception of an intermission of ten years, until the first of April, 1797, when 'Samuel Burkhardt and others, children and representatives of Nicholas Burkhardt, deceased,' sold the property to William Holby, of Germantown. In 1811, Susanna Holby, Administratrix of William, sold the premises to Hugh Roberts, father of the present owner, who purchased it at an Orphans' Court sale in 1835."

The *Telegraph* is in error about the Germantown mill being the first one erected, and for a long time, the only grist-mill in Pennsylvania. The first mill erected in this State, was built by the Swedes, in 1643 or 1644, just forty years before the Germantown mill. It was located on Cobb's-creek, near the Blue Bell-tavern. It is not known on which side of the Creek it stood. It is said to have been a "fine old mill, which ground both fine and "coarse flour, and was going late and early." It has long since passed away; but the spot

about where it stood, is well-known. To it, all the settlers who did not care to *pond* their grain into flour, took their grits to be ground. In that early day, there was a path through the wood from up the Delaware, North of Neshaminy, down to the mill, along which the settlers traveled back and forth. The Court, at Upland, in 1678, decided to have another mill built, which one Hans Moenses put up shortly afterward on Mill-creek, near the present site of Marylandville. In 1683, Richard Townsend and others erected a corn-mill on the site of the Chester Mills, on Chester-creek, above Upland. He was of a company, formed in England, of which William Penn was a member, in 1682. The mill was erected under the care of Caleb Pusey, and the materials brought from England. A mill, to grind flour, was built at Holmesburg, in 1680, and we believe it is still standing, and in pretty good condition. When the British occupied Philadelphia, they used it as a barrack. In 1679, Mahlon Stacey, a Friend who came from England a couple of years before, and settled on the New Jersey side of the Falls of Delaware, built a mill at that point, probably on the Assanpink. Travelers in the country, at that time, speak of it being in operation in that year. For several years, it ground grain for all the settlers on both sides of the river. These are all the mills known to have been erected down to 1683, in Pennsylvania. We find no mention in the public records, of the erection of the mill at Germantown, but take the statement of the *Telegraph* as correct. In 1628, premission was given to Joost, Andriansen, & Co., to build a saw and grist-mill below the "Turtle Falls," the site for which they obtained from the Dutch Commissary; but we have no evidence that these mills were ever built. The toll to be taken by the corn mills was regulated by law, in 1675. These facts show that more mills than one were erected in Pennsylvania, prior to 1683; and that the Germantown mill was built many years subsequently to the earliest one.

THE NAME, WASHINGTON.—Turning over an old Dictionary, it appears that the patroness of the early Methodists, the Countess of Huntington, born 1707, who appointed the great Whitehead her Chaplain, was the daughter of *Washington Shirley*, Earl of Ferris.

Washington came to see *General Shirley* at Boston, in 1856. It is said by Irving, that, during his stay here, he attended with great interest, the Sessions of the Massachusetts Legislature, which was then discussing military operations. At this visit to Boston, when twenty-four years old, "he received the most hospitable atten-

"tions from the polite and intelligent society "of the place." It was, no doubt, at that date, (1756) that he danced in the old Hughes house, nearly opposite the old South-church, lately demolished to be replaced by a building unworthy the site.

He had already acquired fame as a soldier, and his coming here had reference to his rank as a commander, relative to other officers of the Colonial or Regular forces. He was accompanied by other officers, and their five-hundred miles journey, from Virginia, was on horseback, attended by their black servants in livery—the equipments for the same as well as the housings of Washington's horses, being sent from London, per order, and emblazoned with the Washington arms. In their progress they made a sensation in the country, as well by the clattering of the hoofs of their steeds in the streets of Philadelphia, New York and Boston.

A TREACHEROUS MEMORY.—A venerable citizen of Davenport, Iowa, having stated that he voted for General Washington for President, in New York, in 1788, the *New York Evening Post* dispels the illusion by a brief historical statement, as follows:

"New York did not vote at all at the first Presidential election, and she was the only State that did not. Our State was opposed to the Constitution. Only one of our Delegates to the Convention which formed it, signed it. The others withdrew from the Convention, and some of them, on their return home, published an address against it to the people. It was with much difficulty, and only after the requisite number of States had ratified it, that New York consented. The Constitution was adopted by the Convention, on the seventeenth of September, 1787, and New York did not ratify it till the twenty-sixth of July, 1788.

"The first election for President was not held in 1788, but in 1789; and the opposition of New York was so strong that she took no part in that election. Moreover, the Presidential Electors in New York, were never chosen by the people, until 1828: before that they were always appointed by the Legislature."

SCRAPS.—It seems that the Indians understood the art and mystery of "Spiritualism," so far at least as the rope-tying of the Davenports, and so forth, is concerned, a long time ago. A resident of Alton, Illinois, familiar for years with Indian life, declares that the

Assiniboins used to be posted in this spiritual manifestation. They would strip their great medicine man, and tie him from toe to topknot, with buffalo thongs; then roll him in a blanket and tie him again, and polish off by wrapping him in a buffalo robe and tying him once more; when they would put him inside a little tent, with an Indian drum, flute and water-gourd by his side. In less than three minutes, the drum and flute would beat and toot, and in less than five, the disenthralled savage would walk out and make his obeisance to the waiting crowd.

—It is generally said that Vermont was named from its Green Mountains. But how the name comes is not so generally understood. A writer in the *American Gazetteer* gives a Latin etymology, "*Ver Mons*, Green Mountain." But in *A History of the Rev. Hugh Peters. A. M. & C.*, by Rev. Samuel Peters, LL. D., New York, 1807, is found this very interesting account:—

"Vermont was a name given to the Green Mountains, in October, 1763, by the Rev. Doctor Peters, the first clergyman who paid a visit to the thirty thousand settlers in that country, in the presence of Colonel Taplin, Colonel Willes, Colonel Judge Peters, and many others, who were proprietors of a large number of Townships in that Colony. The ceremony was performed on the top of a rock standing on a high mountain, then named Pischah, because it provided to the company a clear sight of Lake Champlain to the West, and of the Connecticut-river to the East; and overlooked all the trees and hills in the vast wilderness at the South and North.

"The baptism was performed in the following manner and form, viz.: Priest Peters stood on the pinnacle of the rock, when he received a bottle of spirits from Colonel Taplin: then, haranguing the company with a short history of the infant settlement and the prospect of its becoming an impregnable barrier between the British Colonies in the South, and the late Colonies of the French in the North, he continued, 'We here have met on the rock of Etam, standing on Mount Pischah, which makes a part of the everlasting hill, the spine of Africa, Asia, and America, holding together the terrestrial ball, and dividing the Atlantic from the Pacific Ocean, to dedicate and consecrate this extensive wilderness to God manifested in the flesh, and to give it a new name, worthy of the Athenians and ancient Spartans; which new name is *Verd Mont*, in token that her mountains and hills shall ever be 'green and never die.' And then poured

"the spirits around him, and cast the the bot-
"tle at the rock of Etam.

"The ceremony being over, the company de-
"scended Mount Pisgah, and took refresh-
"ments in a log house, kept by Captain Ot-
"ley, where they spent the night with great
"pleasure.

"After this, Priest Peters passed through
"most of the settlements, preaching and bap-
"tizing, for the space of eight weeks, in which
"time he baptized nearly one thousand two
"hundred children and adults.

"Since Vermont became a State, its Gene-
"ral Assembly have seen proper to change the
"spelling of Verdmont, Green Mountain, to
"that of *Ver-mont*, Mountain of Maggots."

—The *Philadelphia Sun* has printed a hith-
erto unpublished letter of General Anthony
Wayne, dated at "Haverstraw, near Stony
"Point, Oct. 1, 1780," in which he thus refers
to Benedict Arnold and his treachery:—"I
"can't say that I was much shocked on the oc-
"casion. I had long known the man; as ear-
"ly as 1776, he produced a conviction to me
"that honor and true virtue were strangers
"to his soul—and, however contradictory it
"may appear, he did not possess either fortitude
"or personal courage. He was naturally a cow-
"ard, and never went into danger but when
"stimulated by liquor, even to intoxication;
"consequently not capable of conducting any
"command committed to his charge."

—The first printing press set up in New
Hampshire, was at Portsmouth, by Samuel
Fowle, Esq., of Boston, in 1755. He began the
publication of the *New Hampshire Gazette*,
which purported to contain "the freshest ad-
"vices, foreign and domestic," and which bore
for a heading a cut of a crow and a fox.
Fowle having several type-metal cuts, which
had been engraved for an Edition of *Æsop's Fa-
bles*, and thinking there should be something
ornamental in the title of his *Gazette*, and
finding no artist to engrave anything appro-
"priate, introduced one of these cuts designed for
the fable of the crow and the fox.

—Among the relics of the revolutionary
times brought to light by the demolition of
the old "Washington House," in Stamford,
Connecticut, is the following letter from Bene-
dict Arnold to General Washington:

"NEW YORK, March 7th, 1778.

"SIR, I take this opportunity to inform your
"Excellency that I consider myself no longer
"acting under the commission of Congress,
"their last (here the words were illegible) be-
"ing my papers at West Point, you, sir, will
"make such use as you think proper. At the

"same time I beg leave to assure your Excel-
"lency that my attachment to the true inter-
"est of my country is invariable, and that has
"ever been the governing rule of my conduct
"in this unhappy contest.

"I have the honor to be your Excellency's
"most obedient and most humble servant.

"B. ARNOLD.

"His Excellency GEORGE WASHINGTON."

—There was a curious Boggs & Stubbs case
once among the Congregationalists of Connect-
cut. Rev. Benjamin Pomeroy, D. D. of Hebron,
was a decided "New Light," while the mag-
istrates and leading men of the Colony were
"Old Lights," and the General Assembly en-
acted a severe law designed to check what they
conceived to be gross irregularities. One of
these "irregularities" was the rambling evan-
gelistic preaching of men who felt bound to go
about doing good. On one occasion, Doctor
Pomeroy went to Colchester to preach a lec-
ture, as he honestly supposed, with the cordial
concurrence of the Rev. Mr. Little, the Minis-
ter of the Parish. It turned out, however,
that this was a mistake; and on his arrival on
the scene, Doctor Pomeroy found his friend
in charge of the Parish so unwilling that he
should fulfil his appointment, as actually to
forbid him the use of his place of worship.
As, however, a large number had collected, ex-
pecting the service, Doctor Pomeroy, being un-
willing that they should be disappointed, in-
vited them into a neighboring grove, where he
preached to them, in the face of the prohibi-
tion of Mr. Little. The consequence was, that
the law was put in force upon him, and—it
reads strangely now—he was deprived of his
stated salary for a period of seven years, in
penalty. This was in 1742. Doctor Pomeroy
was one of the original Trustees of Dartmouth
College.

XII.—NOTES.

THE OLD TOWN OF DETROIT.—A few months
since, when making some inquiries, with another
object, in the archives of one of the Government
Departments of France, I found a very large
map, drawn with a pen and colored, of the
Strait of Detroit, and the settlements upon it.
The title of the map is as follows:

*Plan topographique du Détroit et des eaux qui
forment la jonction du lac Érié avec le lac St.
Clair, dressée pour l'intelligence des voyages du
Général Collot dans cette partie du continent en
1796.*

All the land grants are laid down with the ut-
most minuteness. Unbroken lines of settlement
extend on the West side, as far up as Lake St.

Clair, and on the East, as far down as the middle of Turkey Island. But the most interesting feature of the map is a sketch in water colors, of the old town of Detroit. I caused a fac-simile to be made of it, and have it now before me. It is about fourteen inches long and eight wide. The appearance of the town, as seen from the river, is perfectly represented; the small French houses, surrounded by a stockade; on the right, the commanding officer's garden, the officers' mess-house, and, further back, the church; on the left, the magazine and barracks. A vessel is anchored in the river, and a sail-boat and an Indian canoe are gliding down with the stream.

On comparing this picture with the fac-simile of a plan of the town and fortifications of Detroit, preserved in the office of the City Clerk of modern Detroit, and made in 1818, by F. Smith, to represent the condition of the place at a period twenty years earlier, I find some differences, but on the whole, a sufficient correspondence. The plan serves to explain the picture, and indicates very well the nature of the buildings represented in it. The tall palisade which surrounded the town at the time of the Pontiac War, seems to have given place, when the picture was made, to a lower one.

General Victor Collot, by whom or for whom this map and picture were made, is the author of a book called *Voyage dans le nord de l'Amérique en 1796*, describing the valley of the Mississippi, with remarks on the country from a political, military, and economical point of view. An English translation was published in 1826.

BOSTON.

FRANCIS PARKMAN.

THE "APRIL 11TH," OR YORKTOWN, NOTES.—To persons formerly having a complete set of the issues of the Notes of the Continental Congress, the series of Notes issued on the eleventh of April, 1778, and consisting of four dollars, five dollars, six dollars, seven dollars, eight dollars, twenty dollars, thirty dollars, and forty dollars, next to these are those of the twentieth of May, 1777, consisting of two dollars, three dollars, four dollars, five dollars, six dollars, seven dollars, eight dollars, and thirty dollars; and the long note of twenty dollars of the tenth of May, 1775, which on account of its peculiar shape, generally occurs broken in two and was probably oftener destroyed. The following, which we copy from the original manuscript, explains the scarcity of the two series:

"RESOLVED. That the following Bills be taken out of circulation, namely the whole Emissions of May 20th, 1777 & the 11th April 1778. That they be brought in for that purpose, in the manner hereafter provided, by the first day of

"June next, and not afterwards redeemable.

"That they be received for Debts and Taxes into the Continental Treasury and into the State Treasury for Continental Taxes, untill the first day of June next.

"That they be received until the first day of June next into the Continental Loan Office, either on Loan or to be Exchanged, at the Election of the Owners, for other Bills of the like Tenor to be provided for that Purpose.

"That the Bills lodged in the said offices to be so exchanged, be there registered and indented Certificates thereof, given to the Owners by the respective Commissioners of the said Offices.

"That the Commissioners of the Loan Offices make returns to the Treasury Board immediately after the first day of June next, of the Amount of the Bills received into their respective Offices, to be exchanged as aforesaid, and that proper bills to exchange the same be furnished and ready to be delivered out at their said offices within 60 days from and after the said first day of June.

"That the first mentioned Bills as they are brought into the Treasury and Loan Offices be immediately crossed and struck through with a circular Punch of one inch diameter, to be afterwards examined and burned, as Congress shall direct."

NEW YORK CITY.

T. B. M.

A RETURN OF CAPTAIN CUSHING'S COMPANY FOR MAY 8, 1780. FIFTY-ONE MEN.

- * Perez Cushing.—CAPT.
- * Paul Revere.—CAPT. LIEUT.
- * W^m Gordon.—1st LIEUT.
- * Andrew McIntyer.—2^d LT.
- * John Griffith,
- * Sam^l Rawson,
- * Thomas Kench,
- * Nehem^h Joy,
- * W^m Merriam,
- * Caleb Leach,
- * Lolo Burges,
- * Benja Nash,
- * James McMillian,
- * Tho^s Atcherson,
- * George Tate,
- * Elias Fisher,
- * Zach^y Bostwick,
- * George Wilbour,
- * Jon^s Harvey,
- * John Prentice,
- * Jn^s Gyer,
- * Eben^h Hollis,
- * Jacob Bull,
- * W^m Newland,
- * Jn^s Adams,

SERGTS.

CORPORALS.

BOMB'DOS.

GUNNERS.

* Jn^o Spooner Barrett.—DRUMER.
 * Marrell Ellis.—FIFER.
 * Benja Tirrell.—MATROSSES.
 * Hector McFarling, * Alex^o Emes,
 * Thos Seymore, * Tho^o Greenway,
 * Jn^o Flackner, Jn^o Barker,
 * Elnathan Crapoo, Jn^o McKinzey,
 James Thomas, * Jacob Smith,
 * William Kettly, * Jn^o McConwell,
 * Jn^o Beam, * James Cushing,
 * Simeon Ward, * W^m Griffiths,
 * Rich^d Merridith, * Josiah Harris,
 * W^m Sadler, * Benja Brown,
 * Isaac Solindine, * Elisha Hunts.
 * Jn^o Brown,

PERKZ CUSHING, Captain.

In this little roster of patriots, some Boston Genealogists may discover the Rudolph of Hapsburg of a thrifty family, in which event this little waif will have done good service. The Company was of Artillery, and was stationed on the Heights of Dorchester, when the British left Boston. It contains the name of Paul Revere, and shows that he was present on this particular eighth day of May, while James Thomas, and the three Johns, Barker, McKinzey, and Prentice, seem to have been otherwise occupied at the time of roll-call.

NEW YORK CITY.

T. B. M.

EXTRACT FROM AN OBITUARY RECORD IN NORRIDGEWOCK, IN THE COUNTY OF SOMERSET, MAINE,
 FROM 1832 TO 1867, 35 YEARS.

Year.	No. Died	Under 10.	Over 10 under 80	Over 80.	Average -ge.	Ratio per census.	Remarks.
1832	12	4	6	2	not known.	1 to 144	
1833	14	5	8	1	do.	1 to 121	
1834	10	2	7	1		1 to 171	
1835	6	1	5	0		1 to 285	The highest grade of health, in 1835, one to 285.
1836	7	2	4	1		1 to 244	
1837	13	6	7	0		1 to 181	
1838	31	13	17	1		1 to 55	Mrs. Adams died in 1811, aged 105.
1839	10	2	8	0		1 to 171	Amos Adams, 98, her son.
1840	11	4	7	0		1 to 169	Amos Adams, 92, his son, 1859.
1841	13	4	9	0		1 to 143	
1842	19	7	10	2		1 to 97	
1843	20	5	12	3		1 to 92	
1844	28	6	10	4		1 to 60	
1845	17	6	11	0		1 to 109	
1846	24	11	20	3		1 to 54	
1847	22	6	13	1		1 to 83	
1848	20	4	15	1		1 to 92	
1849	21	5	16	0	87	1 to 88	
1850	20	3	12	5	48	1 to 92	One aged 100 years 9 months.
1851	17	5	11	1	87½	1 to 108	
1852	18	1	12	5	63	1 to 100	One 89, one 93, one 91, two 87.
1853	27	2	18	7	45	1 to 70	In 1853, two over 90, one 86, one 85.
1854	32	5	26	1	41	1 to 58	In 1854, one 89.
1855	14	2	11	1	40	1 to 132	In 1855, one 86.
1856	15	0	12	3	50½	1 to 124	In 1856, 88, 82 and 80.
1857	28	4	20	4	33	1 to 65	In 1857, 82 and 81.
1858	33	8	20	5	43	1 to 55	In 1858, 96, 86, 86, 85, 80.
1859	32	1	26	5	55	1 to 58	In 1859, 92, 84, 83, 80, 80.
1860	20	5	15	0	32	1 to 94	In 1860, none over 80.
1861	22	7	14	1	52	1 to 91	In 1861, one 89.
1862	50	19	27	4	21	1 to 38	In 1862, 92 years 9 months, 88, 82, and 90.
1863	32	7	25	0	30	1 to 58	None over 80.
1864	28	9	18	1	28	1 to 65	One 83.
1865	25	1	21	3	49	1 to 76	Two 80.
1866	23	8	20	8	43	1 to 86	One 93, 92, 84.
1867	31	9	20	2	38	1 to 61	One 88, 87, 82.

NORRIDGEWOCK, ME.

WILLIAM ALLEN.

XIII.—QUERIES.

WHO WROTE THE SONG OF JOHN BROWN?—Of all the Songs and Battle Hymns produced during the Rebellion, this was incomparably the most inspiring. Although possessing no great poetical merit, it was sung by millions, both in the camp and at the old homes of the soldiers. On the marches of the Union troops through the northern cities, for "the front," frequently a few of the best singers would lead off, while the whole Regiment took up the refrain, with such effect as to stir up, like a trumpet, the blood of the most apathetic, equal to the "Marseillaise" during the French Revolution. When a Brigade of two thousand picked colored troops entered Richmond on the morning of its capture, they marched up the main street to the Capitol, to this tune, the whole Brigade making the welkin ring with the chorus of the "marching on" of the soul of John Brown. Taken altogether, the scenes and associations of that hour, the burning city, the ringing chorus of the troops, and the evident close of the Rebellion, excited feelings that can never be forgotten. The authors of both the words and the music of this famous song, should be generally known. R.

WASHINGTON'S BIRTHPLACE.—What evidence is there that Washington was, *by birth*, a Virginian? What evidence is there that, *by birth*, he was an Englishman? I ask these questions for no idle purpose; but because I have heard from those who are not accustomed to romance, *first*, that he was not a Virginian, *by birth*, and, *secondly*, that he was an Englishman.

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

THE EARLY GRADUATES OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY.—The venerable Librarian of the University, in a recently issued Circular, proposes to publish a volume of biographical sketches of the first two hundred and twenty-five graduates of the Academic Department of the University, urging as a reason for the proposed publication, that "*they originated or urged forward the ideas and principles on which our Government now rests, and which in their expansion are agitating the world and ameliorating the condition of mankind.*"

As the author of these remarks is a Clergyman, a historian, and a gentleman, and as he has access to the finest collection of material in existence, illustrative of his subject, he has probable ground for his opinion; but there are some, who are not thus favored, who would like to see some evidence of all this assertion, one of whom is

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

XIV.—REPLIES.

AMEDA. (*H. M.*, II, vii., 129.)—In THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for February, the authority of Hakluyt is cited to show that the tree called *Amedea* or *Annedda*, reported to have cured Cartier's followers of the scurvy, was the *Sassafras*. Hakluyt had no information, except that derived from Cartier's narrative. He apparently conjectures the tree to have been the *Sassafras*, because, in his time, the *Sassafras* was supposed to have curative properties. It is certain, however, that the tree was an evergreen, as the Frenchmen are said to have made a decoction of its leaves, in the month of December, when the *Sassafras*, a deciduous tree, is without leaves. Cartier's tree is described as having been as large as an oak. As the Pine, the Hemlock, or the Balsam-fir are not very likely to have been chosen for such a purpose, I am inclined to think, with the Canadian, Faribault, that the Spruce is the tree in question, its leaves having long been used in Canada for making decoctions for sanitary or other uses.

BOSTON, MASS.

F. P.

DID WASHINGTON LEAVE ANY CHILDREN?—(*H. M.*, II, vii., 127.)—I don't know how far it may be worth while to excite discussion on the subject of General Washington's leaving any descendants, as hinted at in Theodore Parker's Lecture. The subject, of course, is not susceptible of direct proof; but if the following circumstances throw any light on the subject, they are submitted to your discretion. In the early part of this century, many families from Eastern Virginia settled in Southern Indiana, along the Ohio-river, below Louisville. Among them was a gentleman of noble appearance, tall, and the exact counterpart of Washington. The old emigrants who came out with him, always declared that he was the son of Washington. He naturally rose to the surface of society, and acquired an influential position in public affairs, having been a United States Senator, in 1812-13, and, afterwards, Governor of Indiana Territory for three years, as successor to General Harrison. His biography was written a few years ago by his son-in-law, who, instead of particularizing his ancestry, merely says, he was born "of respectable parentage, on the banks of the Potomac, July 9, 1750." (Washington was then eighteen years old; married in 1759.) His biographer adds, "his personal appearance, both as to form and features, was so attractive as to be a subject of remark wherever he was known." He was appointed by Washington to a high command in General Wayne's army, which gave the final blow to the power of the

Indians in the West, in 1794. He left a son and daughter, both deceased, the former never married.

While on this subject, I will add, that George W. P. Custis, the step-grandson of Washington, has numerous children in Washington City, of the "mulatto persuasion," by slave mothers, some of whom have held subordinate positions in the Departments, for years. They are persons of excellent character, and take an active part in municipal and educational affairs.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

R.

BATTLE OF QUEENSTOWN. (*H. M.* II., vii., 133.)—Your correspondent will find a very full and fair account of the Battle of Queenstown, in Lossing's *History of the War of 1812*, with references to almost every writer that has described it.

R.

SHERIDAN'S RIDE. (*H. M.*, I. vi., 362.)—It is said that Wharton boasted that by his Lillibullero he sang James II. off his throne and out of England; and it is certainly true that T. Buchanan Read, by his dashing poems, made the popular reputation of Sheridan—not his reputation as regards military men, for that Sheridan made for himself, by his gallantry, dash, appreciation of topography, or perception of the advantages of ground and many other great qualities which go to make up a grand soldier and captain. Sheridan has a sufficiency of laurels, honestly won, not to wish to pluck a single one from the brows of a subordinate, Wright, of the Sixth Corps, who does not wear one-tenth of the coronals to which he is entitled.* This will be referred to in another article, although it is as well to state here, that Wright's record is a very fine one, particularly from the date of the passage of the Rapidan, on the fifth of May, 1864, down to the final surrender of Lee, to which he, in no slight degree, contributed. If there is any truth in the representation of the dangerous situation of our right, on the sixth of May, 1864, its re-establishment in a new and better line and the retrieval of affairs in that quarter were due to Wright. The victory at Winchester was in no small degree his; at Fisher's-hill "it is said Wright alone, of all Sheridan's Lieutenants, regarded the project "fixed upon as feasible;"† and on Sunday, the second of April, 1865, Wright's bursting on and cleaning out the Rebel lines, on his front,

settled the question as to Lee's inability to hang on, any longer, to Petersburg.

The disaster at Cedar-creek is in no wise attributable to General Wright, who was left in command of the Army of the Shenandoah, while Sheridan went to Washington to consult with Stanton, Halleck, and the military authorities at the capital, in regard to detaching a portion of his command to reinforce Grant, and the disposition of the remainder of his troops for the future protection of the valley. It is very questionable if all the military authorities were not of the opinion, that Early's force had been so effectually disposed of in the battle of Fisher's-hill, that no farther aggressive movement of importance was to be apprehended from it.

Before leaving his army, Sheridan posted it, so that if there was any error in the selection of the position, that does not rest upon Wright. Moreover, Wright is not chargeable with any of the blame of the surprise by Early. He had urged a thorough reconnoissance of the country in front. This was made, but did not satisfy him. His soldierly instincts told him that the reconnoissance had only been partial and restricted, not extensive and thorough. He ordered two others, which were to start out the very morning that Early burst in upon the Union camps.*

Although Sheridan's army comprised a great many first-class veteran troops, it likewise contained a large number of fresh recruits who were soldiers in nothing but the possession of the name, the uniform, a musket and accoutrements, and personal courage. The writer had two young men in his employment, one of whom copied this very article, who, tempted to enlist by the heavy bounty offered in the Summer of 1864, were mustered in on the ninth of September; joined their Regiment—the One Hundred and Twenty-eighth New York Volunteers—on the night of the seventeenth of October; and, although they had only been drilled a few times, were out on picket, on the morning of the nineteenth, when Early surprised the Union troops. What comprehension of their duty, as outposts, could be expected of young men, however desirous of performing honest service, who had only been nominal soldiers a little over a month, and had only had arms in their hands for a few days? One of the party, from the same neighborhood, who was detailed for picket duty on this occasion, could not go because he had not actually as yet received a musket. Such was the composition of a portion of the picket line, thrown out to guard our army against the at-

* Consult Cullum's *Biographical Register*, etc. 11. §1060, pages 5-6.

† Walker's *Vermont Brigade in the Shenandoah Valley*, Burlington, Vermont, 1866. P. 113. Examine this work thoroughly, as it endeavors to do justice to Wright, pages 16, 17, 28, 29, 30, 35, 36, 40, 41, 64, 74, 118, 116, 123, 138, 146, 149, 156, 180, 196, 190.

* See HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, II., VI., 279—November, 1869—for Wright's Report of the Battle of Cedar-creek, in regard to these reconnoissances.

tack of a vigilant and enterprising army of veterans, commanded by bold and experienced Generals, especially that John B. Gordon, who shared with the fiery little Mahone, the last glories of the Army of Northern Virginia. He it was, it is said, who devised this attack; although due credit must be given to Early for accepting his plan and carrying it into execution.

As is well known, Early's surprise was complete. Our troops upon the left, in fact, half the Army streamed to the rear, some in rout, some in confusion, all trying to escape what seemed an irreparable disaster.

Meanwhile, Wright, although he had fallen back from one and a half to two miles beyond Middletown, and from six to seven miles from the position in which the Union Army had been surprised, had neither lost heart nor head. There he reorganized his forces, got his troops well in hand, and assumed a strong position; first to arrest any further aggressive movement of the rebels; second, to begin a counter-aggression and win back all that they had won. This was from ten to eleven, A. M.

The same night that Early was crossing the mountains, under cover of the fog, to surprise his, the Union, Army, Sheridan was sleeping at Winchester, which was from eighteen to twenty miles away from it. He had returned thither, thus far, from Washington, and was accompanied by two engineer officers—Brevet Brigadier-general (then Colonel) George Thom, (Cullum's *Biographical Register*, 1,575, § 992.) and Brevet Brigadier-general (then Major) Barton S. Alexander (*Ibid*, 242, § 1,117.)—who had been sent back with him: the first to make a reconnaissance of the Shenandoah-valley; the second as consulting Engineer to the Army operating in that valley. Sheridan, Thom, Alexander, James W. Forsyth (Brevet Brigadier-general, then Colonel and Chief-of-staff to Sheridan—*Ibid*, 2,434, § 1,738,) with an escort, started out, after breakfast, on the morning of the nineteenth of October, to join the Army at Cedar-creek. Thom and Alexander, if not the whole party, were mounted on horses which they obtained from the Quarter-master at Winchester. They had ridden about four miles, as far as Kerns or Kerrtown, when they began to meet stragglers from the battle-field, but not in any number. About four miles further on, they encountered a disordered train, including Sheridan's headquarter wagons, whipping to the rear, and a flood of fugitives. Thus about eight miles had been passed over, leaving only four miles more between this point and the position Wright had already assumed, i. e., that to which he had fallen back to reorganize and get ready to renew the battle. These few lines convert into matter-of-fact prose the first five graphic but simple

imaginary verses of Reed's beautiful poem.*

At this point, Sheridan quitted the party and rode ahead with a few troopers. He left Thom, Alexander and Forsyth, with the rest of his escort, to stop the flight, turn back the runaways, and restore something like order. These officers deployed the escort about ten paces apart, something like a closed-up chain of pickets or videttes across the plain, constituting the valley proper; and, by determination and severity, stopped the flood of fleeing men, then and there. They used their swords and sabres without much compunction; and Forsyth, seeing a wagon loaded with skulkers or malingerers, thrust his sword through the canvas cover into the pile of living bodies within.

Sheridan, as stated, rode on ahead alone, or with only a few Cavalry-men of his escort. He did not stop to rally the crowd. He left that to the officers above mentioned, who had thus far accompanied him. He did not carry on with him, back to the field, a stream of enthusiastic men, infused with new courage and renewed in vigor by his influence. He simply joined General Wright, all ready to go in, without adding any reinforcement except his own right good will and effective presence. Wright, badly wounded, "bleeding like an ox," and covered with blood, received Sheridan with a remark to the effect that they were "all ready to go ahead," and would lick Early out of his boots." This idea Sheridan endorsed in similar but more emphatic language.†

This again converts into plain prose the last two stirring verses of Reed's enthusiastic poetic inspiration.

In regard to the number of men that Early had, there is, it is to be feared, a little exaggeration. A friend of the writer, a loyal West Virginian, a gentleman of veracity, conscripted and forced into the rebel ranks—a man of education, and able to judge—would lead the writer to believe that Early had ten thousand men.‡ This is corroborated by other officers, and tallies, in a measure, with Early's Reports and publication,§ which one of our most esteemed, unprejudiced, and experienced regular officers, a General, said bore the impress of truth.

General — had a conversation with a rebel

* *The Boys in Blue, Sheridan's Ride*, by T. Buchanan Read, 125-127.

See Platt on Sheridan's Ride, *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, II, vi., 263, 268—December, 1869.

† Walker's *Vermont Brigade in the Shenandoah Valley*, Chap. xli., Cedar Creek: but particularly pages 148-149, "confirming Wright's dispositions."

‡ See *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, II, vi., 257, 258—December, 1869.

§ *A Memoir of the last year of the War, etc., containing an account of the operations of his command in the years 1864 and 1865*. Lynchburg: 1867.

Surgeon, who was in attendance upon the rebel General Ramseur, who was mortally wounded in the engagement, and died during the night. This Surgeon remarked that "All went well enough with the rebels till they fell to eating and plundering in the captured Union camps;" and he added, in the course of conversation, that he (—) "would be surprised, when the Union officers came to learn the real facts in regard to the scanty force with which Early had made his daring, if not desperate, venture."

This little statement is not made to detract in the slightest measure from the credit due to Sheridan for anything that he did, but simply to vindicate Wright and the truth of history. Wright—one of the ablest of our Generals and most modest of true gentlemen—has never come, and will not suffer himself to be brought, forward, as most officers similarly situated would have done, to enlighten the public as to the real facts of the case—no, not even when the contrary was declaimed or sung, under his very nose, at a recent celebration in Philadelphia, of the Army of the Potomac.

The mention of this fact and friendship for Wright led to the preparation of this article, and an appeal to the generosity and judgment of the public.

ANCHOR.

THE SANDEMANIANS. (*H. M.*, II., vi., 222; vii., 51, 52.)

I.

The society owns a small house of worship here; but there is only a handful who gather there on the Sabbath. Their ordained Elders are both dead; and they are, at present, on that account, imperfectly organized.

They have always been an excellent people; kind to one another; caring for their own poor; and never offensive in their forwardness to declare their opinions.

I have been told that this is the only Sandemanian Church now existing in the United States; but I cannot vouch for the truth of it.

A. L. FRISBIE,

DANBURY, CONN. Pastor of First Church.

II.

THE SANDEMANIANS.—This sect are known in Scotland, as "Glasites," after its founder, Rev. John Glas, the father-in-law of Robert Sandeman, who was only a follower and co-laborer of the former.

They were Independants, in the mode of Church Government; Calvinists, of the strictest class, in their doctrines; and, in their practice, they condemned the union of Church and State; they administer the Lord's Supper,

weekly, as the Campbellites do; they hold "love-feasts," consisting of substantial dinners, at each others houses, at which all are required to be present; they recognize the "kiss of charity," which is given on the admission of a new member and on other occasions; they collect alms for their poor and the support of the Church, before the administration of the Lord's Supper; they abstain from the use of blood and things strangled, as food; they wash each other's feet; they hold to a community of goods, so far as that every one is to consider all that he has in his possession is liable to the calls of the poor and the Church; and they discountenance the accumulation of property, for future and uncertain use; they do not disapprove innocent amusements; they consider a lot to be sacred, and thus disapprove lotteries and games of chance; they require a plurality of Elders in each Church, and the presence of both in every act of discipline and in the administration of the Lord's Supper; they hold no communion with other denominations; and they absolutely require unanimity in every transaction.

There is remaining only one Church of this denomination, in this country—that at Danbury, Connecticut; and that is understood to be a feeble one.

The curious in such matters may learn more of the Sandemanians and their opponents, by consulting Glas's *Testimony of the King of Martyrs*, Sandeman's *Some thoughts on Christianity* and *Letters on Theron and Aspasio*, Fuller's *Letters on Sandemanism*, Adams's *View of Religion*, etc.

THE CONTEST CONCERNING THE MINT. (*II. M.*, II., vii., 14.)—You are aware that the Act instituting the Mint, April 2, 1792, required, on the coin, simply "an impression emblematical of Liberty." These very general terms seem to give a large "liberty" of device; but, in truth, nothing is harder than to get up a suitable emblem. It has, therefore, been a matter of debate, from that day to this.

It is well known that Washington objected to placing his effigy on the coin; and the prevailing opinion has always concurred with him, in that matter.

JAS. POLLOCK, Director.

U. S. MINT, Phila.

THE FRANKLIN STATUE. (*H. M.*, II., viii., 13, 14.)—The Statue of Doctor Franklin still stands in front of this Library. It was presented by William Bingham, on the fourth of April, 1792.

I find the following Minute in our Records of the offer and acceptance of the Statue:

"At a meeting of the Directors, April 5, 1792:

"A letter from William Bingham, Esq., to the Directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia was read, informing of the arrival of a statue of Dr. Franklin, and requesting their acceptance thereof, and testifying his friendship to the Institution; whereupon, the Secretary was directed to return an answer thereto, informing him of their acceptance of his valuable present, and expressive of their thanks for the same."

LLOYD P. SMITH, Librarian.

LIBRARY CO. OF PHILADELPHIA.

[I once saw a negro woman bowing and courtesying to this statue.]

THE BOARDMAN FAMILY. (*H. M.*, II., vi., 378.)—Your friend who is looking into the history of this family, may find material on that subject in Mr. Hinman's *Connecticut Settlers*, 261, 262; *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, xv., 224-'6; Savage's *Genealogical Dictionary*, i., 207; Schroeder's *Memoir of Mrs. F. A. Boardman*, 388-415; Captain George H. Preble's unpublished *Genealogical Sketch of the First Three Generations of Prebles in America*, 252; etc.

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

DUANE AND DUANESBURGH, NEW YORK. (*H. M.*, II., v., 836.)—Duanesburgh, in Schenectady-county, was founded by James Duane, a Member of Congress during the Revolution, afterwards Mayor of New York and Judge of the United States Circuit Court in that city. I have seen it stated that he built a Protestant Episcopal Church in Schenectady, at his own expense.

The township of Duane, in Franklin-county, New York, derived its name, as I have always understood, from the fact that he owned the territory of which it is composed. Some of his family were carrying on the mining of iron there, a few years ago.

S. P.

DID DOCTOR FRANKLIN WRITE TWO AUTOBIOGRAPHIES? (*H. M.*, II., v., 336.)—The volume recently edited by Mr. Bigelow shows that there were two manuscripts written by Doctor Franklin, differing slightly. In addition to this, Doctor Franklin's autobiography was translated into French and afterwards re-translated into English. These facts will suffice to

explain any verval discrepancies in the copies, as published.

PHILADELPHIA.

W.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CONGRESSIONAL PUBLICATIONS.—"RECHTELF" is informed that no printed list of the publications of the United States Government exists, that is even approximately complete. The wretched system that has always prevailed of printing Congressional Documents for hap-hazard distribution, and the careless custody of the reserves of public documents, at Washington, has resulted in the fact that no complete set of Government publications exists, anywhere. Two great fires (in 1814 and 1851) destroyed nearly all of these documents that were in the Library of Congress. The present Librarian, we understand, would long since have prepared and printed a full catalogue of public documents, had the materials existed from which to do it. The Library of the House of Representatives has the largest collection of Congressional Documents that exists; but even this is far from being complete, wanting a large part of the early files and nearly all the numerous publications of the Departments and Bureaus of the Government.

As the Government has never printed any list of its publications, and the Documents have always been bound in what may be termed the "conglomerate" style, the difficulties in the way of completing a set of them are formidable, and, in fact, to a man of ordinary time and patience, insurmountable. More than two-thirds of them are "out of print;" and the few second-hand booksellers who buy them, find so little motive to keep them on hand, that they nearly all find a speedy grave in the vaults of the paper-maker.

By the law of February, 1859, the Secretary of the Interior was charged with the custody of the entire reserve of Public Documents; and it was made his duty to receive from the Departments and public offices all which did not belong to some existing library, and to distribute them in pursuance of existing laws. Under this Statute, the books are better protected than formerly; but they are utterly useless to the public. This reserve will serve to supply deficiencies caused by fire, etc., in the Government and State Libraries, and each new Territory has a claim upon it for so much of a set of certain public documents as can be supplied. Two or three times during the War, an attempt was made in Congress to distribute these reserves, by a kind of "grab game," among the members; and a Joint Resolution to that effect actually passed, but the Secretary reported that an equal distribution was entirely impracticable, and the attempt failed.

How much better it would be to have all Government Documents sold at cost, to those who

want them, by printed price-lists, thus supplying legitimate demands and utilising the information they contain, instead of making a foolish gift-book enterprise of our public printing, and loading the mails with costly lumber, which is sold for waste-paper by most of the recipients! This gross waste of the public money has long been a public scandal; and the present Congress should reform it.

As these Government publications will become of increasing importance with the growth of the historical spirit in the country, it may prove interesting to indicate what sources of information exist as to their nature and extent.

1. The revised edition of *The Constitution of the United States*, by W. Hickey, contains a valuable and nearly accurate list of the several classes of publications issued in connection with Governmental affairs of the United States, from 1789 to 1850. Without giving any details of the long and intricate sets of public documents, of a miscellaneous character, issued at each Session of Congress, it supplies a useful outline of the scope of various special publications; and gives a list of the (very imperfect) indexes to Executive Documents, which have been printed, from time to time. This table will be found on pp. 452-471 of the Edition of 1851, of Hickey's *Constitution*.

2. The completest index to the Public Documents of the United States which has appeared in print, is in the *Index to the Catalogue of Books in the Bates Hall of the Public Library of Boston*, issued in 1865. It is arranged topically, in one alphabet, and covers the period from 1823 to 1859. It is preceded by a list of Congressional Documents, in that library, from the first Congress (1789) to the 25th (1858). This, however, is not complete, as neither the Boston Library nor any other has a full set of all Documents published. The Alphabetical Index of Subjects, moreover, is not exhaustive, but a selection from the mass. Still, both these Catalogues are of great value to all seeking information in one of the obscurest and most intricate problems in modern Bibliography.

THE PILGRIM FATHERS. (*H. M.*, II., vii., 56.)

—In the last January number of the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, "E. D. N." heads an article "*Plymouth Puritans*," in which he takes to task Benjamin Scott, Chamberlain of London, for having "in 1866, before the Friends' Institute of that City, supported the historical proposition, that the *Pilgrim Fathers were not Puritans*," but Separatists; he charges Mr. Scott and Doctor Waddington, who endorses the proposition, with ignorance on the subject; and he quotes King James I. in proof of that ignorance.

This certainly is drawing rather liberally upon

the credulity of the readers of *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, to introduce such a witness to invalidate the historical knowledge of so erudite a writer as Benjamin Scott, or to overthrow the profound scholarship of Doctor Waddington. Hitherto, no historian has presumed to quote James I. as credible authority in matters of historical fact. It has been left to the Historian of Minnesota to introduce an historical witness of whom his biographer writes, "James, notwithstanding all his boasted learning, was defective in history, the knowledge of which is most necessary for princes. He had so little skill in this, that he knew not the state and condition of so near a country to him as Denmark; nor was he acquainted with the rank the Kings of it bore in Christendom. . . . 'Tis amazing that any one of James's elevated station should be so grossly ignorant." Burnet tells us he "was become the scorn of the age; and while hungry writers flatter him out of measure at home, he was despised by all abroad as a pedant without judgment." Lord Bolingbroke observes of him, "He passed for a weak prince and an ill man, and fell into all the contempt, wherein his memory remains to this day." The Abbe Raynal says of him, "when he wanted to be good he was only weak; a divine and he was only a fanatic; a philosopher and he was only extravagant; a doctor and he was only a pedant." Sir Anthony Weldon asserts of him, "wise in small things but a fool in weighty affairs." Lingard closes his history of James I. thus: "posterity has agreed to consider him as a weak and prodigal King, a vain and ludicrous pedant." Yet James I. is the only witness E. D. N. brings forward to prove the ignorance of Scott and Waddington.

Those who take an interest in the history of the Pilgrim Fathers, will do well to first read the Lecture of Benjamin Scott, which may be found in the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* for 1867, Second Series, Vol. I., page 261; they will then be better able to judge whether the research of the learned lecturer and the reliable authorities he adduces are to be ignored by the *Basilicon Doran* of James I., which Harris says "contains some tolerable things, but intermixed with strange passages; those relating to the Clergy, whom he opprobriously terms *Puritans*."

Doctor Balanqual, Chaplain to James I. and a bitter enemy to all Non-Conformists, is said to have written a portion at least of the *Basilicon Doron*; and it is not improbable he wrote that portion referred to by E. D. N., by which he proposes to establish the ignorance of Scott and Waddington. The learned critic, Gataker, seems to have entertained the opinion that James was not the author of *Basilicon Doron*. He says, "King James, a prince of more policy than pui-

"sance . . . penned, or owned at least, a book entitled *Basilicon Doran*, which whoso shall advisedly read . . . may easily descry a design carried all along in it, to ingratiate himself with the *Papish side* . . . bitterly expressed himself in high terms against the poor *Puritans*. Howbeit . . . he prefixed a preface to his book, then reprinted, wherein on his honor he protesteth, that by the name of *Puritans* he meant not all preachers in general, or others that disliked the ceremonies, as badges of *Popery*, and the episcopacie, as smelling of a papal supremacie"—thus disclaiming and repudiating in the reprint of his book, the poor authority upon which E. D. N. rests to invalidate "the historical proposition, that the Pilgrim Fathers were not Puritans but Separatists."

The bearing of the tractate of James I. against Vorstius is not apparent, as Mr. Scott does not discuss the origin of the term "Puritan." Harris says "This declaration of James against Vorstius was held in small account."

No one believes (except E. D. N.) the Puritans "borrowed their name," as asserted by James, from the "Puritanes." Historians agree that the name of Puritan was given the sect, in contempt, by their enemies, to cast odium upon them, as the adversaries of the Friends gave them the name of Quaker, in derision.

The Lecture of Mr. Scott has been in print, both in England and America, for some three or four years, and no attempt (save the abortive one of E. D. N.) has been made on either side the Atlantic to controvert what he affirmed in his discourse. We occasionally have a discourse on Forefathers-day or the fourth of July, from some zealous Puritan, in which the Pilgrim Fathers are placed in the front rank of the sect and glorified as *Puritans*, while little is said of the *real Puritans of New England*.

CLEVELAND, OHIO.

M. B. S.

THE DEATH OF COLONEL DAHLGREN. (*H. M.*, II., vi., 361.) * * * In compliance with your request, and solely because it seems to be an unprejudiced one, I transmit my recollections of Colonel Dahlgren's raid, that they may be placed within the reach of those "who respect the truth for its own sake."

February, 1864, found General Lee's Army wintering along the line of the Rapidan, in Orange-county, Virginia. General Meade's opposing Army were in winter quarters, in Culpepper-county, on the line of the Rappahannock.

During the latter part of that month, General Kilpatrick, a Cavalry Division Commander of the latter, essayed a *coup de main* upon Richmond, the "objective point" of his Command-

er-in-Chief. Colonel Dahlgren was a subordinate officer, on that expedition. Kilpatrick's idea was, secretly leaving his Army, to clear General Lee's right flank well, and, by a forced march, with picked men and horses, appear before the western defences of Richmond, and enter its back door without even knocking. Combined with his movement, was a diversion made by General Custer around General Lee's left flank, which drew after it, as was intended, what Cavalry General Lee had at that time with his Army.

Kilpatrick's route and the progress made on it were known in Richmond, so that when he arrived at the outer line of defences, quite a number of people were there to welcome him. I was in the city at the time, in person only, (a portion of my Cavalry being with the Army, and a portion off, wintering in the interior of the State, where forage was more abundant,) and rode out to the line of fortifications, witnessing Kilpatrick's departure after a brief stay, and a few shots fired from his artillery. There was no Cavalry to pursue him with; and his return march, as far as I know, was unmolested.

Colonel Ulric Dahlgren's command was detached from the main body under Kilpatrick, with the intention, it was presumed, of crossing James-river, some distance above Richmond; releasing the Federal prisoners at Belle Isle; and, by entering Richmond from the South or Petersburg side, form again a junction with Kilpatrick. James-river was high; and, without attempting its passage, Colonel Dahlgren moved down its North bank, doubtless with the expectation of finding and uniting with Kilpatrick in Richmond. The latter, however, had left him and his small force to take care of themselves. It resolved itself then into a case of *saute qui peut*. Dividing into smaller parties, to facilitate their escape, Dahlgren, at the head of one of them, attempted to return through King and Queen-county, but was killed, as far as I know and believe, at the point and in the manner described in the minute statement of Edward W. Halbach, of Stevensville, in that County. His statement can be found upon page 504 in the *Lost Cause*.

I was still in Richmond, when, on the second morning after Colonel Dahlgren's death, Lieutenant James Pollard of the Ninth Virginia Cavalry, brought me some papers and an artificial leg, which he said had been taken from the body of one of the officers of the enemy named Dahlgren, and who had been killed in King and Queen-county. Pollard was one of my officers, accidentally in that vicinity at the time, and hence brought the papers first to me. Upon ascertaining their contents, I immediately took them to Mr. Davis. Admitted to his private office, I found no one but Mr. Benjamin, a mem-

ber of his Cabinet, with him. The papers were handed him, and he read them aloud in our presence, making no comment save a laughing remark, when he came to the sentence, "Jeff Davis and Cabinet must be killed on the spot," "That means you, Mr. Benjamin." By Mr. Davis's direction, I then carried them to General Cooper, the Adjutant-general of the Army, to be filed in his office. I never saw them but once afterwards, when I took them out of the Adjutant-general's office, to see if copies of them, which had appeared in the Richmond papers, were correct, and immediately returned them again. The artificial leg was given to some Army Surgeons, to be used as a model. Colonel Dahlgren's body was brought to Richmond, and buried, I heard, somewhere near the York-river Railroad Depot; but by whom or by whose order I don't know, nor have I ever heard anything more about it.

And now to sum up—It is the universal belief of the Southern people, that when General Kilpatrick and Colonel Dahlgren attempted their *coup de main* upon Richmond, in 1864, it was done with a view, whilst holding the city temporarily, to release the Federal prisoners; to "destroy and burn the hateful city;" and to "kill Jeff Davis and Cabinet on the spot." Richmond, at that time, was filled with refugee ladies and children, whose husbands and parents were away in the armies; and the South was naturally filled with indignation at the exposé of the object of the expedition. To use a trite expression—Put the shoe on the other foot—Let the North imagine General Early's body to be found in the vicinity of Washington, when his forces retired from there in July of the same year, with orders upon it, to his troops, to "destroy and burn the hateful city," "kill Abe Lincoln" and "Cabinet on the spot"—"exhorting" long pent-up prisoners, with long pent-up revengeful feelings, to do it. I ask, would his remains be taken up tenderly and interred in the Congressional Burying Ground and his memory be cherished as a "murdered martyred hero?" The best men of the North, now, in their cooler moments, may try to disabuse their minds of such an idea; but it is a fact that any officer who could, at that time, have informed the Northern public that he had captured and destroyed Richmond and killed "Jeff Davis and Cabinet on the spot," the Presidency of the United States would have been but meagre compensation for him, in the hearts of the masses of the people.

Personally, as a man educated to be a soldier, I deplore Colonel Ulric Dahlgren's sad fate. He was a young man, full of hope, of undoubted pluck, and inspired with hatred of "rebels." Fired by ambition and longing to be at the head of "the braves who swept through the city of

"Richmond," his courage and enthusiasm overflowed, and his naturally generous feelings were drowned. His memoranda and address to his troops were probably based upon the general instructions to the whole command.

The conception of the Expedition, I have heard, since the War, originated in General Kilpatrick's brain. It furnishes the best specimen of Cavalry marching, upon the Federal side, I know of during the War, for great celerity with proper relief to men and horses; but it showed upon the part of somebody, a most culpable want of knowledge of data upon which to base such a movement. I know no time during the War, when Richmond, with its admirable circumvallating defences, forewarned or not, could have been taken by a *Division of Cavalry*.

Accompanying this you will find a correct copy of the memoranda found upon Colonel Dahlgren's body, and a copy of my letter to General Cooper, transmitting his note-book. A true copy of the original of his Address to his troops can be found upon page 502 of the *Lost Cause*.

I have only to add, in conclusion, that what appeared in the Richmond papers of that period, as the "Dahlgren papers," was correctly taken from the papers I carried in person to Mr. Davis; and that those papers were not added to or changed in the minutest particular, before they came into my possession, as far as I know and believe, and that, from all the facts in my possession, I have every reason to believe they were taken from the body of Colonel Ulric Dahlgren, and came to me without any alteration of any kind.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,

Your Obedient Servant,

FITZHUUGH LEE.

[MEMORANDA OF DAHLGREN, AS PUBLISHED IN *Richmond Examiner*, APRIL 1, 1864, AND REFERRED TO IN PRECEDING NOTE OF GENERAL LEE.]

Pleasonton will govern details.

Will have details from other Commands, (four thousand).

Michigan men have started.

Col. I. H. Devereux has torpedoed.

Hanover Junction (B. T. Johnson).

Maryland Line.

(Here follows a statement of the composition and numbers of Johnson's Command.)

Chapin's Farm—7 miles below Richmond.

One Brigade (Hemton's relieved Wise sent to Charleston).

River can be forded half a mile above the City. No works on South side. Hospitals near them.

River fordable. Canal can be crossed.

Fifty men to remain on North bank, and keep

in communication if possible. To destroy Mills, Canal, and burn everything of value to the rebels. Seize any large ferry boats and note all crossings in case we have to return that way. Keep us posted of any important movement of the rebels, and, as we approach the city, communicate with us and do not give the alarm before they see us in possession of Belle Isle and the bridge. If engaged there or unsuccessful, they must assist in securing the bridges until we cross. If the ferry boat can be taken and worked, bring it down. Everything that cannot be secured or made use of must be destroyed. Great care must be taken not to be seen or any alarm given. The men must be filed along off the road or along the main bank. When we enter the city the officer must use his discretion as to when to assist in crossing the bridges.

The prisoners once loosed and the bridges crossed, the city must be destroyed, burning the public buildings, &c.

Prisoners to go with party.

Spike the heavy guns outside.

Pioneers must be ready to repair, destroy &c. Turpentine will be provided. The pioneers must be ready to destroy the Richmond bridges, after we have all crossed, and to destroy the rail road near Fredericks Hall (station, artillery &c).

* * * * *

Fifteen men to halt at Belona Arsenal while the column goes on, and destroy it. Have some prisoners. Then rejoin us at Richmond, leaving a portion to watch if anything follows, under a good officer.

Will be notified that Custer may come.

Main column 400.

One hundred men will take the bridge after the Scouts, and dash through the streets and open the way to the front, or if it is open destroy every thing in the way.

While they are on the big bridges, 100 men will take Belle Isle, after the Scouts instructing the prisoners to gut the city. The reserve (200) will see this fairly done and everything over, and then follow, destroying the bridges after them, but not scattering too much, and always having a part well in hand.

Jeff Davis and Cabinet must be killed on the spot.

[LETTER FROM GENERAL FITZHUGH LEE TO ADJUTANT-GENERAL COOPER, ENCLOSED COLONEL DAHLGREN'S NOTE-BOOK.]

HD. QRS. LEE'S DIVISION, CAV. CORPS, A. N. V.
MAR. 31, 1864.

Gen. S. COOPER,
Adj. & Insp. Genl.

GENERAL,

I have the honor to enclose to you Col. Dahlgren's note book, just sent me by Col. Beale,

Comdg 9th Va. Cavalry. Had I known of its existence, it would have been forwarded with the "papers."

His name and rank is written on the first page with the date (probably) of his purchasing it. The book, amongst other memoranda, contains a rough pencil sketch of his address to his troops, differing somewhat from his pen and ink copy. I embrace this occasion to add, the original papers bore no marks of alteration, nor could they possibly have been changed, except by the courier who brought them to me, which is in the highest degree improbable; and the publication of them in the daily Richmond papers, were exact copies, in every respect, of the original.

Very Resp,

Yr obt sert

FITZ. LEE,

Maj. Gen. Comdg.

XV.—BOOKS.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

(Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCHENKER & Co., Booksellers, 354 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.)

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*Records of some of the descendants of John Fuller, Newton, 1644-98.* Compiled from Jackson's *History of Newton*, and other sources. By Samuel C. Clarke. Boston: 1869. Octavo, pp. 16.

John Fuller came to America, it is supposed, in the *Abigail*, Captain Hackwell, in 1635. He settled in Newton, Massachusetts, in 1644; became one of the largest landholders in that town; and died in February, 1698, leaving a widow and several children, among whose descendants were Judge Abraham Fuller of the Middlesex Common Pleas, Mr. General Hull, and James Freeman Clarke, D.D., of Boston.

This genealogy has not been very minutely extended; nor is it brought down within the present century. It is a very neat little affair; and was printed, exclusively for private circulation, at the expense of the compiler and John McKesson, Esq., of New York, to the last-named of whom we are indebted for the copy now under notice.

2.—*Records of some of the descendants of Richard Hull, New Haven, 1639-1669.* Compiled by Samuel C. Clarke. Boston: 1869. Octavo, pp. 20.

Richard Hulls, a Carpenter by trade, was a Freeman, in Massachusetts, in 1634; removed to New Haven, in 1639; was a Representative in the General Assembly; and died in September, 1662.

Among the descendants of this Richard Hulls,

were Lieutenants Joseph and Samuel Hull of the Revolutionary Army. General William Hull, Commodore Isaac Hull, James Freeman Clarke, D. D., John McKesson—the well-known druggist of New York—Lieutenant-general Joseph Wheeler of the Confederate Army, etc.; and in the neatly-printed volume before us, we have a pretty full record of the various branches of the family, to the present day.

Like the tract last mentioned, this was printed, exclusively for private circulation, at the expense of the compiler and Mr. McKesson, to the latter of whom we are indebted for the copy which is before us.

3.—*The forms of issuing Letters-Patent by the Crown of England, with some Remarks on the Massachusetts Charter of the 4th of March, 1628—9*; A Paper read before the Massachusetts Historical Society, 31st December, 1869, by Charles Deane. Fifty Copies for Private Distribution Re-printed from the Proceedings. Cambridge: John Wilson & Son. 1870. Octavo, pp. 24.

This is a remarkable paper, in view of its origin; and we earnestly thank its learned author for a copy of it.

It opens with a careful description of the formalities with which Letters Patent are created, in England; and having thus laid the foundation, it proceeds to inquire if the Charter of Massachusetts, of the fourth of March, 1628, had been made to conform to the established usage.

In presenting the answer to this portion of the enquiry, Mr. Deane has re-produced the Solicitor-general's Docket, which accompanied the King's Bill and explained, in brief, the nature and contents of the proposed Charter, which was transmitted with it for the King's signature; and he bravely points out, therein, the evidence of the King's intention, concerning the seat of the Colonial Government, when he signed the Charter, and as bravely he disproves much of what has always, hitherto, been said of the transfer of the Government to America, by those, in New England, who have written on that subject.

He next turns to the Patentees, enquiring their opinion of the character of the Charter which they had received; and, with great precision and particularity, he produces the evidence that they, too, supposed that the seat of Government was to remain in England.

Having thus established the fact that the intention of the King in granting and that of the Patentees in accepting this Charter were in exact harmony, Mr. Deane inquires, next, when and through what means the transfer was made to America; and he seems to intimate that John Winthrop had a leading share in this very questionable transaction, and, to that extent, condemns him. He resolutely denies the legality of the transfer; and, what is equally remarkable, he boldly denies that the Charter, when transferred,

was adapted to the purpose for which it was employed, as the organic law of the Colony—maintaining, also, with singular distinctness, that “it ‘‘became necessary,” [because of the inadequacy of the Charter, as a Constitution of Government for the Colony,] “almost from the first, to assume ‘‘powers for which no warrant can be found in ‘‘the instrument itself,” nor, he might have said, in any other instrument.

We are gratified with this unexpected confirmation, from the bosom of the old and honored Massachusetts Historical Society, of all that we have ever said, concerning the Puritan Fathers of Massachusetts and their Charter, that was in conflict with the current opinions of those men, in Boston; and it is none the less welcome because it comes without having been sent for, a free-will offering on the altar of Truth.

The title-page indicates the number of copies which were printed of this tract and the purpose for which it was thus printed; and the typography is such as is always seen in the handiwork of the Wilsons.

4.—*Contributions to a Grammar of the Muskokee Language*, By D. G. Brinton, M. D. From the Proceedings of the American Philological Society. Philadelphia: 1870. Octavo, pp. [9.]

Our respected friend and contributor, Doctor D. G. Brinton, has sent to us a copy of this new *Contribution* from his pen to the literature of the Creek Nation; and we beg his acceptance of our thanks therefor.

The work opens with a series of “Historical Notes,” concerning the Creeks, their locality, their history, their language, and their published literature. Next, follows a description of their alphabet; followed by a series of “Remarks on ‘Buckner’s *Muskokee Grammar*,” not much to the credit of the latter: an analysis of the structure of Muskokee Verbs; and one of a sentence in Muskokee compared with the same in Choctaw, showing the similarity of the two.

These ethnological researches are exceedingly interesting; and, sooner or later, they must be productive of important results, notwithstanding the wideness of the field and the scarcity of laborers to cultivate it.

The tract is very neatly printed.

5.—*General Pope’s Virginia Campaign of 1862. Read before the Cincinnati Literary Club, February 5, 1870.* By Lewis Este Mills. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. 32.

This pamphlet is an *olla podrida*, compiled from General Pope’s Report of his Campaign, from a magazine article prepared to suit a presumed public taste, and from two partisan histories of the times. From the known connection

of the compiler with General Pope, as his Aid-de-camp, it may be regarded as the production of that General himself.

It was read before "The Cincinnati Literary Club;" and the tenor of the compiler is to prove that Pope's was, in plan, a very fine Campaign, but wholly marred, in execution, by certain officers of the Army of the Potomac, who withheld assistance to Pope, "which can be accounted for only upon the theory of cowardice and incompetency, petty jealousy," [of Pope] or premeditated treason."

The passionate tone of this *ex-parte* statement, to say nothing of its manifest errors, will fail to convince those who read it dispassionately, that its author's account of this "successful and brilliant Virginia Campaign," which "missed brilliancy" for the reasons already stated, is the material of which genuine history is composed—it might be questioned, also, if such an appeal is appropriate while one of the officers who is accused of marring success, is pressing a re-examination of mooted points concerning this Campaign, supported by statements which are diametrically opposite in their import, and with stern demands for justice.

The history of that Campaign is not to be written now, nor by the actors in the events. Results, much desired, were not accomplished, by reason of the failure to deliver orders in time, of not giving sufficient time for their execution, and of other controlling causes; and, instead of casting the blame of his disastrous defeat upon others, General Pope would have followed a good example which Napoleon afforded at Quatre Bras, making the best of his bad fortune and accepting the situation, to improve it.

The tract was not printed for sale; and the beauty of its typography is in keeping with all the issues of its excellent Publishers.

6.—*The Agriculture and Industry of the County of Kennebec, Maine, with Notes upon its History and Natural History.* By Samuel L. Boardman. Augusta: 1867. Octavo, pp. viii., 3—300.

This work is referred to, in this place, notwithstanding it is not a "recent publication," because of its great value, as local history of Maine, and of its extreme rarity, resulting from an awkward blunder in the press-room where it was printed—a plunder which will prevent its very existence from being known to many, even within Maine, unless the knowledge of it shall be borne to them by such notices as this.

The author of it is the excellent Editor of *The Maine Farmer*—one of the best weekly papers in the country—and its pages embody the results of several excursions through the County, made during 1865, '6, and '7, both as a recreation from

office duties and with a view of becoming better acquainted with the agricultural operations and other industrial pursuits of the people; and it is divided into two parts—the first, historical and descriptive, and the last, agricultural and industrial.

In the first of these are successively noticed the History of the County, from the days of the aboriginal possessors to the present day; the Topography of the County, and the History of the several Towns composing it; its Rivers, Lakes, and Ponds; its Geology and Mineralogy; its Birds—by Professor Charles E. Hamlin of Waterville College;—its Climate and Seasons—by Rev. William A. Drew, of Augusta—with which are combined Tables of Winter temperatures, at Gardiner, 1836 to 1864; the rain-fall, at Waterville, monthly, 1850 to 1853; opening and closing of the Kennebec, at Gardiner, 1785 to 1865; mean temperature, monthly, 1837 to 1865, at Gardiner; the extremes and range of temperature, monthly, 1837 to 1865, at Gardiner; and the total moisture, from rain and snow, monthly, 1839 to 1865, at Gardiner; and its early Agriculturists. The second part relates to the Agricultural and Manufacturing interests of the County, in which the author presents not only the existing interests, at the date of the work, but the *history* of each is also presented, with great precision and minuteness.

It will be seen that the plan which the author has followed, in the preparation of this volume, was well-considered and very comprehensive; and his plan was as carefully followed, in its details, as it was carefully selected. It is, therefore, one of the most complete little works, of its class, which we have ever seen; and it will serve, wherever it shall be known, to lighten the labors of many a weary toiler.

It was printed for private distribution, and the edition was intended to number only seventy-five copies; but the clumsy pressman, in printing one of the signatures, counted his paper for only one-third the number; and "twenty-six perfect copies" were all that were delivered to the author—and that number is, therefore, the limit of the edition.

It makes no pretension to typographical beauty; yet it is not less neat in its appearance than many of greater pretensions; and a photograph of the author adds to the interest which attaches to the volume, among the very few personal friends who have been selected to receive it.

7.—*General Fitz John Porter's Reply to Hon. Z. Chandler's Speech in the U. S. Senate, February 21, 1870.* Morristown, N. J.: 1870. Octavo, pp. 20.

We have already expressed our views on what seem to be the facts of General Porter's case, as-

far as those facts have been allowed to see the light of day; and we have not seen any reason to change those views to the General's disadvantage.

We have before us a calm and exceedingly able reply to the bitter partizan speech which the Senator from Michigan pronounced in the case, a few weeks since; but the odds are evidently too great against the General—he is *out*, while his persecutors are *in*, office—and justice in his case, as in many others, will be smothered for partizan purposes. There are too many skeletons in the closets of many of those who are now in authority, to allow the doors of those closets to be opened and the testimony to be exposed, even to correct a wrong, while they can carry the keys and keep the world in ignorance of the truth.

For this reason, General Porter will probably never see the day when his case will be re-opened by those to whom he has recently appealed; yet there may be the greater reason, in this fact, for the speedy publication of a complete exposition of the truth, with the sustaining testimony, by the General himself, in order that the great world may sit in judgment, in the case, and duly punish the real offender, whomsoever he may be.

We earnestly beg him to give us the testimony of the case; and let us see and let the world see wherein General Pope has dragged his shoulder-straps in the dirt and unfitted himself for the society of gentlemen—which life must have done if what seems to be the truth, in this case, is really the truth.

8.—*The National Legend of the Chahta-Muskokee Tribes*. By D. G. Brinton, M. D. Morrisania, N. Y.: 1870. Octavo, pp. 18.

The readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE will remember that, in our February number, we presented this subject to their notice, in an elaborate paper from the pen of Doctor Brinton; and in the very handsome tract before us, we have that interesting paper, in a distinct form, for library use.

The edition numbered less than two hundred copies; and it was printed exclusively for private circulation among the friends of the Author and Publisher.

D.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

9.—*Collections of the New York Historical Society for the year 1869*. Publication Fund Series. New York: Printed for the Society. 1870. Octavo, pp. xv, 560.

Several years since, the Society authorized the establishment of a fund for publishing the historical material which had accumulated in its Library; and the volume before us is the second of that series of publications. It opens with a collection of papers, chiefly from those of the

Earl of Clarendon, relative to the affairs in America, and descriptive of the Colonies there, 1662–1667. They are exceedingly important, as original authority, concerning the origin, progress, and results of the Royal Commission of 1664 and the Colonial policy of Clarendon's Administration. They are from the unpublished treasures of the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, England; and were obtained therefrom by Doctor Moore, the Librarian of the Society, by whom they were placed in the hands of the Committee, for publication in this volume. Next, we find two tracts on the early history of New York—one relating to the destruction of Schenectady; the other is an argument against certain arbitrary measures of the Bellomont Administration in the Colony. Both are interesting to students of New York history. A collection of "Miscellaneous Documents" follows, in which are found an important letter of Lieutenant-governor Colden, on Smith's *History of New York*, and a series of papers respecting Plowden's *New Abilene*—both very interesting to those who desire to enter into the niceties of our early history. Then follow three papers respecting the town of East Hampton and Gardiner's Island, and one on Witchcraft in New York—papers which will awaken the spirit of every zealous Long Islander. Lastly, but chiefly, we have the evidence which was collected to vindicate the Territorial Rights and Jurisdiction of New York, to the New Hampshire Grants—a series which will serve to re-ignite all the dormant fires of Vermont's bitterest animosity. An elaborate Index closes the volume.

The contents of this volume are of the greatest importance to those who are engaged in the higher walks of historical investigation, without possessing much interest to any others. They will serve, therefore, rather as material for history than as history itself; and, in consequence, they may be considered as representing an entirely different school of historical literature from that represented by the papers presented in the last volume of the Long Island Society—the latter aiming to be considered as history itself, the former merely as material from which history may be constructed, by a competent hand. The consequence will be, that, for the many, the Long Island volume, notwithstanding all its faults and failings, will be the most acceptable of the two; while to the thoughtful and intelligent few, this volume will be worth more than a shelf-full of the former. Where, however, as in both these cases, the many, rather than the few, are those to whom the Societies respectively appeal for their every-day support, it may be a question as to which of the two volumes is best adapted, in this superficial age, to win the respect and to arrest the fleeting dollars of those in whose hands

that support is; and as that question is a vital one, going even to the prosperity if not to the very existence of the two Societies, we commend it to the thoughtful consideration of those into whose hands the control of those Societies has been cast. There can be no question among scholars, as to the vast superiority of the volume now under consideration: if the greater number into whose hands it has fallen, agrees with us, we shall be agreeably disappointed.

It is published under the provisions of the Publication Fund subscription, for the shareholders of that fund, and is not offered for sale by the Society.

10.—*The First Golden Anniversary in the National Guard. New York, May 18, 1869. Veterans of the National Guard. New York: Francis & Loutrel. 1869. In sizes, pp. 18.*

The Seventh Regiment has a member, Thomas M. Adriance, Esq., yet on duty among its Veterans, who, on the eighteenth of May, 1869, had been an active member for fifty years; and, on that day, he was surprised by his associates in arms, with a testimonial entertainment and the presentation of a badge of membership in the Veteran Corps, which had been especially prepared for the occasion.

It was our good fortune, when a young man, to serve with Mr. Adriance in the Board of Directors of the Mechanics' Institute of New York; and we remember, very distinctly, the remarkable ability which he displayed in every thing pertaining to finances and accounts, the fearlessness with which he resisted wrong-doers and those whose business habits were less methodical than his own, and the unceasing constancy with which his seat was occupied and his duties discharged, whether in minor or important matters. We can understand, therefore, why the Veterans so highly respect their veteran Treasurer; and we can understand, too, why they expressed their regard in the peculiar manner which they then adopted.

Mr. Adriance has our best wishes for his continued health and happiness, through many years; and we trust that his will continue to be the veneration which eminently belongs to so well-tried and so trusty a citizen-soldier.

The little record is a beautiful little affair, printed exclusively for circulation among the Veterans of the Guard.

11.—*Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Directors, the Librarian, and the Treasurer, presented at the Annual Meeting of the Long Island Historical Society, May, 1869. Brooklyn, L. I.: Printed for the Society. 1869. Octavo, pp. 43.*

The great prosperity which marked the first five years of this young Society's history seems

to have experienced a slight check during the year 1868-9; yet we hope it is only temporary, without affecting or being calculated to affect, seriously, the well-being or the usefulness of the body itself. There is no Society of its class which is more entitled to the warm sympathies of the public, than this; and we shall regret to learn that it has failed to secure them.

12.—*Bulletin of the Essex Institute. Vol. I, Nos. 6-12. Vol. II., Nos. 1-3. Salem, Mass., May, 1869, to February, 1870. Octavo, pp. (Vol. I.) 129-160; (Vol. II.) 1-39.*

The Essex Institute is engaged in a good work and right well does it perform it.

The tracts before us embrace several numbers of its *Bulletin*; and besides the conclusion of Mr. Upham's paper on the Old Houses in Salem and Reports of the Institute's meetings, they bring to us the Title-page and Index of the first volume and the opening pages of the second.

13.—*Territorial Legislation in Wisconsin. Annual Address before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Thursday evening, February 4, 1870, by Hon. Moses M. Strong. Published by Order of the Legislature. Madison, Wis.: 1870. Octavo, pp. 40.*

This is an admirable Address, whether considered in its subject or in the mode of its treatment.

The author opens with the organic Act of Congress, under which the Territorial Government was organized; and he traces the progress of legislation, Session after Session, with the skill, directness, and precision of a master, until the termination of the territorial record and the commencement of that of the State.

There is none of the clap-trap in this Address which is too often seen in such papers; and it may usefully serve as a model for many, on either side of the mountains, who aim at great effects, on such occasions, and too often secure only very small ones.

The Address is neatly printed.

14.—*Eulogy pronounced at the funeral of George Peabody, at Peabody, Massachusetts, 8 February, 1870. By Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, LL.D., President of the Peabody Education Fund. Second Edition. 1870. Boston: 1870. Octavo, pp. 36.*

We have received from the distinguished author, a copy of this most eloquent, and yet most appropriate, Address, delivered at the grave of Mr. Peabody, at his final interment.

It is a graceful tribute to the memory of one who was very dear to the speaker and to the country; and it will be widely welcomed, both in Europe and America—wherever, in fact, the peculiar worth and the peculiar intimacy of

Messrs. Peabody and Winthrop are known and honored.

15.—*Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Hobart College, for the academical year 1869-70.* Geneva, N. Y.: 1869. Octavo, pp. 32.

In this College, the four classes number, respectively, fourteen, sixteen, twelve, and seventeen; and there are twenty-one medical students—eighty in all. To "educate" this handful, scarcely as many as there are in many a little country district-school, there are a formidable Faculty of eighteen Professors, extensive Libraries, valuable Museums, costly Observatories and Apparatus, etc., which, it seems to us, might be better employed elsewhere: certainly, it is money poorly expended in Geneva, if Hobart cannot attract stronger Classes than are seen in this Catalogue.

16.—*Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, for December, 1862, January, February, and March, 1870.* [Boston: 1870.] Octavo, pp. 169-232.

In the February number of this work, we noticed the new plan adopted by the Massachusetts Historical Society, in the issue of its published *Proceedings* in instalments; and we cannot say more than we then said, in approval of its new system.

In the part now before us, are Mr. Deane's admirable paper on the *Forms used in issuing Letters Patent in England*—referred to, in its separate form, among our notices of "Private-ly-printed Books"—with a lame attempt to reply, by Professor Parker; a new testimony concerning the Battle of Bunker's-hill—a letter from Newburyport, dated "21st June, 1775," confirming the narrative of Gerrish's cowardice, and not confirming those of Putnam's command, there, nor those relating to his bravery. Thomas Carlyle ventilates, therein, the, so-called, Montcalm Letters; the memoir of Thomas Dudley, which Cotton Mather did not print in the *Magnalia*, is now printed from an ancient copy of it; and Henry E. Pierrepont, of Brooklyn, seeks to enlarge himself by informing the world concerning the portrait of Washington, by Stuart, which he enjoys as an heir-loom.

The typography of this work is excellent.

17.—*Journal of the American Geographical and Statistical Society.* M.DCCC.LXX. Vol. II.—Part 2. Edited by the Recording Secretary. New York: Printed for the Society. 1870. Octavo, pp. cxixiii, (3) 112.

We welcome this volume to our table, since it is the bearer of good tidings—of tidings from the Geographical Society, which has weathered every storm, overcome every imposition, and shaken off every parasite, while it has

also collected a library of "more than ten thousand volumes," and a "large and very rare collection of Maps and Charts," without having incurred a dollar of debt. All this is good news—better news than we hoped to receive from it—and for it, very largely, the Society is indebted to the excellent judgment and untiring efforts of its excellent President, Hon. Charles P. Daly.

The volume before us contains the Charter, By-laws, Lists of Officers and Members of the Society, the Transactions of the Society for 1868, '9, and '70, the President's Annual Address, List of Donors to the Library and Map-room, Subscribers to Special Funds, and Papers read before the Society by Doctor I. I. Hayes, Captain Silas Bent, Rev. B. F. De Costa, Professor C. F. Hartt, John G. Parker, T. Sterry Hunt, and Paul R. Du Chailu; and it is in the highest degree creditable to the Society.

The typography of the work is excellent.

18.—*Reminiscences of the Original Associates and Past Members of the Worcester Fire Society,* begun in an Address by Hon. Levi Lincoln, at the Quarterly Meeting, April, 1862, and continued in an Address by Hon. Isaac Davis, At the Annual Meeting, January, 1870, With the Roll of Members, from the commencement to the present date. Worcester: 1870. Octavo, pp. 72.

On the twenty-first of January, 1793, in the midst of the excitement which followed the destruction by fire of Stowell's Woolen Manufactory, twenty-two of the leading men of the Town, including Stephen Salisbury, Isaiah Thomas, Joseph Allen, etc., met and organized a "Fire Society," "for the more effectual assistance of each other and of our town-men, in times of danger from fire." At that time, Worcester was a small country village of hardly two thousand inhabitants; and these were without any engine or other apparatus for the suppression of fires; and "no other means of resistance to the destroying element, were in the town, than the simple household water-bucket and the hand of man." From that day to the present, this "Fire Company" has been in active operation—numbering among its members, at all times, many of the leading citizens of Worcester and some of the most distinguished citizens of the Commonwealth.

At the Quarterly Meeting, in April, 1862, the venerable ex-Governor, Levi Lincoln, presented the *Reminiscences of the Original Members of the Society*—a series of twenty-two personal sketches and reminiscences, written with all that welcome detail of circumstances which no one except a personal acquaintance with each of the subjects could have so presented—and, last January, our venerable friend, Hon. Isaac Davis, continued the service with similar sketches

of the succeeding fifteen members, all of whom have deceased. A complete Roll of the Society's Members, indicates the dates and places of their births; the dates of their admission to membership; and, when they have deceased, the places and dates of their decease.

This beautiful memorial of the old men of Worcester, must be very acceptable to the residents of that beautiful City, where now reside many of the descendants of those who are thus honored; and it will be little less acceptable to those delvers into local and individual history, whose fortune it is, so seldom, to find such a treasure as this, which is so well calculated to relieve them of so much of their toil, in all that relates to the thirty-seven on whom this volume treats.

The volume before us was conducted through the press by our valued friends, S. F. Haven and Nathaniel Paine; and as a specimen of fine printing, they may reasonably feel proud of it. The edition was a very small one, the copies being intended only for circulation among the immediate friends of the members.

19.—*The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*. Devoted to the Interests of American Genealogy and Biography. Issued Quarterly. January, 1870. [New York:] Published by the Society. [1870.] Octavo, pp. 8.

The first number of the first Volume of the quarterly of The New York Genealogical and Biographical Society.

It is filled with interesting matter, from the pens of able writers; is well printed; and has before it, we venture to hope, a field of labor in which it will prove both useful and honorable. It has our best wishes for its utmost success; and we extend to its conductors a most cordial welcome, as fellow-laborers in the harvest-field of American History and Biography.

20.—*First Annual Reports to the Saint Paul Chamber of Commerce, by the Directors and Secretary, For 1867*. St. Paul: Press Printing Co. 1868. Octavo, pp. 85.

Chamber of Commerce of the City of St. Paul. Second Annual Report, made January 25, 1869. Also, Articles of Incorporation, By-Laws, Officers, and List of Members. St. Paul: Press Printing Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. 32.

Third Annual Report to the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, for 1869. By the Secretary, Ossian E. Dodge. St. Paul: Press Printing Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. 51.

For this complete series of the Reports of the Chamber of Commerce, at St. Paul, we are indebted to its Secretary, Ossian E. Dodge, Esq.

The Chamber was organized in 1866; and it seems to have zealously discharged the duties which it imposed upon itself—"to advance the "Commercial, Mercantile, and Manufacturing "interests of St. Paul; to inculcate just and "equitable principles of Trade; establish and

"maintain uniformity in the commercial usages "of the city; acquire, preserve, and disseminate valuable business information; and, as far "as practicable, to adjust the controversies and "misunderstandings which may arise between "individuals engaged in trade, and to promote "the general prosperity of the city of Saint "Paul and State of Minnesota"—in whatever way has been opened to it. The membership numbers all the leading business-men of the City; and its operations are said to have been productive of the greatest benefits to the City and the State, by the removal of obstacles to progress, by the correction of abuses of authority, by the settlement of important disputes, etc.

The great body of statistics which is presented in each Report, concerning all the varied branches of Trade and Commerce, is exceedingly important, especially when, as in this case, the results of one year's business can be compared with those of other years; and the importance of complete series of these documents will be apparent to every one.

The Reports are very neatly printed.

21.—*Discourse on the Life and Character of George Peabody*, delivered at the Hall of the Peabody Institute, Baltimore, February 18, 1870, At the request of the Trustees, By Severn Teackle Wallis, A Member of the Board. Published by the Peabody Institute. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. iv, 2-60.

The Peabody Institute of Baltimore, one of the monuments of George Peabody's munificence, recently commemorated his life and character in an Eulogy; and the beautiful tract before us contains that production—one of the best, as it certainly is one of the most temperate and yet most critical, of the papers on that subject, which we have yet read.

It is, also, a most beautiful specimen of book-making, reflecting credit on both the printer and the Institute.

22.—*Annual Address of Hon. Charles P. Daly, LL.D.*, President, delivered before the American Geographical and Statistical Society, January 25, 1870. New York: 1870. Octavo, pp. 46.

The excellent President of the Society availed himself of the opportunity afforded by his renewed inauguration in the honorable position which he occupies, to review those events of the preceding year which were more particularly interesting to those who are engaged in geographical and scientific enquiries, and to discuss the conflicting theories concerning the feasibility of reaching the North Pole and the several expeditions which have recently attempted to accomplish that anxiously-attempted result.

In the former of these subjects, Judge Daly alludes to the completion of the Pacific Railroad and the Suez Canal, the discoveries in Africa, and twenty other events of marked importance; and, in the latter, he closely follows those who insist on the feasibility of reaching the North Pole by following the great currents which flow northwardly, both in the Atlantic and Pacific, and very successfully, it seems to us, overthrows their speculations.

In every respect, whether considered in its successful analysis of testimony or in its arrangement of material and its style, this Address is an admirable one, reflecting equal credit on its author and on the Society in whose service it was officially delivered.

It is very neatly printed.

23.—*Proceedings of the First Annual Session of the American Philological Association, held at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., July 1, 1869.* Octavo, pp. 81.

The title-page of this tract hardly describes, with complete accuracy, the contents of this tract. It is, in fact, the entire proceedings, not only of the Association, as such, but of those who, at an earlier day (*November, 1868*) and in a different city (*New York*) discussed the propriety of attempting to organize such an Association, as well as those of the larger number who met in "Convention," at Poughkeepsie, and really did organize that body and set it in motion.

The importance of the objects which this Association seems to embrace will be seen by every one; and it is hoped that it will not be diverted by the schemes of those fossils who consider that all that is worth attention is to be found in the literatures and languages of Greece and Rome. "High education" will undoubtedly thrust its impudent front into this assemblage and control its operations, unless it shall be met and resisted by those practical men whose good sense will be necessary to keep it in existence.

24.—*Proceedings on the occasion of the Centennial Celebration of St. John's Lodge, No. 1, of Free and Accepted Masons of the State of New York.* Including an Address by Most Worshipful William H. Milnor, Past Grand Master, and an Historical Sketch by Right Worshipful Bro. F. G. Tisdall, Master, etc., etc. Monday Evening, December 7, A. D. 1887. New York: Reprint together with Continuation of History to December, 1869. 1870. Octavo, pp. 92.

The venerable body which is known as "St. John's Lodge, No. 1, F. and A. M.," was organized on the seventh of December, 1757; and has continued until this day. It has numbered, in its membership, many of the most respectable and respected of the burghers of New York; and, although we do not perceive on its pres-

ent Roll of Members the name of any very prominent citizen, it still occupies a high place among the most influential Lodges in the State.

In the volume before us, we have a re-print, with extensions, of the annals of the Lodge, as they were presented to that body, in 1857, when it celebrated its one hundredth birth-day; together with some supplementary matter, respecting the Lodge, which properly belongs there.

We are sorry, very sorry, that so favorable an opportunity was allowed to pass, without improvement, when a carefully-prepared sketch of the early history of Masonry in New York could have been advantageously prepared and presented; and we regret, too, that the material which is perfectly accessible, even to those who are not Masons, was not employed in more fully presenting to the world a history of St. John's Lodge, herself, and that of her offspring. A service might have been rendered to the local historian and to the Lodge, by such a presentation, which has not been rendered; and, we are constrained to say, further, that while Master Tisdall probably did all he could do, with his well-intended inexperience, and while the Committee on continuing the annals undoubtedly did the best they could, they have displayed no abilities, as writers of history, and they should either have entrusted the execution of their important tasks, as historiographers of the Lodge, to some more competent workmen or declined to accept appointments which they could fill with no more credit or usefulness.

The volume is a neat one.

25.—*Historical Sketch of Nazareth Hall, From 1755 to 1869; with an account of the Reunions of former pupils, and of the inauguration of a Monument at Nazareth on the eleventh of June, 1868, erected in memory of Alumni who fell in the late rebellion.* By William C. Ketchel, Class of 1834. Printed for the Reunion Society of Nazareth Hall, By J. B. Lippincott & Co. Philadelphia: 1869. Octavo, pp. 62: [Catalogue of Pupils] 57: [Theological Seminary,] 50; [Reunions at Nazareth Hall,] 118; [Military and Naval Record of Alumni,] 74; [Appendix,] 26.

How few there are, among those of other denominations, who know anything of the history of the Moravian Church in America or the modest but effective services of her children in the walks of every-day life. How few there are, in the great body of our busy money-seekers, who can tell just *what* the Moravians *believe*, as matters of faith; just *where* they *came from*, when they approached America; just *what* they have *done*, since they found a home in the wilderness of the West. What a contrast between them and the "Pilgrims" of Plymouth, in all these respects: who shall say that He who has ordered us to let not our right hand know what our left hand doeth, will not more highly honor the modest laborers of Herrnhut?

In 1740, Whitefield, the Methodist, purchased five thousand acres of land in the Forks of the Delaware, which he called "Nazareth." His professed object was to erect, there, a school for negro orphans and to establish a colony for such of his English disciples as should become obnoxious to the Government, at home. In the prosecution of his project, he built a large house; soon became financially embarrassed; sold the property to the Moravians; and, in 1742, abandoned the enterprise.

The new proprietors improved their property; extended their peaceful influence to the savages in whose neighborhood they were; erected a Manor-house, for the accommodation of Count Zinzendorf, their head; and, in other ways, fulfilled the mission to which they were called. The short stay in America of the Count Zinzendorf, however, left the Manor-house for other purposes; and it was used, in part, for a Chapel, until 1841; for a Boarding-school for boys; and for a residence. In 1841, it was purchased for school purposes; and, since that date, it has been devoted exclusively to that use. This School was established in 1785; soon secured a high reputation; and many who are known from one end of our country to the other were educated there.

In the very beautiful volume before us, for which we are indebted to our respected friend, John Jordan, Junior, Esq., of Philadelphia, we find a sketch of the history of this ancient Manor-house, or "Hall," in which the simple annals of the school, its preceptors, and its pupils are told with that modest unadorned simplicity of language which distinguishes all that is Moravian. There is no boasting; no meaningless rhetoric; no evident misrepresentation of the truth. A simple narrative of facts is laid before the reader; and that narrative is left to produce its own results.

First in order, we find in this volume the *Historical Sketch* of the "Hall," or School, to which we have referred; next, is an extended Catalogue of pupils, arranged by Classes; then a Historical Sketch and a Catalogue of the Theological Seminary; a series of Reports of the annual Reunions of the Alumni of the School and a Record of the Military and Naval services of those who were educated there, follow; and an *Appendix*, in which are a German version of *John Gilpin* and an original poem, in Pennsylvania-Dutch, completes the work.

As we have said, the work is very handsomely printed; but we must say that the "make-up" of the volume was evidently in the hands of one who was either not accustomed to see fine books or who was very inattentive to the details of his business.

96.—*Memorials of the Moravian Church*. Edited by William C. Reichel. Volume I. [*Philadelphia*: Printed for the (Moravian Book) Association, 1870. Octavo, pp. xv. 2—364.

We are indebted to our friend, John Jordan, Junior, Esq., of Philadelphia, for a copy of this beautiful volume.

It contains ten distinct papers, all, we believe, now first printed, and all relating to the earliest days of the Moravian Church in America. Seven of them are either written by, or relate particularly to, the Count Zinzendorf; the other three are a Register of Christian Indians who are buried in Bethlehem, the Annals of early Moravian settlements in Georgia and Pennsylvania, and the Accounts of the Moravians with the Colony, during the War of 1755-6. These are very elaborately annotated, and Introductory Notes describe to the reader the peculiar characteristics of all of them.

It is seldom that we see so much labor expended on the annotation of a text; and the extent and variety of the information which these foot-notes contain render them of the first importance, both to the historical and the genealogical student; and the necessity of a *very minute* Index, both of names and incidents, as well as of localities, will be apparent to every one and must not be overlooked by the diligent Editor of the work.

The typography of the work is very good, if we except the peculiar short-comings in the details of its "make-up," of which we complained in our notice of the *Nazareth Hall and its Reunions*.

97.—*An Address delivered before the St. Nicholas Society of the City of New York*, by James W. Beekman, Saturday, December 4, 1869. Published by the Society. MDCCCLXX. Quarto, pp. 87.

In this *Address*, Mr. Beekman opens with an interesting exhibit of what the Netherlands are and what they are doing, in our own day, contrasting them with the same Netherlands, as they were two hundred years since, and noticing, *en passant*, the insolent slur of Motley who, because they were not controlled by a King and a centralized Government, said of them: "but 'it [the Dutch Republic] had no country,' just as he more recently said, of the United States, that, as a Federal Republic, they, too, had no country. He next presents New Netherland, as it appeared two hundred and fifty years ago, with its scattered trading-posts and its primitive society; and he gallantly resents the affront which was successively offered to his Fatherland, by Mr. Valentine, in his *Manual*, and by Mr. Irving, in his *Knickerbocker's History*, as well as those offered, in England, many years ago, by Churchill, and Goldsmith, and the elder

D'Israeli, in their comparison of the Dutch of that period with the English of the same era, very much to the disadvantage of the former; and he contrasts, too, for the same purpose, the Canada of to-day, as a result of purely English and French polity, with the United States, as a result of the Dutch polity, administered either by the Dutch themselves, or by English whose remote ancestors, he says, were Dutch emigrants to Eastern England.

He next follows General de Peyster along the slippery and narrow causeway which the latter constructed through the unstable marshes of tradition and unauthenticated or insufficiently authenticated history, to the fountain-head of the Dutch, exposing to the world their migrations from the Low Countries and their settlement in the fens of Lincolnshire; and we cannot say that he shows much dexterity, as an acrobat, in his journey over the narrow viaduct—why, indeed, as a genuine Dutchman, as Mr. Beekman is, should he attempt to compete, in that line, with the General, who, at best, is little more of a Dutchman than we are, if, indeed, as much? If, “in the beginning of the ninth century,” the Low Countries were overrun by the Northmen, *after the migration to Britain*, “before the beginning of our Christian era,” of the crowds who had left the Low Countries to find homes “on the eastern coast of Britain;” and if these Norse invaders really, then, “overran the country, and, absorbing and intermarrying with the Menapians they found there, remained masters of the land,” as Mr. Beekman suggests, it seems to us that the Dutch of the Low Countries, of the seventeenth century, who settled New Netherland and of whom Mr. Beekman speaks, were, at best, only a race of half-breeds—mongrel crosses between the Northmen masters who had invaded the Low Countries and the Menapian slaves whom they had captured—while the only genuine Dutch at that time existing, were those bog-trotters,—descendants of the emigrants who had left the Low Countries before the influx of foreign Northmen’s blood had contaminated the Dutch stock which had remained there—whose homes in the fens of Lincolnshire, in England, about the same period, sent out to the wilds of New England, the Puritan fathers and mothers of the Bay Colony, whom Peter Stuyvesant and the Dutch Manhattanese so much and so justly detested.

We confess that this subject comes home both to Mr. Beekman and to us. If it shall really turn out that, since we are a native of those same fens in which the *unalloyed* Dutch had taken refuge before the flood of Northmen overran the country of their fathers and contaminated the pure blood of those who had remained within the hive of the Fatherland, *we are a*

Dutchman; and if our good friend Mr. Beekman—a native New Yorker—shall turn out to be a *Northman*, instead of a Dutchman, as he evidently supposes himself to be, we may be inclined to claim priority in rank, as a Knickerbocker, and even to keep on our hat, although in the presence of a Stuyvesant.

Seriously, speculation in ethnological theories, in such cases as this, can do no good, while it may bring a commendable subject for purely scientific inquiry into unmerited disrepute. The original settlers of Manhattan, whether Northmen or Menapians, and the polity which they established, and the traits of character which they impressed on the young commonwealth and on the Republic, are not dependant on any ancestry of those settlers, for the honor which belongs to them; and those who founded the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, too, are just as honestly entitled to what in them was honorable as if there never had been a migration from the Low Countries or a difference, in England, between them and the Government. They are the heads of distinct families, each of which has made its own history; and each is independent of ancestry, for all the honor it enjoys. It makes little to us, therefore, whether we or our neighbors are Dutch, or Norman, or Saxon, or Briton; and while we know nothing of our own great-grandfather, on either side, we care as little about him. We are willing to let our “tub stand on its own bottom;” and, if we cannot send down to our descendants, our good name with as many honors around it as there were when we received it from our ancestors, it matters not who was our grandfather, nor whether I was a Dutchman, or a Northman, or a Saxon: if, on the other hand, we can honestly add to the honors which belonged to it when we received it, and can send it down the line with increased attractions, why should we care from whom we descended, or why should the world care? May it be our privilege to leave the name as untarnished as we received it; and may we be so fortunate as to afford an honorable example, in our life and death, which our children will not fail to recognize and to follow. We ask no greater earthly honor.

But to return. Mr. Beekman claims for the Low Countries, the discovery of the telescope and of the art of printing, and the establishment of the first free schools; and he argues, therefrom, that to the Dutch we are necessarily indebted for nearly all the higher privileges, social and political, which we now enjoy. If Mr. Beekman is correct in his supposition as to the three products of Dutch skill and forethought which he describes, we are certainly very much in debt to that people; but we are not prepared to follow him in all his rambles, in that direc-

tion. We are inclined to think that Kostar was not the *first* printer; we know nothing about the *first* telescope; and if the *first* free school was a Dutch institution, we suspect it was as an appendage to the Church, and therefore an ecclesiastical rather than a political establishment—a difference which no one will more readily understand than Mr. Beekman.

But we must close. As a whole, the *Address* is a good one for the purpose for which it was written. It is a sturdy demand for what Mr. Beekman conceives to be justice to the memory of the Fathers of New York; and if, sometimes, the excellent Author has pleasantly claimed more than the authorities will really support, he has not denied to others some merit; nor does he pretend, by virtue of his Dutch blood, to be either a better man, or a wiser statesman, or possessed of greater rights and privileges, either in society or in the State, than belong to those who have descended from the Puritan or Pilgrim Fathers of Massachusetts or from the Cavaliers of Virginia.

Typographically, this volume is a sumptuous one. For beauty of workmanship it has few superiors; and Mr. Munsell, whose handiwork it is, may well be proud of it.

28.—*Manual of the Congregational Church in West Charleston, Vt.* Boston: 1860. 16mo. pp. 19.

This neat little tract contains a historical sketch of the Church; the Articles of Faith and the Church Covenant; the Standing Rules; and a complete list of the membership, from the organization of the Church until now.

It is interesting, as an item of the ecclesiastical history of Vermont.

C.—OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

29.—*Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Iowa to the Governor, for the year ending December 31, 1861.* Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1861. Octavo, pp. 494.

Reports of Nathaniel B. Baker, Adj't and Inspector-General and A. Q. M. G. of the State of Iowa, to Hon. Samuel Merrill, Governor of Iowa, January 1, 1863, and January 1, 1870. Des Moines: F. M. Mills, State Printer. 1870. Octavo, pp. (*Report of 1863*) 8-33; (*Report of 1869*) 33-50.

In our December number, we noticed the series of admirable Annual Reports which the Adjutant-general of Iowa had issued from his office; and in that notice, we referred to the fact that we had failed to procure the Report for 1861, the first of the series. We have since been favored by General Baker, the excellent incumbent of that office, during the War, with his own copy of that important volume, as well as with the subsequent Reports for 1863 and

1869, making our series, as he kindly informs us, "*absolutely complete.*"

The *first* of these is a sensible, business-like document, elaborately supplemented with complete Rosters of the several Iowa Regiments which had then been organized, admirably arranged: the *last* relate generally to the ordinary business of the office.

Both volumes are very neatly printed.

30.—*Annual Report of the Adjutant General of the State of New Jersey, for the year 1869.* Trenton, N. J.: 1870. Octavo, pp. 23.

We are indebted to our esteemed friend, General William S. Stryker, for this continuation of our series of New Jersey's official War Documents.

The detailed Report of the Department, in which the record of every individual Jerseyman's services is written, is reported, a second time, as completed and ready for the press—a second time, too, we believe, to be dishonored by the Legislature, by a refusal to print it.

The greater portion of the volume is occupied with the yearly Report of the Inspector-general and the ordinary affairs of the department.

31.—*Journal of the Senate, at the Extra Session of the Eighth General Assembly of the State of Iowa, which convened at the Capitol in Des Moines, on Wednesday, the 15th day of May, 1861.* Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1861. Octavo, pp. 125.

Journal of the House of Representatives, at the Extra Session of the Eighth General Assembly of the State of Iowa. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1861. Octavo, pp. 223.

Acts and Resolutions passed at the Extra Session of the Eighth General Assembly of the State of Iowa. By Authority. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer. 1861. Octavo, pp. 47.

Journal of the Senate of the Ninth General Assembly of the State of Iowa, which convened at the Capitol, in Des Moines, Iowa, January 18, 1862. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1862. Octavo, pp. 652.

Journal of the House of Representatives, of the Ninth General Assembly of the State of Iowa. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1862. Octavo, pp. 923.

Acts and Resolutions passed at the Regular Session of the Ninth General Assembly of the State of Iowa. Published by Authority. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1862. Octavo, pp. xlii, 288.

Journal of the Senate at the Extra Session of the Ninth General Assembly of the State of Iowa, which convened at the Capitol in Des Moines, on Wednesday, the third day of September, 1862. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1862. Octavo, pp. 88.

Journal of the House of Representatives at the Extra Session of the Ninth General Assembly of the State of Iowa. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1862. Octavo, pp. 126.

Acts and Resolutions passed at the Extra Session of the Ninth General Assembly of the State of Iowa. Published by Authority. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1862. Octavo, pp. 59.

Journal of the Senate of the Tenth General Assembly of the State of Iowa, which convened at the Capitol, in Des Moines, January 11, 1864. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1864. Octavo, pp. 618.

Journal of the House of Representatives of the Tenth General Assembly of the State of Iowa, Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1864. Octavo, pp. 683.

Acts and Resolutions passed at the Regular Session of the Tenth General Assembly, of the State of Iowa. Published by Authority. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1864. Octavo, pp. x, 328.

Journal of the Senate of the Eleventh General Assembly of the State of Iowa, which convened at the Capitol, in Des Moines, January 8th, 1866. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1866. Octavo, pp. 708.

Journal of the House of Representatives of the Eleventh General Assembly of the State of Iowa, Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1866. Octavo, pp. 796.

Acts and Resolutions passed at the Regular Session of the Eleventh General Assembly of the State of Iowa. Published by Authority. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1866. Octavo, pp. viii, 323.

Journal of the Senate of the Twelfth General Assembly of the State of Iowa, which convened at the Capitol, in Des Moines, Iowa, Jan. 12, 1868. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1868. Octavo, pp. 673.

Journal of the House of Representatives of the Twelfth General Assembly of the State of Iowa, Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1868. Octavo, pp. 629.

Acts and Resolutions passed at the Regular Session of the Twelfth General Assembly of the State of Iowa, begun January 12, and ended April 8, 1868. Published by Authority. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1868. Octavo, pp. xxi, 402.

Our respected friend, General N. B. Baker, determined that Iowa should not be outdone by Maryland, in her courtesy to a historical student who is engaged in exploring her history, has kindly sent to us this *perfectly complete* record of the legislation in, and of the administration of the affairs of, the State of Iowa, during the eventful period which began with the War of Secession; and we have pleasure in recognizing, gratefully, his large-hearted kindness and our deep obligation thereto. We possess, what few others possess, the most ample means of rendering exact justice to Iowa; and we trust that we shall very soon be enabled to turn our attention to that interesting subject.

It will be seen from the titles of these volumes exactly what is their character; and as the *Journals* of the Senate and of the House respectively contain the several Reports which were presented to the two Houses, we have the entire record of the State, in all its minutia.

The volumes are very handsomely printed.

32.—*Immigration and the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York.* By Friedrich Kapp, one of the said Commissioners. New York: The Nation Press. 1870. Octavo, pp. 1, 2, (unpaged) iii, 3-241.

Every thing which Mr. Kapp undertakes to do, in the way of literature, is very likely to be

done properly; and the volume before us affords an example of his great diligence in searching for proper material and his remarkable precision in the use of that material, after he has found it.

Opening with an historical Introduction, in which he glances at the causes and result of emigration and its slow growth previous to the present century, he follows with Chapters devoted to the plan of "commuting;" the horrors of the sea-voyage, both in the olden and in modern times; the wrongs inflicted on the passengers after they had landed; the organization of the Board of Commissioners of Emigration; and its plan of operations; closing with a very elaborate discussion of the Constitutional provisions concerning emigration and a very extended Appendix.

As a complete and reliable treatise on Emigration, this volume is well adopted for the evident purpose of its publication—the vindication of the Board from the usurpation of its authority by the Congress of the United States—and we earnestly hope that the evil purposes of malignant partizans, in their attempt to sap so useful an institution as this, will be eminently unsuccessful.

33.—*University of the State of New York.* Eighty-second Annual Report of the Regents of the University. Made to the Legislature, February 26, 1869. Albany: Argus Company. 1869. Octavo, pp. xxxvi, 929.

We are indebted to the Honorable J. V. L. Pruyn, the Chancellor of the University, for this volume, in which are recorded the Annual Reports of the numerous Colleges and Academies of the State, the Educational Documents of the State Convention for revising the Constitution, and the Proceedings of the Fifth University Convocation of the State of New York, in the last of which are the papers read before that body, and the beginning of Mr. Pratt's *Annals of Public Education in the State of New York*.

This volume illustrates, admirably, what we have so long condemned—the shameful neglect of the *History of the United States*, as a branch of study, by the institutions of learning throughout the State and the not less shameful silence, on this subject, of those who ought to have something to say on the subject. Thus: Columbia College passes *all its Histories*—American and European, Ancient and Modern—over to a Tutor, who has, besides that subject, to teach all that is taught in that concern of Rhetoric. Union College does not seem to have heard of such a study as History of any kind, although it has heard of Ancient and Oriental Languages and other useless stuff of the same character. Hamilton College never opens a

book on the subject; and if it is noticed in any of the *twenty-five* Lectures which are devoted to "Law and History," it can only be looked at, at a distance and as no importance when compared with Livy, Herodotus, Dumas' Napoleon, Tacitus, and Hume, on which it bestows *two hundred and seventy-three* distinct exercises, besides *five* on "Ancient History," generally. Hobart College never devotes an hour especially to the history of our own country; and the University of the City of New York has no one, among its numerous Professors, to instruct its undergraduates, for a single hour, on that all-important subject. Madison University crowds all its "Civil History," of all kinds, into two terms—two-thirds of one-quarter of its professed term of instruction; while St. John's—our respected Jesuit neighbor—more liberally than any other, thus far, gives a *whole* Professorship to "History," without, however, filling the vacant Chair with a living instructor. Genesee College has no instructor of History, of *any kind*; and the University of Rochester, that of Albany, that of St. Lawrence, and that of Alfred, St. Stephen's and Vassar Colleges, and Rensselaer Institute are equally incapable of teaching any falsehoods concerning the Past of the United States, since they have no one, on their several Faculties, whose business it is to teach *any thing*, true or false, on that subject.

We fail to find words to express our indignation at this exhibit of the impudence of these concerns, too often recipients of State bounty and always State Institutions, which can pass, without proper respect, often without any notice, the history of their own country, and lavish their means, generally bestowed for better and more useful purposes, on the fictions of Greece and Rome and the recognized untruths of Hume and Dumas; and we call on the Regents of the University, who are the legal Visitors of these concerns, to take early and effective measures for the correction of this wrong.

This "higher education" theory ought to have some limit below the exclusion of practical, every-day knowledge from our State Institutions; and it shall not be our fault if the rising generations shall not be taught, regularly and thoroughly, concerning the history of their own country, in the schools and institutions which the taxpayers are called upon to support, either by their direct or their indirect support.

34.—*Ninth Annual Report of the Librarian of the Maine State Library to the Legislature of Maine*, with a List of new Books, for the year 1870. Augusta: Sprague, Owen, & Nash, Printers to the State. 1870. Octavo, pp. 41.

A sensible Report of a judicious Public Offi-

cer, whose chief desire seems to have been to do his duty as efficiently and yet as economically as possible.

35.—*Annual Reports of the Trustees and Treasurer of the College of Agriculture of the State of Maine*. 1869. Augusta: Sprague, Owen, & Nash, Printers to the State. 1870. Octavo, pp. 33 and thirteen folded sheets.

This Report is principally interesting, beyond the boundaries of Maine, because of the very elaborate *Register of Meteorological Observations*, for 1869, which it contains.

36.—*Address of Governor Chamberlain to the Legislature of the State of Maine*. January, 1870. Augusta: Sprague, Owen, & Nash, Printers to the State. 1870. Octavo, pp. 31.

The Annual Message of Maine's Governor is a sensible, well-written paper; as independent in its tone as it should be, while professing to be an exposition of Maine's sentiments and Maine's interests; and boldly suggesting that Maine is little more of New England than her *geographical* position imposes on her.

Maine truly is rather a saucy daughter of Massachusetts—if, indeed, she can really be called the daughter of such a mother: if, indeed, she is not more of a foundling,—flesh of other flesh, and blood of other blood—which Massachusetts picked up by the wayside and forced into her kitchen, to do her chores and add to her revenue. She has attained her majority, and, fifty years ago, she set up an establishment of her own; but she is still of another stock, possessed of more moderate means than her former masters possess, impatient under that system of assumed authority which they still display, and quite as anxious as they are to be "free, sovereign, and independent." She is in debt; but she is proudly confident, she says, of her ability to pay that debt at, if not before, maturity. She is taxed to meet her obligations; but she begins to think she will shift to the shoulders of succeeding generations, a portion of her burdens, notwithstanding her previous boast of her abundant ability to bear those burdens, without much of an effort. She needs Capital; and she must have it or, as her Governor says, she "will have to wait a great while for her coronation;" and she ceases to be loyal to the Government of the United States, and inclines to disaffection, when she declares she is enchained by "the National Government," and "looks to it" "to strike off some of the fetters and lighten some of her burdens."

It is well that Maine should suffer. She has danced: let her now pay the fiddler. She has sustained, exultingly, every infraction of "the supreme law of the land," which one reckless

and unprincipled partizan Administration after another has unblushingly committed, for nearly ten years past: let her now remember, by way of consolation, that "the way of the transgressor is hard," and that all such, the good book says, "shall be taken in their own naughtiness." She has helped to destroy the best interests of her own subjects by helping to impose a tariff on the Republic, which prohibits their profitable use of necessary material, in their wonted occupations, and compels them to seek their daily bread in other channels of employment, in other States of the Confederacy. She has helped to destroy her local banks, in order to strengthen those strangers whose sympathies are not with her; and she already gasps for the capital which she has thus recklessly forced into other channels. She has proudly allowed others to come into her territory and offer usurious rates for her reserved capital,—the millions which were unemployed and awaited any passing opportunity for employment, locally, at low rates, where safety was—while she has gravely forbidden her own subjects from enjoying the same privilege. She has drenched her territory with a paper currency which "promises" what its authors openly refuse to even attempt to perform; while she compels her own subjects to fulfil their contracts to the very letter.

She sees her debt maturing while a dreary future stares her in the face—she is "fettered" by the General Government; she is "burdened" with Federal taxes; she has not enough capital—what her Governor properly calls "money in motion, whether Gold or Currency"—to keep her operatives within her territory: "her material is stagnant;" "her industry is crippled;" "her enterprise staggers for want of money;" her ship-yards are unoccupied; her young men are seeking homes elsewhere; her farmers are pouring into the West, leaving their old homes to strangers; she *must* have relief, at any cost, or she "will have to wait a great while for her coronation."

It was "a sad day for the welfare of the State" when [a series of] rash measures were adopted "simply because no one dared, for a moment, to question their expediency lest the champions of those measures should taunt him with infidelity to a creed of which they were not the chosen apostles, and anathematize him in the name of a power which they had usurped;" and we may say to her, under these circumstances, as Moses said to the transgressors in the wilderness of Paran: "Wherefore now do ye transgress? but it shall not prosper."

As we said, the Message is a well-written, manly exposition of the affairs of the State; and does honor to its distinguished author.

36.—*First Annual Report of the Geological Survey of Indiana, made during the year 1869*, By E. T. Cox, State Geologist, assisted by Prof. Frank W. Bradley, Dr. Rufus Raymond, and Dr. G. M. Lavette. Indianapolis: Alexander H. Conner, State Printer. 1869. [1870?] Octavo, pp. 340.

The Forty-sixth General Assembly of the State created the office of State Geologist; placed him at the head of a Geological and Scientific Department, in connection with and under the control and management of the State Board of Agriculture; required him to institute a Survey of the State, to establish a laboratory at Indianapolis, to build up a Cabinet of Geology and Natural History, and to publish the results in the Annual Reports of the Board of Agriculture.

Professor Cox was appointed to this important post; and entered zealously on the discharge of his duties. He removed to the Capital; arranged his offices and rooms; built and furnished "one of the best arranged and most completely equipped analytical laboratories in the West;" organized his corps of assistants; made surveys, to some extent, of Franklin, Parke, Fountain, Warren, Owen, Vermillion, Clay, and Greencounties; and, generally, he got fairly in motion, in his great work.

The volume before us presents, in independent form, the result of his first year's labors; and to those who are interested in the iron-working industry of the country, in which are involved the coal deposits and those of fire-clay, that result is of the greatest importance. Indeed, the Geologist's zeal, in his responsible and honorable position, is worthy of all praise; and the admirable clearness of his narrative—a clearness which will be as much more satisfactory to the plain people for whose benefit his survey was instituted as it will be unwelcome to those for whom it was not instituted, but whose "high education" has, too often, afforded a license for arrogant pretensions and impertinent interference—is peculiarly and agreeably noticed.

The work, thus admirably commenced, should be pushed forward as rapidly as shall be consistent with its proper execution; and both Indiana and the Republic, generally, will be very largely the gainers by the outlay.

37.—*Twenty-second Annual Report of the Regents of the University of the State of New York, on the condition of the State Cabinet of Natural History and the Historical and Antiquarian Collection annexed thereto*. Transmitted to the Legislature, April 10th, 1869. Albany: Argus Company. 1869. Octavo, pp. viii, 118.

This series of Reports is so well known to our readers that we need not enlarge on its general character and importance.

The volume before us is confined exclusively to the Natural History of the State; and of that, a *Partial List of Shells found near Troy and an*

exceedingly elaborate *Report of the State Botanist* occupy nearly the entire space.

It is one of the best Reports of the series; and it will be widely welcomed.

“We shall be grateful, and will give a liberal exchange, for the Third of this Series of Reports, which we need to complete the earlier portion of our set.”

38.—*Fifty-second Annual Report of the Trustees of the New York State Library*. Transmitted to the Legislature, January 19, 1870. Albany: Argus Company. 1870. Octavo, pp. 228.

The State Library is one of the best in the country, as it should be; and it is managed with a degree of good judgment, prudent economy, and judicious liberality, which does honor to those in whose hands the government of it has been placed.

The Report before us contains merely the list of the twenty-two hundred and forty-six volumes which were added to it during the year 1868—upwards of twelve hundred of them, by purchase—and the ordinary financial Report of Receipts and Disbursements.

39.—*Report of the Chief of Engineers to the Secretary of War, for the year 1869*. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1870. Octavo, pp. Title-page and verso, 660.

This volume—for which we are indebted to our friend and contributor, Major-general Humphreys, the distinguished Chief of Engineers—contains a detailed Report of the duties devolving upon the Corps of Engineers, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1869.

This Corps of Engineers is eminently a *working* party. All its members, except four, are “on duty;” and of the four, one has leave of absence until the date of his resignation (which has been accepted) and two are on the retired list, incapacitated for active service. It has slowly increased our coast defences—as fast as the appropriations have warranted;—it has continued the investigations relating to the use of metals for defensive purposes—casting doubts on the availability of iron for ships;—it has sought improvements for barbette guns in earthen batteries; it has experimented on the use of iron in shielding casemate guns, in existing masonry casemates, very much to the disadvantage of iron, as it is now produced; it has further examined the subject of the defence of our seaboard cities, and reported thereon; it has added to the accommodations of the men and the stores, at its depots at Willett’s Point, Jefferson Barracks, and Yerba Buena Island; it has superintended the enlargement and repairs of fortifications, the improvements of rivers and harbors, and the building of bridges; it has

continued the surveys of the lakes; it has continued the preparation of maps of battle-fields and campaigns; and in various other duties, as important as they were numerous, this branch of the service has been busy; and the volume before us is the record of those services, briefly presented.

It forms an interesting portion of our annual records.

40.—*History of Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1861-5*; prepared in compliance with Acts of the Legislature, by Samuel P. Bates. Vols. I. and II. Harrisburg: B. Singerly, State Printer. 1869. Large Octavo, [Vol. I.] viii, 1837; [Vol. II.] iv, 1859.

In the December number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, we alluded to the sadly imperfect records of her part in the recent War, which Pennsylvania had published: it is now our very agreeable duty to notice the beginning of a new era in the literature of her military history and the commencement of a record which is as unusual, for its completeness, as it is honorable to the good old Commonwealth whose eminent services and sacrifices it so admirably commemorates.

The plan of the work is similar to that adopted in Rhode Island and several other States, and gives the name; rank, date of muster into service, term of service, and final disposition of *every* man of that mighty host which Pennsylvania sent into the field, arranged in the order of Regiments, with a preliminary historical sketch of the services of the Regiment prefixed to each Chapter; and the more than unusually complete narratives and beautiful maps which grace these volumes, place them at the head of that row of official State records of the War of Secession, which, already, even in its yet imperfect form, is a wonder of the world and the pride of Republic. The second volume of the work carries the record to the close of the Roll of the Eighty-fourth Regiment; and we are informed that two more volumes, similar to these, will be required to complete it.

As a workingman in the little party who profess to be students and writers of American history, we freely and cheerfully acknowledge our obligations to the industry of the Editor of this work and to the enlightened policy of the State which has authorized its publication. The admirable manner in which the Editor’s arduous labor has evidently been performed by Mr. Bates, and the good taste which has been displayed in the make-up of the work, by Mr. Singerly, are worthy of all praise; and if, as will undoubtedly be the case, a copious Index shall close the work, by which its contents may be found without any unnecessary loss of time, we shall have little more to desire concerning the military his-

tory of Pennsylvania, during the recent War, unless the publication, *in extenso*, of the detailed Reports of Operations which may have reached her Adjutant-general's Office, and yet remain unpublished.

The Records of Pennsylvania, from the beginning, under Penn, until the close of the War of the Revolution, and many of her papers have been carefully edited by Mr. Hazard and already printed; and students of her history have been enabled, thereby, to understand the truth and to tell it with boldness: how much more will the students of her latter-day history rejoice when these volumes shall be sent over the land—harbingers, we hope, of others yet to come—affording, to the wearied and anxious worker, at least a clue to the truth, and indicating to him what he may reasonably hope to learn more of, in the archives of Pennsylvania.

We shall welcome the concluding volumes of the work; and we earnestly hope that no unnecessary delay may occur in their preparation and publication.

As we have said, these volumes are very handsome specimens of book-making.

43.—*Civil List and Forms of Government of the Colony and State of New York*. Compiled from official and authentic sources, by S. C. Hutchins. Published annually by Weed, Parsons, & Co., Albany. [Albany: 1870.] Duodecimo, pp. vi., 604.

The sixteenth annual issue of this exceedingly important volume is before us. It possesses all the peculiarities of previous issues except their errors, which, as far as possible, have been expunged; and, in all which relates to the various governmental organizations, to the principal Colonial, State, and County Officers; to the Congressional Delegations and Electoral Colleges, etc., this volume furnishes the handiest and surest guide within our knowledge. It is, in fact, a necessary volume on the desk of every one who pretends to either write or talk on the past Governments of this State; and no one who has once become acquainted with it will willingly do without it.

We are indebted to our vigilant friend, Henry O'Rielly, Esq., for this copy of the work.

44.—*Manual for the use of the Legislature of the State of New York*. 1870. Prepared pursuant to a Resolution of the Senate and Assembly of 1865, by the Secretary of State. Albany: Weed, Parsons, & Co. 1870. 16mo., pp. lxvii., 448.

Another of the statistical annuals which are officially published by the Government of this State, for the purpose of enabling her legislators to act intelligently on matters which go before them.

The contents of this volume are so varied that
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it would be easier to give the list than to attempt to describe them—the index of subjects extending to twenty pages, of fine print, and embracing the Constitutions of the United States and of this State; the Counties and Cities in the latter; its population, by Towns, Wards, and Counties; Post-offices and Postmasters, therein; Officers in the Federal and State Governments—the latter from 1683 until 1870—County Officers; Funds of the State; Regents of the University; Assessed value of property in the State, by Counties; Amount of Town, County, School, and State taxes, for 1869; School funds of the State; Banks and Saving-banks, with their statistics; Members, Officers, Committees, and Rules of the Senate and Assembly; the Officers of the Militia; the Canals and their statistics; Agricultural Societies; etc., etc.

As a convenient hand-book of all that relates to the statistics of New York, for the year 1869, this little volume is unequalled.

44.—*Rules and Decisions of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania. Legislative Directory. Together with useful political statistics. List of Post Offices, County Officers, &c.* By John A. Small, Resident Clerk of the House of Representatives. Harrisburg: Benj. Singerly, State Printer. 1870. 16mo. pp. Title-page and verso, 491.

This volume serves the same purpose, in the Legislature of Pennsylvania, which the *Manual*, last described, serves in the Legislature of New York; and its contents are also very similar in their character to those of the *Manual*, save only that they relate to the institutions of the former State instead of the latter. We are inclined to think that it will suffer by a comparison with the *Manual*, in the extent and completeness of the statistics of the latter; yet we suppose it answers quite as useful a purpose among those who are sent to Harrisburg, as legislators, since they generally go there for other objects than the public good; and seem to plunder more than they read.

45.—*Tenth Annual Report of the Directors of the Free Public Library, Worcester, Mass. For the year ending January 1, 1870. Together with the Rules and Regulations.* Published by Order of the City. Worcester: Tyler & Seagrave, City Printers. 1870. Octavo, pp. 52.

This is the Annual Report of one of those institutions, supported by the public, which are affording so much good to the towns-people among whom they are located.

This Public Library at Worcester was the result of several successive organizations, co-operating with, or operating on, a large-hearted man, Doctor Green, who bequeathed a large sum for the endowment of one of its departments; and as it is managed by some of the best of Worcester's citizens, it cannot but be well managed and as widely useful.

This Report is handsomely printed, on tinted paper; and it embraces the financial as well as the general affairs of the institution.

46.—*The West Virginia Hand-book and Emigrant's Guide*. A sketch of the State of West Virginia. Geographical Position, Historical Outline, State Constitution, Population, Surface and Soil, Agriculture, Stock-Farming, Wool-growing, Fruit and Wine-growing, Timber, Coal, Iron, Petroleum, Salt and other Minerals, Manufacturing, Water Power, Internal Improvements, Education, Religious Worship, Lands and Farms, Titles and Prices, with a brief Notice of each County, and an official State Directory and Map. By J. H. Dies DeBar, State Commissioner of Emigration. Parkersburg: 1870. Octavo, pp. 193.

The very elaborate title-page describes the contents of this work so fully that we need not expend our space by repeating it.

Those who are interested in either the history or the topography of this part of the Union will find this volume almost a necessity, so well has Mr. Dies DeBar discharged his duty; and we know of no other volume in which both the history, and the topography, and the physical geography of West Virginia have been so clearly and so fearlessly described.

D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

47.—*Annals of Witchcraft in New England, and elsewhere in the United States, from their first settlement*. Drawn up from unpublished and other well authenticated records of the alleged operations of Witches and their instigator, the Devil. By Samuel G. Drake. Boston: W. Elliot Woodward. 1869. Quarto and small quarto, pp. 306.

We are indebted to our friend, the publisher, for a copy of this work; the eighth of his *Historical Series*.

The venerable Editor of the volume has attempted, therein, to collect the scattered annals of witchcraft in the United States; and, in his search, he has extended his enquiry from 1636 to 1728, from Plymouth, by way of Connecticut, Boston, Springfield, Ipswich, New Haven, New Hampshire, Long Island, Saybrook, Albany, Andover, Fairfield, Hadley, Northampton, Philadelphia, Portsmouth, Salem, Scituate, South Carolina, Stratford, and Westchester, to Rhode Island; and he includes among his Witches not only aged widows and middle-aged married women, but Quaker maids—evidence, in itself, of his good taste, as a man, as well as of his accuracy, as an annalist.

The narrative, in each instance, is necessarily very brief; and the references, at the foot, might have been increased in number without injury to the work. Yet, for all the purposes of this publication, we suppose what we find therein is quite sufficient; and, as an extension of either would have extended the size and the cost of the volume, any material extension of either the text or the Notes would probably have defeated the designs of those who have carried it

through the Press.

The Editor, in a ten-page *Preface*, makes a not very successful apology for those who degraded their manhood and their, so-called, Christianity, by persecuting helpless women; and he does this by assuming "that those in authority, in that 'day,' who persecuted old women on a plea of Witchcraft, 'were men 'fearing God,' and by assuming, too, that the witchcraft of the Bible and the 'witchcraft' at Salem were the same—in both cases without submitting any evidence thereon to his readers. A *Preliminary Dissertation* of thirty-six pages follows, in which a wide range of inquiry is taken, without securing a very evident success in any part of it.

There seems to be an undue attraction in this subject of witchcraft; and, if we may judge thereon by the number of volumes devoted to it, the reading public seems to be well-pleased with it. There seems to be great room for improvement, however, in the current literature of witchcraft; and we regret that one so well-read and careful as Mr. Drake, has not broken up the sod, in the volume before us. Why has not he traced, for instance, as Mr. Upham traced, the origin and moving causes of this Witchcraft fraud? Why did not he ascertain the reason of its appearance in the New England towns at the East end of Long Island? Governor Colver's contempt for the subject, when contrasted with the veneration which was paid to it to the Eastward, might have afforded, one would have supposed, the subject of a paragraph in that *Dissertation*, on Yankee shrewdness and Dutch stupidity; and other curious phenomena might have been usefully examined.

But we must go no further. The volume is very handsomely printed by Munsell of Albany.

48.—*Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature*. Prepared by the Rev. John McClintock, D.D., and James Strong, S. T. D. Vol. III. E, F, G. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. (6) 1048. Price \$5.00.

We have already referred our readers to the peculiar thoroughness of this work; and we can add nothing to what we have already said on the subject.

If we except what seems to be an undue disposition to introduce the names of American Methodists who are unknown to fame, among its biographies—not that these were not good men, but they were only locally famous, and there were those in other denominations who were equally good and equally famous in their own neighborhood, and yet are not mentioned—this work would fill the measure of our wants and our notions in this department of literature; but, even as it is, this peculiar feature does not affect its high character nor its completeness, in

the general subjects on which it treats.

It is very thorough, unusually impartial in its statements, and exceedingly comprehensive in its selection of subjects. It is remarkably candid in its examination and exposition of disputed subjects, to the extent, even, in some cases, of seeming to conflict with the known tenets of the Church of which its Editors are honored members; and it does not seem to avoid anything—as such works too often do—simply because an examination of it would involve trouble and, possibly, provoke discussion. Besides, it is well-printed and neatly illustrated; and as a specimen of book-making it is as creditable to its Publishers as, in its literary character, it is creditable to its Editors.

It will interest a large portion of the reading public to know that the lamented death of the Rev. Doctor M'Clintock will occasion no delay in the publication of the remaining volumes of this exceedingly useful work. The main body of this important contribution to religious literature was prepared before the first page was put in type; and the separate articles now require only to be revised, to add the results of fresh researches and discoveries in scholarship, as the several volumes go to press. In this labor Doctor Strong has the assistance of many able and accomplished scholars, belonging to different denominations; and nothing will be left undone to secure the utmost thoroughness and accuracy on every page of the work. The third volume, now before us, exhausts the letter *G*; and about three volumes more will be required to complete the alphabet. The whole work, thus comprised within six or seven convenient volumes, will form the most important and compact library of reference in the English language for the student of the Bible, in accuracy of scholarship, comprehensiveness of plan, and fullness of detail and illustration, far surpassing every former work of the kind ever attempted in Europe or America.

49.—*The Heart of the Continent: a record of travel across the Plains and in Oregon, with an examination of the Mormon principle.* By Fts Hugh Ludlow. With Illustrations. New York: Hurd and Houghton. 1870. Octavo, pp. 568.

The author of this volume was one of a party who crossed the continent "for artistic and scientific purposes;" but we have no means of learning, either from the volume itself or from any other source, *when or for what exact purposes* the journey was undertaken, except from the fact that the railway communication, westward, at that time, extended no farther than Atchison.

Starting from that place, which the author briefly describes, supplementing the description of the town with one, exceedingly minute and painfully graphic in its character, of a lynch-

law trial and an execution which were witnessed there, the party proceeded, overland, on the Overland Mail Coach, by way of Comstock's Rancho—where the party enjoyed its first buffalo-hunt, which is most minutely described, in all its various phases—Fort Kearney, Denver,—from which place excursions were made to Pike's Peak and the Garden of the Gods,—Salt Lake City—at which place both Brigham Young and his people were carefully noted—to San Francisco—whence journeys were made to the great Yosemite and Oregon.

The author describes the adventures of this extended journey with commendable spirit and with occasional displays of the *science* which the party was supposed to have possessed; and he has succeeded in making a very entertaining work, illustrative of the perils of the old-fashioned overland journey, of the general appearance of the country to the westward of Atchison, and of the habits and every-day life of the frontier-men of the West.

The Appendix, which seems to be the portion of the volume in which the Author takes the liveliest interest, is occupied with an examination of the great Mormon question, and with an exposition of what he supposes is necessary for its disposition—a suggested process which stamps Mr. Ludlow with his evidently true character, as a man who measures other men's rights by his own notions, and whose notions of a republican form of government are cramped into the mould of Austria and Russia, in their Hungarian and Polish policies.

There is not, at the close of the volume, what there should be, an Index of subjects which are discussed or referred to in it; and it will take as long to find a subject as to read it.

The peculiar beauty of workmanship which distinguishes the issues from "the Riverside Press," at Cambridge, is exhibited in this volume—it is one which displays rare good taste, both in the printing and the binding.

50.—*The Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Vermont, including the Journals of the Conventions from the year 1790 to 1883, inclusive.* New York: Pott & Amery. Claremont, N. H. Claremont Manufacturing Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. 418.

The object of this work is to preserve from extinction, and to render more generally accessible, the information of the Past of the Protestant Episcopalean Church in Vermont, which, before its publication, could be found only in the perishable records and in the fading memories of those who took part in the events referred too—too soon, it may be, to be found no longer.

The basis of the work, of course, is the Journals of the several Conventions, from 1790; but these meagre and, very often, imperfect records

have been admirably edited by a Committee, whose modesty, strange to say, is as great as its merit. Very elaborate Notes have been added to each Journal, explaining what was obscure in the latter and adding, in substance, what was before omitted. In these Notes, are introduced papers of the highest importance, not only to the local historian but to the student of our general history—as instances, we need only allude to the exceedingly important correspondence with Samuel Peters, D.D., concerning the Episcopacy in Vermont; the various notes concerning the attempted sequestration of the Church lands and Glebes which had been reserved in the several towns, when they were originally organized; etc. Besides, we find, scattered through the volume, brief biographies, statistical exhibits, etc.; and a tolerably good Index closes the volume.

We have seldom taken up a volume which has been edited as carefully as this. It is, therefore, of the first importance, both as a local, relating to the history of Vermont, and as an authority on matters pertaining to the Episcopal Church in America, to every one who may be interested in the important subject of American History.

51.—*A comparative Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language*; in which its forms are illustrated by those of the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Gothic, Old Saxon, Old Friesic, Old Norse, and Old High-German. By Francis A. March. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. ix, 268.

The Anglo-Saxon language, at best, is a mongrel. The Celts, who originally peopled Britain, were as little like their invaders, either in language or manners, as were the aborigines of America, like the Spaniards or the English who invaded the New World and robbed its inhabitants; and the language which we call "Anglo-Saxon," is just such a jargon as might have been found on our borders, two or three hundred years ago, before the language employed by the present generation had been licked into shape by a succession of users, each improving on the last. It is a compound of Latinized Saxon, seasoned with a sprinkling of Celtic, Danish, and, possibly, a corrupted Roman; and it has about the same relation to the Celtic that the English has to the Chahta. Yet, the Anglo-Saxon is important in its bearing on the language which we employ; and, as such, it is an appropriate subject for the consideration of scholars.

In the beautiful volume before us, we have an introduction to the subject, ranging from the alphabet to Prosody; and it seems, as far as we can judge, to have been prepared with great care. The examples have been translated; the citations made easy for verification; leading rules and groups of facts have been brought together; indices have been made; and, not least, the re-

sources of the printer have been freely employed to make the work as complete and as distinct as possible. It will be a welcome addition, we doubt not, to the philological apparatus of our colleges and high schools; and if it shall serve to learn a little common sense to those who prefer to grope in the Latin and Greek—tongues of which the very pronunciation is yet a vexed question—it will not have been published in vain.

52.—*Tom Brown's School Days*. By an old boy. New Edition. With illustrations by Arthur Hughes and S. P. Hall. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 185. Price 50 cents.

The peculiar merits of this well-known book for boys are so widely known and recognized, that we need not occupy space in describing them; and we content ourselves, therefore, with announcing a new edition, very handsomely printed and illustrated, and every way worthy of an extended circulation.

53.—*The Genealogy of the Benedicts in America*. By Henry Marvin Benedict. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1870. Octavo, pp. xix, 475.

In 1638, a solitary "Benedict," Thomas by name and a weaver by trade, wandered from Nottinghamshire, in England, to America, in company with his step-mother's daughter by a deceased husband; was married to his *companion du voyage*, after their arrival in the New World; settled in the Bay Colony; subsequently removed to Connecticut; thence to Southhold, on Long Island; thence to Huntington; thence to Jamaica; and, finally, to Norwalk, in Connecticut, where, early in 1690, he died, in the seventy-third year of his age. He was much respected; a Deacon in the Church; and quite influential in the political and social circles of his neighborhood, wherever he lived. Like most of the New England men of those times—we might say unlike most of the New England men of these times, who, in this as well as in many other respects, are not nearly as manly as their fathers were—he left nine children, all of whom had their shares of descendants.

The volume before us, which seems to have been intended only as a pioneer in the service of its diligent author, contains what one would suppose to be a complete record of the descendants of the *sons* of the founder of the family; yet he tells us, emphatically, that "he does not consider his work finished, as it stands;" and that he designs the publication of a supplementary volume which, "he trusts, will correct all errors and supply all omissions of the present."

We like the spirit which evidently prompted the author of that promise. We admire his evident fidelity to the self-assumed duty which has

devolved on him, as an author. We honor the resolute determination with which he has promised increased labor—the exact meaning of which promise he understood when he made it—in order to make as perfect and as accurate as possible, the work which he has undertaken to prepare and carry through the press. We have confidence, therefore, in the accuracy of what he has already written, as far as he can ensure accuracy therein; and, although he is an entire stranger to us, we are proud of him as a new member of that feeble circle of authors who, in order to do their duty, dare be singular.

Our valued friend and contributor, Hon. Erastus C. Benedict, of New York, has written an "Introduction" to the work, pleasantly discussing the origin of the name; the earlier "Benedicts"—some of whom, we suspect, were not of the tribe now under notice—the sterling virtues of his forefathers and the honor which the family derives from them; the characteristics of the family; etc.; and very elaborate Indices close the volume.

The work is very carefully illustrated; and its typographical appearance, having been printed by Munsell, is very good.

54.—*Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States*. By Henry Lee. A new edition, with revisions, and a Biography of the Author, by Robert E. Lee. New York: University Publishing Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. 632.

In our January number—*ante*, page 78—we referred to this work, at length, in which we alluded to its merits, as an authority in history. We have recently received a copy of the same work, elegantly printed on tinted paper, with rubricated title-page, and illustrated on india-paper—one of an edition mainly intended for presents—and we make mention of it, in its new form, for the information of collectors.

55.—*Christianity and Greek Philosophy*; or, relation between spontaneous and reflective thought in Greece and the positive teaching of Christ and his Apostles. By B. F. Cocker, D.D. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 581. Price \$2.75.

This volume was written for the masses. It is a profound discussion of some of the most important problems of the day, in the management of which the author has been actuated, as he tells us, "by a conscientious desire to deepen and vivify our faith in the Christian system of truth, by showing that it does not rest solely on a special class of facts, but upon all the facts of nature and humanity: that its authority does not repose alone on the peculiar and supernatural events which transpired in Palestine, but also on the still broader foundations of the ideas and laws of the reason and the

"common wants and instinctive yearnings of the human heart. It is his conviction that the course and constitution of nature, the whole current of history, and the entire development of human thought, in the ages anterior to the advent of the Redeemer, center in, and can be interpreted only by, the purpose of Redemption."

It will be seen, therefore, that the leading theories of the great thinkers of the present age, as well as the profound systems which prevailed in Greece, have been therein confronted with the simple teachings of the Saviour and his followers; and the volume will serve, usefully, therefore, as a guide to the history and character of both ancient and modern philosophy, while it also serves to suggest the peculiarities of both.

It is seldom that so profound a work is issued from the American press; and, whether its teachings shall be assented to or otherwise, whether its author shall be found to agree or disagree with the thinkers of all classes, who are to read and pass judgment on his volume, the remarkable ability which he has displayed in its preparation will place him in the front rank of living American philosophers, and command, for him, the respect of even those who shall dissent from his conclusions.

A carefully prepared Index closes this volume; and the second of the series, on *Christianity and Modern Thought*, is promised.

56.—*American Political Economy*; including strictures on the management of the Currency and Finances, since 1861, with a Chart showing the fluctuations in the price of gold. By Francis Bowen. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. 1x, 495.

Some dozen years or so ago, Professor Bowen published a volume entitled *Principles of Political Economy*; and the volume before us seems to have been based on that work. It may not be the same, but it probably originated in that volume.

Professor Bowen, in this volume, takes the sensible ground that every people has its own peculiarities and needs its own system of Economy; that while there are some fundamental principles, underlying all systems, which are applicable to all, alike, there are other principles which are not applicable to more than a single State; that, therefore, Adam Smith, and Ricardo, and J. Stuart Mill, and others who have followed them, have truly written only the Economy of *England*; and that there is a necessity for a treatise which shall present that of *America*. The volume before us is intended to supply that demand; and we have, therefore, a scientific examination of the Economy of the United States, as it has been developed in the age of lawless-

ness in which, during ten years, the United States have squandered their honor and their honesty.

We have not yet found time to follow the learned Professor through his abstruse Chapters on Finance, and Taxation, and Banking; but we have gone far enough therein to satisfy ourselves of the fact that while the Professor may be an expert as an Economist, he needs some alteration before he can be considered as a reliable historian, or be safely entrusted with the history of the United States, as evidence to establish his theories in Economy. Yet, notwithstanding these defects, either accidentally or otherwise, the Professor has evidently done the country a service; and his volume may be usefully referred to by those who are sufficiently acquainted with the Truth to be able to recognize Error, where it has been presented in his pages, and to reject it.

The typography is creditable to the excellent house which publishes it.

57.—*An Essay in aid of a Grammar of Assent.* By John Henry Newman, D.D. New York: Catholic Publication Society. 1870. Octavo, pp. viii, 479.

This is another of the volumes, recently issued from the press, which appeal to the careful reading and careful study of the thinking few. It is intended for that class which is really very small, in every country; and while it might be profitably studied by many who will not see it, thousands will see it, unto whom, because they do not understand its value, the sterling gold which is scattered throughout its pages, will be no more than was the jewel to Aesop's cock on the dung-hill.

The first Part relates to "assent and apprehension," in which are treated, successively, the modes of holding and apprehending Propositions, Assent considered as Apprehensive, the Apprehension of Propositions, Notional and Real Assent, and Apprehensive Assents in Religious Matters; while the second Part treats of "Assent and Inference," in all their connections, with equal precision and particularity.

It will be seen, from this brief survey of its contents, that Doctor Newman grapples with some of the most abstruse problems.

58.—*The History of Rome*, by Theodor Mommsen. Translated with the Author's sanction and additions by the Rev. William P. Dickson, D.D. With a Preface by Dr. Leonhard Schmitz. New Edition, in four volumes. Volumes I. and II. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1880. Crown octavo, pp. [I.] 636, [II.] 566. Price \$2.50 per volume.

This work, which has earned a European reputation, as the best History of the Roman Republic, is in the hands of Charles Scribner & Co.; and a re-print of the first two volumes, in an extreme-

ly neat dress, is before us, embracing that portion of the work which relates to the period anterior to the abolition of the Monarchy and that which tells the story of Roman history, from the abolition of her Monarchy to the subjugation of Carthage and the Greek States.

In thus venturing to place before the great body of American readers, at a very moderate price and in a very neat dress, one of the very best of Roman Histories, our respected friends, its publishers, have done a real service to American literature; and we hope they will be amply rewarded.

59.—*Ancient States and Empires; for Colleges and Schools.* By John Lord, LL.D. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869. Crown Octavo, pp. 648.

This work is said to have been prepared chiefly for educational purposes; but we confess that we think its author belongs to any other class than that which includes within its membership the real educators of youth.

It is seldom that we have seen so much of a job, in the line of book-making, as in this work; and if the author had been modest enough to allow some person, more competent than himself, to follow him and his printer, for the purpose of correcting the errors of both—we say both, because we have supposed that some of these errors belong to each, although the poor printer may be guiltless of all of them—the volume would have been made more respectable as a History of Ancient States and Cities, and more useful, even in this age of educational humbug, as a text-book, "for colleges and schools."

Typographically considered, this work is very neatly printed.

60.—*A Manual of Church History.* By Henry E. F. Guericke. Translated from the German by William G. T. Shedd. *Medieval Church History*, A. D. 590—A. D. 1078. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1870. Octavo, pp. vii. 160. Price \$1.75.

We have not seen the volume of which this is said to be a continuation; but we understand that the two, together, constitute an unbroken history of "the Church," during the first ten centuries—*what* Church we have not yet exactly ascertained.

Guericke is an Evangelical Lutheran, we believe; a Professor in the University of Halle; and a disciple, as far as history goes, of Neander; and the volume before us is marked by all the peculiarities of the German mind which framed it. It includes, among other topics, the spread of Christianity among the Gothic, Scandinavian, and Sclavic races; the exciting controversies concerning the two Wills in Christ, Image-worship, and the Lord's Supper; and the division of the East and the West.

We have not attempted to examine this work very closely, in the absence of the earlier portion of it; but the high character of the author and the judicious care with which Doctor Shedd has translated it seem to warrant the high praise which has been hitherto awarded to it. We have no hesitation, therefore, in calling the attention of our readers to it.

It is very neatly printed, by Rand and Avery of Boston.

61.—*Lieut.-General U. S. Grant, his Services and Characteristics*, as sketched and delivered by Major-Gen. B. S. Roberts, before the Faculty and Students of Yale College, by invitation, October, 1866, and again read to the Legislature of Connecticut, by special invitation, in 1866, at its Session at New Haven, Conn. New Haven: 1869. Octavo, pp. 19.

A fulsome Eulogy of General Grant; by an officer of the Federal Army.

62.—*Some General Practical Information in regard to the "Great State of Kansas." The Greatest Fruit, Stock, and Grain Country in the World.* Second Edition, enlarged and Revised. Lawrence, Kansas: Kansas Publishing Company. 1870. Octavo, pp. 64. Price 50 cents.

This is one of those hand-books which are so useful to emigrants, and which mark the steady progress to greatness of the rising States of the West. It is one of the best of the class; and we can commend it as a "local" which, some day, will be sought and not found by those who will be anxious to learn of the history of Kansas.

It has an excellent map of the State; and is very fairly printed.

63.—*A Secular View of Religion in the State, and the Bible in the Public Schools*, by E. P. Hurlbut. Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsell. 1870. Octavo, pp. 55.

In this pamphlet the author attempts to show that, in a Democratic Republic, which derives its existence and power from popular consent, Religion cannot be entertained as an affair of the State; that Governments which promote Religion are opposed to Democracy, and corrupted into Theocracies which are entirely antagonistic—are founded on a false and dangerous assumption, and result in tyranny and persecution—giving a few striking historical examples to sustain this view.

The author holds it dangerous to the safety of the American Republic, for a foreign Prince to send emissaries to this country and to appoint high dignitaries of a Church to reside on American soil and exercise episcopal functions in our midst; and he advocates an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, authorizing the prohibition of this practice, which is viewed with jealousy by European States and, by several, is prohibited as an infringement on their

individual Sovereignty.

On the much mooted question of the Bible and religious teaching in the Schools, the author takes the ground of entire exclusion, in order that the Schools supported by compulsory tax may be freed from all objection and successfully maintained as one of the main supports of a free State.

He replies briefly to the arguments of the Rev. Mr. Preston, who has published the Catholic view of the School-question; and protests against the money raised by a general tax being used for the support of sectarian Schools, regarding them as dangerous to the well-being of the State. He notices also the arguments of some Protestant Divines, in favor of religious teaching in the Schools, and who assert that Christianity is a part of the Common Law of the land.

The pamphlet concludes with the proposal of a further Amendment to the Constitution of the Union, prohibiting Congress, or any State or Municipality, from levying any tax, or appropriating any money, for the support or in aid of any sectarian School, or for any religious purpose whatever.

64.—*The Life of Christopher Columbus.* From authentic Spanish and Italian Documents. Compiled from the French of Roselly de Lorgues. By J. J. Barry, M.D. Boston: P. Donahoe. 1869. Octavo, pp. xvi, 680.

We are glad to find, at last, in English, a Roman Catholic biography of Columbus, since there are many portions of his career which could not be treated by those of an opposite religious faith, with that certain candor and fidelity which the importance of the subject demands.

In the volume before us, the French Memoir by de Lorgues has served as the basis of the narrative; but it has served only as a basis, as that memoir has been abbreviated, completed, and sometimes corrected; and a volume has been produced which possesses more of the elements of originality than many which make greater pretensions.

We have examined this volume with entire satisfaction. It does not pretend to be as perfect, in all its parts, as de Lorgues's volumes are; yet no one can read it without admiring the spirit in which it was written and the diligence which has been bestowed in making it as perfect and as accurate as possible. It supplies a want which has long existed; and we bespeak for it the attention and respect of our readers.

It is very handsomely printed, on tinted paper; and it reflects as much credit, from its typographic neatness, on its enterprising publisher as, by its merit as a biography, on its diligent author.

65.—*Wild Sports of the World: a book of Natural History and Adventure.* By James Greenwood. With one hundred and forty-seven illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 474.

The title-page of this volume accurately describes its character—it is not a mere book of hair-breadth escapes and doubtful adventures; but one in which the character and habits of the wild-beasts of the world are carefully described, with merely incidental allusions to adventures, as illustrations of the narrative. It is, therefore, less open to objection, as a volume for the young, than many others; and, as such, it should be more widely circulated.

The illustrations are appropriate and well executed; and, as a whole, the volume is a very neat one.

66.—*Annual Statement of the business of the Saginaw Valley and "the Shore," for 1868.* Details of the manufacture of Lumber, Staves, Lath, Shingles, and Timber. The product of the Plaster Beds, Fisheries, and Ship Yards, with statement of Shipments, Markets, Stock on hand, &c. By Geo. F. Lewis and C. B. Headley. East Saginaw: Daily Enterprise Office. Octavo, pp. 27.

This is another of those annual statements of trade which are now thrusting themselves into our presence, when we least expect them, from the many young year-old markets of the mighty West, and startling us with the thundering announcements that, before we know it, "the West" will control the destinies of the Republic, and be felt, very sensibly, throughout the entire world.

We confess we knew nothing of this new market-place—this region from which, twenty years ago, scarcely a ripple disturbed the great current of the country's trade—this creation of a day, whence, in 1868, more than four hundred and fifty-seven millions of feet of Lumber, and more than one hundred and one millions of Shingles, and nearly thirteen millions of Staves, and more than five hundred and fifty-five thousands of barrels of Salt, were shipped.

We have seldom heard of this region, we say, and we have never dreamed of its importance—just as we are undoubtedly ignorant, in fact, of the overwhelming power, even at the present day, of that marvel of the age, "the West," in all that relates to the resources and the trade of our country. That power exists, however; and we can only hope that it will never be employed in any other than a righteous cause.

67.—*Personal and Military History of Philip Kearney, Major General United States Volunteers.* By John Watts de Peyster. New York: Rice & Gage. 1869. Octavo, pp. 6. (unpaged) 512.

In this volume, General de Peyster has eulogized his cousin, General Philip Kearney, who fell at Chantilly, on the first of September, 1862.

We cannot say that we admire either the subject or the way in which it has been handled; yet, as there seems to have been enough of a misunderstanding between the Author and his Publishers, to render uncertain which of the two are really accountable for some of the shortcomings of the volume, we do not feel called upon to condemn the former for faults in the work, which may be there because of the obstinacy of the latter in preventing the correction of them.

Of this, however, we are very certain—the volume before us is marked by all the faults of its author's earlier writings, although it is not without evidence of his superior abilities, as an accomplished military critic and an unusually well-read gentleman. Even his earliest works are not more elaborately pedantic nor more parenthetical in their structure than this is; nor are they more profuse in their frequent and extended references to the military history of Europe and to the makers of that history, as it is read on the battle-fields of the Continent.

The peculiar faults of which we speak are such as to make the volume an unwelcome one to almost every reader; and the Author, by this mistake, has inflicted a sad injustice, both on himself and his subject. Yet, notwithstanding these drawbacks, the careful reader will find much of History in it which he can find in no other work; and the careful student will not fail to notice, profusely scattered throughout its pages and sparkling in the midst of more that is forbidding in its character, many a little gem of unusual brilliance, the result of extended and careful reading and of deep and continued reflection, which needs only to be separated from the baser matter in which it is embedded, to ensure for those who seek it, both honor and advantage.

It is, we believe, a volume which is supplied only by Agents and not to be found in the bookstores.

68.—*History of Acworth, with the Proceedings of the Centennial Anniversary, Genealogical Records, and Register of Farms.* Edited by Rev. J. L. Merrill, Town Historian. Acworth: Published by the Town. 1869. Octavo, pp. 306.

Acworth, in New Hampshire, celebrated its centenary, in September, 1868; and the report of that event has extended to a fine octavo, devoted also to a history of the Town and of its early settlers, and illustrated with numerous portraits of both old and young.

More than one-third of this volume is occupied with an elaborate report of all the doings at the Centennial Celebration to which we have referred; and like those who followed the feast, in the presence of the Savior, literally nothing has been lost to the reader for it, of the fragments which were then dropped from the tables of jubi-

lant Acworth. A history of the Town follows, in which due attention has been paid, successively, to the Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Military portions of her history; and a Genealogy of the resident families and a Register of Homesteads fitly close the work.

The volume is handsomely printed and neatly illustrated; and we are inclined to think well of that rural Town which, in its corporate capacity, has thus honored its founders while it has also honored itself.

69.—*Vick's Illustrated Catalogue and Floral Guide for 1870.* James Vick, Rochester, N. Y. Octavo, pp. 84.

James Vick, of Rochester, once a typo, now a distinguished and enterprising florist and seedman, has sent us a copy of this beautiful handbook of floriculture, for which he will accept our thanks. It is an elegant octavo, printed on tinted paper, beautifully illustrated, and is supplied to order at the nominal price of ten cents per copy; and we advise those of our readers whose taste runs toward their gardens, to send for one.

70.—*Military Commissions for the Trial of Citizens. A Letter to the Attorney-general of the United States.* By John H. James, Jr. Cincinnati: R. Clarke & Co. 1866. Octavo, pp. 16.

This letter seems to have been addressed to *The Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, by one whose name indicates a relationship with one of our honored contributors, the venerable Colonel John H. James, of Urbana, Ohio. It relates to the celebrated Yerger Case, and is addressed to the Attorney-general, applying to his back, with a liberal hand, the severe castigation of an indignant protest against the official action of the latter, in opposing the application of Yerger for a Writ of *Habeas Corpus*.

As one of the pamphlets of the day, on one of the greater questions of the times, it is worthy of notice by all who examine the subject of which it treats.

71.—*A Monogram on our National Song.* By the Rev. Elias Nason, M. A. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1866. Octavo, pp. 69.

This beautiful volume is not happily named since it does not convey to all readers, clearly, a just idea of its contents.

The author opens with an essay on "The Ministry and Power of Music; and this is followed by others, successively, on "The Secret Power of Patriotic Song," on the "Little Music in the Old Colonial Times," on the "Music of the Revolution," including *Yankee Doodle*, on the "Songs at the close of the last Century," including Robert Paine's *Adams and Liberty*, Hop-

kinson's *Hail Columbia*, Sumner's *Ode to Science*, etc., on "The Early Songs of the Present Century," including Key's *Star-spangled Banner*, on "Our Songs during the tranquillity which Mr. Madison's War secured," on "Our Songs in the late War," and on "The distinctive character and future mission of our National Song;" and it will be seen that the entire range of our country's music passes in review and is noticed by the Author, both from the historical and the philosophical stand-points. The history of most of the popular songs is glanced at; and their character and effects are frequently made the subjects of well-considered and judicious remarks.

As we have intimated, this volume is a most beautiful specimen of typography, from the press of our good friend, Munsell, of Albany.

72.—*Contributions to the Geology of Ohio.* By Col. Chas. Whittlesey. Cleveland: 1866. Octavo, pp. 48.

Our readers will not forget how unsuccessful we have been in all our attempts to respect the character and do justice to the claims of our venerable contributor, Colonel Whittlesey of Cleveland; and many a man of a bolder mien than we possess, would have shrunk from the pamphlet which we have named at our head, if he had received it, as we did, through the Post-office. We have not, however; and we beg to invite our readers' attention to it.

We hope our venerable contributor will not take offence if we assure our readers that he is one of the most distinguished of western Geologists; that, during twenty years, he has been taking notes of the Geology of Ohio and the neighboring States; that he has generously published, from time to time, much of his material on this subject, which has been seized by others and employed without credit; and that we are pleased to learn that he is now about to reclaim the fugitives and put them to press on his own account.

In the tract before us, we suppose, we have an installment of this valuable material, in which the author discusses, successively, "The Ice Period and the Glacial Drift," the "Ancient Glaciers in Ohio," "Instances of Muck beds and burned Timber in Ohio," "The Extinct Mastadon and Elephant in Ohio," "Natural Ridges and Terraces in Ohio," and a great variety of kindred subjects; many of them carefully illustrated; and all of them written with great ability.

We hope the venerable author will present all his valuable Notes on this important subject to the public, in order that the world may not lose the benefit which may be derived from his observations; and we assure him that no one will

more earnestly and heartily welcome them than ourself. He has our best wishes in his work; and he may depend on the enjoyment of our willing co-operation wherever we can promote his well-intended and important purposes.

73.—*The Free Lands of Iowa*. Being an accurate description of the Sioux City Land District. A general View of Iowa: her resources and advantages; with reliable information relative to the vacant lands for all who are seeking homes in the West, and full directions for obtaining homesteads and pre-emptions. By A. R. Fulton. Des Moines, Iowa: Mills & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. 44.

A very carefully-prepared description of that portion of North-western Iowa which is embraced in the Sioux City Land District, together with minute instructions for locating lands, under the various Laws of the United States.

As a "local" of Iowa, this tract is a very important one: as a guide to explorers or settlers it is not less valuable.

74.—*Aiken, South Carolina*. A description of the Climate, Soils, and the Nature of the Products in the vicinity of Aiken, S. C., especially Fruit, Cereals, Cotton, Corn, &c., including extracts from Letters of distinguished visitors, correspondents, action of Town Councils inviting emigrants, &c., &c., &c. Illustrated with Maps. New York and Aiken: J. C. Darby. 1870. Octavo, pp. 78.

This is a Southern publication, descriptive of the country around Aiken, issued for the purpose of inducing immigrants to settle in that vicinity. It will interest many of our readers as an important South Carolinian "local," which they will undoubtedly seek copies of.

75.—*The Vicar of Bulhampton*. A Novel. By Anthony Trollope. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 300.

Miss Van Kortlandt. A Novel. By the author of *My daughter Eltior*. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 180. Price \$1.00.

Beneath the wheels. A romance. By the author of *Oliver Varcoe*, etc. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 173. Price 50 cents.

The Portrait in my Uncle's Dining-room; and other Tales. First Published in America, in *Littell's Living Age*. Boston: Little & Gay. [1870.] Octavo, pp. 107. Price 25 cents.

Kilmory. By William Black. New York: Harper & Bro. 1870. Octavo, pp. 134. Price 50 cents.

Man and Wife. By Wilkie Collins. New York: Harper & Bro. 1870. Octavo, pp. 222.

Gwendolyn's Harvest. A Novel. By the author of *Carlton's Year*. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 22. Price 25 cents.

The above are all works of fiction, neatly printed, on good paper, and sold at very low prices, to meet the demand of those who are travelling, or amusing themselves in the country, or seeking only the temporary pleasure which such works are intended to produce.

76.—*France and England in North America*. A series of historical narratives. By Francis Parkman. Part third. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1869.

The Discovery of the Great West. By Francis Parkman. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1869. Small Octavo, pp. iii. 435. Price \$3.50.

We are indebted to the learned author for this new volume of his series of historical narratives; and we have glanced over its pages with complete satisfaction.

The discovery of the Great West, as the valleys of the Mississippi and the Lakes are called, is a portion of our history which has been hitherto very imperfectly understood; and the purpose of this volume is to supply the information on that subject, which has been wanting, hitherto.

Mr. Parkman, in his first page, introduces the great master-spirit of Western discovery—*René-Robert Cavelier*, Sieur de la Salle, the son of wealthy parents; a native of Rouen; probably, at one time, a member of the Society of Jesus; and a man of great resolution and tenacity. He next describes the settlement of La Salle, at La Chine, on the St. Lawrence, and his day-dreams of a western passage to the Pacific, by way of the Ohio and the Mississippi—both of which streams had been described to him by the straggling Indians who had visited his settlement—and of the commercial profit which would accrue to the fortunate explorer. He tells, also, of La Salle's preparation, at his own expense, for the enterprize of exploration; of the union with his, of the expedition, under Dollier de Casson, which the Seminary of St. Sulpice, at Montreal, had fitted out for missionary purposes; of the probable intrigues of the Jesuits, on the Genesee, to prevent a prosecution of the enterprize; of the parallel expedition of Joliet; of the early abandonment of him by the Sulpitians; of the prosecution, by the latter, of their journey westward, by way of Lake Erie, the Strait of Detroit, and Lake Huron, to the Saut St. Marie; and of their return to Montreal, by way of Lake Nipissing and the Ottawa. He has failed in his effort to ascertain, with certainty, the exact occupation of La Salle, during the succeeding two years after the Sulpitians left him; but he fully secures to that daring explorer the honor of having discovered the Ohio-river and the Illinois; although he sees no evidence to prove, conclusively, that he discovered the Mississippi. He next describes the explorations of Marquette and the Jesuits; the formal occupation of the West, at the Saut St. Marie, by the French; the discovery of the Mississippi by Joliet and Marquette; their exploration of that stream, as far as the Arkansas; their return; the death of Marquette; and the subsequent devotion of Joliet to trade. Returning to La Salle, Mr. Parkman next opens to our

view the great schemes of that great man—the opening of a passage, over the Continent, to the Pacific; the anticipation of Spain and England, in the occupation of the West, by France; and the securing of an outlet for the trade of the West, at the mouth of the Mississippi. He tells of the mercantile venture which led to the original settlement of Kingston, on Lake Ontario; of the Grant of that settlement to La Salle; of the opposition by the Jesuits to his projects and to himself; of the prosecution of his great designs, under the authority of the King, with enlarged commercial privileges; of the establishment of the post at Niagara; of the construction of the *Griffen*, above the Falls, and her passage up Lake Erie, into Lake Huron and to the Jesuit Mission at St. Ignace of Michillimackinac; of her subsequent trip to Green Bay; of her return trip, laden with furs, to Niagara; of La Salle's establishment, at the mouth of the St. Joseph's and near Peoria; of disaffection among his men and of discontent among his creditors; and of the destruction of his last two settlements, the loss of the *Griffen*, and of disasters, everywhere. He describes the adventures of Hennepin, his impositions, and his captivity among the Sioux. He relates the renewed activity of La Salle; his attempt to confederate the Western Indians under the shadow of the flag of France, a counterpoise to the Iroquois; and his successful voyage down the Mississippi, to its mouth. He tells of the extension of the domain of the King of the French; of the successful establishment of his Colony, on the banks of the Illinois; of the triumph of his enemies, in Canada; and of his return to France, in search of new authority and other means to sustain it. He describes the new expedition to the Gulf of Mexico, which La Salle organized in France; his debarkation in Matagorda Bay; the disaffection of his followers; his sufferings; and his death by assassination; and the volume closes with a description of the destruction of the French Colony in Texas, by the Indians and Spaniards.

It will be seen that the central figure of this interesting narrative, is that of the *Sieur de la Salle*; although *Tonti*, and *Frontenac*, and *Hennepin*, and *Joliet*, and *Joutel*, and *Marquette* are duly represented and described, one after another, as playing their several little parts in the great work of discovery and settlement; and we cannot but admire not only the patient research with which the distinguished author has obtained his material and tested its value, but the peculiar ability with which he has employed it and presented the result to the world. We are not quite sure that Mr. Parkman will always command the approval of all whose studies have made them familiar with the details of his subject—how can he, with La Salle as his hero and

with such evident want of sympathy with the Jesuits which he has exhibited?—yet, all will admire the unquestionable sincerity and the singular frankness with which he has discussed, successively, the different portions of his subject; while the remarkable beauty of his style indisputably adds charms to his narrative which few other authors can command.

As a whole, this volume forms a part of one of the most important series connected with American Colonial History—a series which, for general historical accuracy and beauty of style, has commanded the respect of scholars, the world over—and we venture little in promising a hearty welcome to it, wherever the peculiar excellencies of its learned author are known.

As a very fine specimen of bookmaking, this volume is also particularly noticeable.

17.—*History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the defeat of the Spanish Armada.* By James Anthony Froude, M. A. Volumes XI and XII. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1870. Crown octavo, pp. (XI.) 702; (XII.) 658. Price \$ 3.00 per volume.

Mr. Froude having stopped with the defeat of the Armada, instead of carrying his subject to the death of Elizabeth, as formerly proposed, these volumes conclude the series.

The work having been finished, we may look at it, complete, as one of the most remarkable works of the age. Under the system which Mr. Froude has so admirably illustrated, the old-time histories become obsolete; the traditions of the fathers, on historical subjects, mostly disappear on being touched; and new facts, clearly expressed and abundantly sustained by evidence, start up on every line. Nothing has been taken on credit: nothing has been repeated because it has been, already, oft-told: nothing is presented without the accompanying foot-note, when such an accompaniment will add weight to the statement.

Such an example as Mr. Froude has presented, with such results, cannot but be useful to the cause of historical enquiry, since the littleness of what has been called "history" has been demonstrated; the worthlessness of many of the great ones has been proved; and the superiority of many who have been maligned, generation after generation, has been established. It is a bright example of the "new school" of history, of which so much has been said; and the excellent publishers, for their courage in so bravely re-producing the work, deserve the thanks of every earnest lover of genuine History.

The typography is excellent; and the make-up of the work, generally, is very good.

78.—*The ancestry of General Grant, and their contemporaries.* By Edward Chauncey Marshall, A. M. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1888. Duodecimo, pp. xiii, 188.

What was and what was not "the ancestry of "General Grant" is of very little importance, except as material for the gratification of a little individual pride in General Grant and his family, or for the purpose of securing a little personal favor to the person who inquires concerning it.

According to this book, the first of the Grants, in America, was MATTHEW, of Windsor, Connecticut—"probably" an emigrant per the *Mary and John*; and certainly a respectable surveyor and the Clerk of the Town. His son, SAMUEL, and his grandson, SAMUEL, were also respectable residents of Windsor, but, not unlike the great body of their townsmen, they have been entirely unknown to fame, until within the past few weeks. The last of these had a son NOAH, of Tolland; and a grandson of the same name—the last, a Captain in the Provincial service, was killed near Lake George, in 1756. The Captain left a son, NOAH, who lived and died in Maysville, Kentucky, leaving a large train of descendants, many of whom, if not the greater part of them, were supporters of the insurrection and either fought against the United States or helped others to do so. One of them, however, was JESSE, the well-known Postmaster of Covington, Kentucky, whose good fortune it has been to have raised a son, named ULYSSES SIMPSON, now President of the United States.

There is a great amount of irrelevant matter in this volume, concerning sundry persons named Grant, some of whom or none of whom may or may not have been related to the real ancestors of General Grant; and we confess that it poorly serves to compliment that gentleman's personal abilities, to prove, or even to assert, that he has descended from a race of giants who had been reduced to the stature of ordinary men, before he was born, and who were accidentally raised again, above the average height of those who are their contemporaries, entirely through the personal merits of the last of the race, or through the circumstances in which he was placed. If there is anything in the Grants, more than in other people, they are indebted for it to the General rather than to his ancestors; and he is entitled to the entire credit of doing that for doing which the author of this volume seems to be anxious to give other people the credit.

This volume is very beautifully printed, on tinted laid paper.

79.—*The Odes and Epodes of Horace.*—A metrical translation into English. With Introduction and Commentaries. By Lord Lytton. With Latin text from the editions of Orelli, Maclean, and Yonge. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 521.

The readers of *Blackwood's Magazine*, during the past two years, will find nothing new in either the Introduction or many of the translations which are in this volume, since they have already appeared in that widely-known journal. For convenience sake, however, and for the benefit of those who do not see *Blackwood*, this volume will be acceptable; and it seems to have been required, also, as a portion of the collective edition of Bulwer's writings which the Harpers are issuing from the press.

Concerning the merits of Lord Lytton's estimate of Horace, as a poet, and of his new translation of the poet's Odes and Epodes, there will be great difference of opinion among scholars: we confess that the latter does not please us, notwithstanding the high character of the translator.

The volume is very neatly printed.

80.—*Novels of George Eliot. Vol. I. Adam Bede. With Illustrations.* Duodecimo, pp. 483.

..... Vol. II. *The Mill on the Floss.* With Illustrations. Duodecimo, pp. 464.

..... Vol. III. *Felix Holt.* With Illustrations. Duodecimo, pp. 529.

..... Vol. IV. *Scenes of Clerical Life and Silas Marner.* With Illustrations. Duodecimo, pp. 497.

..... Vol. V. *Romola.* With Illustrations. Duodecimo, pp. 517.

Among the most notable of the female writers of the day, because of her perfect independence of thought, her intense but refined sympathy with the joys and sorrows of human nature, and her great power of delineation, is "*George Eliot*," whose series of novels, in an exceedingly neat dress and at a very low price—seventy-five cents per volume—have been recently published by the Messrs. Harper of New York.

With such works accessible to every one, at such prices, there is no excuse for spending time on trashy volumes, by writers without merit.

81.—*History of England from the death of Wolsey to the death of Elizabeth.* By James Anthony Froude, M. A. Volumes V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, and X. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. (V.) 474; (VI.) 495; (VII.) 554; (VIII.) 495; (IX.) xlii, 604; and (X.) xiv, 595. Price \$1.25 per volume.

We have so often alluded to the peculiar merits of this great historical work that we need do no more than announce these six additional volumes of what is called "The Popular Edition," which the Publishers are sending out, at a merely nominal price.

There can be no reason for ignorance among the masses, while such books as these are afforded at such prices, and that, too, not in closely-trimmed pages, stitched in paper covers; but from the same plates as the library edition, well-

printed, and very neatly bound.

It is a marvel of cheapness, and two more volumes will complete the work.

82.—*The Life of Mary Russell Mitford, Authoress of Our Village, &c. Told by Herself in Letters to Her Friends.* Edited by the Rev. A. G. K. L' Estrange. In two volumes. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. (1.) 378, (II.) 368.

In these neat volumes, we find the life and the labors, the pleasures and the pains, the joys and the sorrows, the opinions and the realities of Miss Mitford, clearly set forth in her own widely-extended correspondence with her most intimate friends. It is one of the most agreeable books of the day—full of interesting reminiscences, gossip, and biographical pleasantries; and perfectly adapted to the purpose of conveying to the reader the most accurate picture of the everyday life, and trials, and thoughts of the venerable subject of the memoir.

There are sprinkled over the varied surface, many incidents which will interest American readers, among them, Miss Mitford's evident satisfaction that her writings had been scattered over America, in cheap editions; and that, too, without an international copy-right. In like manner, allusions to Daniel Webster and Doctor Channing, Ticknor & Fields and Nathaniel Hawthorn, Mrs. President Sparks and Elihu Burritt, and other men and matters, of interest to our countrymen, will arrest attention.

One thing has been omitted, in the preparation of this work, which is wholly unpardonable—the Index—and we beg our friends, the Harpers, to supply the defect in their next edition of the work.

83.—*Journal of a Visit to Egypt, Constantinople, the Crimea, Greece, &c., in the suite of the Prince and Princess of Wales.* By the Hon. Mrs. William Grey. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 309.

The Prince and Princess of Wales recently visited the East; and in their train, as a traveling companion, was a Swedish lady, the author of this volume. That intelligent lady seems to have written a running comment on what occurred and what she saw and heard, during that journey, not for the purpose of printing it, but for her own amusement. The pleasant narrative seems to have reasonably attracted attention; and the fair author has been persuaded to give it to the press—a step which every one who reads it will approve and for which all will thank her.

There is an unaffected simplicity of style in this work which captivates the sober reader; and it is really refreshing to glance over the sketches of adventure and of character which she so pleasantly presents—her visit to the harem of the sovereign, particularly, is admirably told.

The volume is very neatly printed.

84.—*A German Course; adapted to use in Colleges, High-schools, and Academies.* By Geo. F. Comfort, A. M. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. viii, 484.

This work consists of, *First*, practical lessons for learning to read, write, and speak the German language; *Second*, familiar conversations, in German and English, forms of letters, etc.; *Third*, a compend of German Grammar; and, *Fourth*, tables of German monies, weights, measures, vocabularies, etc.

The arrangement of these different parts is eminently practical in its character, and commends itself to the good sense of all who, like myself, know little of the language and desire to know more of that part of it which is practically useful, without burdening themselves with that which is merely ornamental; and we have pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to the volume.

The typography is excellent, in all its parts.

85.—*Man in Genesis and in Geology: Or, the Biblical Account of Man's Creation, tested by Scripture theories of his origin and antiquity.* By Joseph P. Thompson, D.D., LL.D. New York: S. R. Wells. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 149. Price \$1.00.

"The origin of man" is one of the great problems of the age; and every leading theologian and every scientist, as well as every one who assumes to be such, seems anxious to make a dash at it. Doctor Thompson is the last of the number of whom we have any knowledge.

The volume before us is composed of a series of Lectures, in which the Doctor seeks to adjust and reconcile what seem to be the differences which exist between the Bible and the Geologist, on this important subject. It is neither a book of Theology, as such, nor one of Science, as such; but it aims to present the latest results of Science concerning the origin and antiquity of man, side by side with the account of his creation, as presented in the Scriptures, interpreted by the critical tests of modern Philology; and to suggest certain principles of adjustment, between the record of Nature and that of the Bible, without violence to the spirit of either.

Such a work, honestly written, as Doctor Thompson has undoubtedly written it, is very well calculated to become exceedingly useful; and the ripe scholarship of the Doctor enables him to handle his subject with unusual ability. Though condensed in style and argumentation, it is a valuable contribution to Science and Theology.

The volume is a neat one; and must become widely popular.

86.—*The Texas Almanac for 1870, and Emigrant's Guide to Texas*, showing the vast Area, Climate, and Fertility of the Soil; the Mild Temperature, neither so hot nor so cold as in the Northern States; the great Profits realized in Stock Raising, Sheep Husbandry, Agriculture, and various Manufactures; etc., etc., etc. [Galveston:] Richardson & Co. [1869.] Duodecimo, pp. 268.

This is a hand-book of the State of Texas, in which are presented accurate descriptions of nearly everything which any one will desire to know about that State, or concerning either its Agriculture, its Trade, its Lands, its Schools, its Government, its History, its Statistics, its Mineral Wealth, or its Inhabitants. It is the fourteenth issue of the work; and we speak understandingly when we say that it is decidedly the best work of its kind which we have yet seen.

Those who profess to collect "locals" will find nothing relating to Texas which will at all compare with it; and they will be pleased with it.

It is very neatly printed.

87.—*A Vocabulary of the Snake, or Sho-Shonay Dialect*. By Joseph A. Gebow, Interpreter. Second Edition, Revised and Improved, January 1, 1864. Green River City, Wg. Ter.: Freeman & Bro. 1863. Duodecimo, pp. 24.

We notice this tract, not because of its recent publication, but because of its importance to ethnologists and to those who collect the literature of the Indians. It is the work of an old resident in the Mountains; has received his careful revision; and is, probably, an unusually accurate and complete vocabulary of the Snake language. It may be considered, therefore, an important acquisition to the supply of works on the philology of the Aborigines; and, as such, it will be a welcome guest in the collections of all who shall be fortunate enough to secure copies of it.

It is very neatly printed; and what adds to the interest which it possesses is the fact that it was issued from a "press on wheels," which was carried from place to place, as its owners found work for it; and an inscription on the cover of the copy which is before us, evidently written by the printers, indicates that it was about to leave Green River City, "to be resur-rected as *The Frontier Phoenix*, at Brigham "City, Utah."

88.—*The Romance of Spanish History*. By John S. C. Abbott. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 462.

Mr. Abbott seems to have exhausted French history, and turned to that of Spain.

In the volume before us, the author has ranged over the entire area of Spanish history, from B.C. 800 until the present day, seizing those more prominent points which present themselves above the average level of events, and presenting them, with all that peculiar skill in description for which Mr. Abbott is so well known, to

the attention of his readers. We are inclined to think well of this work, because it presents, in a small compass, a pretty good epitome of the history of Spain—enough, indeed, for the purposes of the greater number of readers.

89.—*A Winter in Florida; or Observations on the Soil, Climate, and Products of our semi-tropical State; with sketches of the principal Towns and Cities in Eastern Florida*. To which is added, a brief historical summary; together with hints to the Tourist, Invalid, and Sportsman. By Ledyard Bill. Illustrated. New York: Wood & Holbrook. 1867. Duodecimo, pp. 250. Price \$1.25.

The growing importance of Florida, as a place of resort for invalids from the rugged climate of the Northern States, seems to call for just such a work as this aims to be—a hand-book which shall serve to guide and instruct a stranger, in a visit to a strange country. What to expect and how to secure it, what to look at and how to see it, which way to go and how to go, are topics which interest every traveller, no matter for what purpose he goes.

In the volume before us, Florida is presented in all its varied features of natural beauty and social ugliness. We have the lines of travel described; the topography and geology of the country; the habits of the inhabitants; sketches of the history of the country; its climate and productions; etc.; and as it is written by a live Yankee, who has a habit of keeping his eyes and ears open, while he also looks out for the main chance, the value of the volume, as a companion of the journey, will not be questioned. It is calculated to save unnecessary expense; while it will serve, also, to make the trip more satisfactory to the stranger.

The illustrations are neat; and the typography of the volume is good.

90.—*A Greek Grammar for Beginners*. By William Henry Waddell. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 104.

This work is what it professes to be—a work "for beginners," to be studied and mastered by them, thoroughly and without discount. It is a school-book, for school-boys; for use, not for ornament; to be committed to memory, not laid by for reference. It seems to have been carefully prepared; and it is presented with all the attractions of beautiful typography and neatness of exterior.

91.—*A Southern School History of the United States of America, from the earliest discoveries to the present time*. By W. N. McDonald, A. M., and J. S. Blackburn. Baltimore: George Lyett. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. viii, 507.

This is a School History, written by Southerners, from a Southern point of sight, for the particular use of Southern Schools, and published

by a Southern publisher—the first book of the kind, we understand, which has yet been published.

Under these circumstances, it must be supposed that this volume will differ from others, proceeding from other sources; and it must be expected, too, that it will contain much and omit much, the omission and possession of which are peculiar to Northern productions. There is, also, a different way of stating the same circumstances, from that which we see in other School Histories; and we have a vastly more distinct portrayal of “the other side,” in all that relates to the various contests between the North and the South.

In all this, however, we see little to which we can object; and we certainly shall not object that, for their own purposes, in their own country, our Southern friends shall prefer to encourage their own literature, support their own tradesmen, and disseminate what they have a right to consider their own dearly-bought truths of history. Besides, there are some portions of this volume which are more complete than are usual in such volumes; and in no part of it have we noticed a word which savors of a desire to misrepresent the truth or to foster any bitterness of feeling. It is true, there are some portions which we think have been written without due examination of the authorities; and these we would have corrected: there are some, too, which will sound strangely in the ears of Northern readers, which are precisely true; and these we would not touch, even to silence a slanderer. As a whole, this history is a good one; as creditable to its Authors and Publishers as it will be useful to those for whose use it was written.

It is a neatly printed volume; without illustrations; and it may usefully find a place on Northern bookshelves.

92.—*Lost in the Jungle*. Narrated for Young People. By Paul du Chailu. With numerous engravings. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 360.

This is another of those famous books of wild adventure, by du Chailu, which have been so vastly popular among the young folks, during the past few years; and it is very well calculated to keep that excitement alive, for some time to come.

We have reports, concerning it, from more than one of the young people of our family who have read the copy now before us; and there is great unanimity among them concerning it—they are all delighted with it, and almost frantic when they recite the stories of adventure which it contains.

It is beautifully illustrated; and will continue

to be popular, wherever it shall be circulated.

93.—*Health by good Living*. By W. W. Hall, M. D. Fourth Thousand. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. vi, 377.

Doctor Hall is somewhat noted for his brave, out-spoken common sense; and this volume, like his noted *Journal of Health*, is calculated to establish that reputation.

He tells his reader, very sensibly, the *object* of eating, *when* to eat, *what* to eat, *how* to eat, *how much* to eat, and other matters of similar import; and the stern truths which he so sternly tells are those which appeal to every one, both in his own person and in every member of his family. If this volume could go into every man's hands—and into those of every woman, too—and be carefully studied and honestly obeyed, we should soon see healthier and better men and women, in our houses, and healthier and better children, on our side-walks, than we now see there; and the country would be the gainer for it.

It is neatly printed, and well calculated for a place in every sensible man's family library.

94.—*History of the State of New York*.—For the use of Common Schools, Academies, Normal and High Schools, and other Seminaries of Learning. By S. S. Randall, Superintendent of Public Schools of the City of New York. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. i—xx, 7—

It is a difficult task to trace the rise and progress to greatness of any State, no matter how simple its origin or how quiet its advances: how much more difficult must it be, therefore, to do that work for a State, such as New York is, in which its beginnings were under one sovereignty, its progress under another, and its triumph under a third; wherein it has played a leading part in the affairs of a Continent for two hundred years; wherein, to-day, the pulsations of its great heart carry either life or death into the farthest recesses of the Continent.

Our excellent neighbor and friend, Mr. Randall, has bravely attempted to compress this great body of facts into a single duodecimo volume; and that, too, with an honest and earnest desire to make the details intelligible to the young reader and welcome, from their entire accuracy, to those who are of riper years and wider range of information. He has examined, for himself, the various sources of information; and he has boldly disregarded what, in others, he has found to be of doubtful integrity. He has succeeded, therefore, with here and there an exception, in making a little compend of the history of our good old State, which will be useful to the great body of the people while it will, also,

from its small compass, be wholly within reach of all who shall desire to possess it.

Such a work has been very much needed, both in our schools and in families; and if the author will revise it, where it may need revision, and add to it an Index and a Map, it must become, as it should become, a welcome visitor in thousands of households in which, now, the history of New York is comparatively unknown and uncared for.

The volume is very neatly printed and very appropriately illustrated.

95.—*Sketches of Creation*; a popular view of some of the grand Conclusions of the Sciences in reference to the history of matter and of life, together with a statement of the intimations of Science respecting the primordial condition and the ultimate destiny of the earth and the solar system. By Alexander Winchell, LL.D. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 459.

This work is entitled to more of our time and space than we can possibly bestow on it. It is a concentrated statement of the great results of modern Science concerning the history of matter and of life; concerning what we term the progress of Creation; concerning what has been styled the six "days" of the primal Creation of all things.

In thus presenting this great subject, the learned author has done a service to more than one class of readers. Even the scholar will find the volume a welcome one, since it enables him to survey the entire field of his research, from one point of sight, without the distracting intrusion of details: how much more welcome, then, must it be to the general non-professional or unscientific reader, unto whom even the great general truths of modern Science are too much a mystery.

Unto every one, unless to those who cannot understand the revelation by the Scriptures except in a strictly *literal* sense, this volume will be a most welcome one; and every sober, thinking reader of it will rise from his perusal of its well-considered and well-written pages, if he shall have read them honestly, a more humble and devout Christian and a more intelligent and a better man.

The volume is very handsomely illustrated; and its typography is marked with the usual neatness of the recent publications of the Harpers.

96.—*Tah-koo Wah-kan*; or the Gospel among the Dakotas. By Stephen R. Riggs, A. M. With an Introduction, by S. B. Treat, Secretary of the A. B. C. F. M. Written for the Congregational Sabbath-school and Publishing Society, and approved by the Committee of Publication. Boston: Congregational Sabbath-school and Publication Society. Since anno. [1868.] 16 mo., pp. xxxvi, 491.

In 1834, under the direction of the Prudential Committee of the American Board, Doctor Williamson made a tour of observation, up the Mis-

issippi, as far as Fort Snelling; and, in 1835, a Mission was established among the Dakotas, or Sioux, at Lac Quiparle, two hundred miles westward from Fort Snelling, and another at Lake Harriet, about eight miles nearly westward from the same military post. From that period to the present, this Mission has been sustained among the warlike Sioux, through every vicissitude and in the face of unceasing dangers.

The volume before us opens with a careful description of "the land and the people" where this Mission has been planted; and, following this, are Chapters relating, respectively, to the language of the Dakotas; the every-day life of that people; their amusements; what are supposed to be the Dakotas' ideas of the Supreme being, and their mode of worship; and, following these, are others devoted, respectively, to a sketch of the origin of the Mission, the perils to which the Missionaries were exposed, their early labors, a sketch of the life of Joseph Renville, believing women—in which are noticed the peculiarities of the domestic life of the Dakotas—the opposition of the Indians to the establishment of a Mission among them, the greater and lesser troubles of the Mission, the hostilities of 1862—which are very minutely described—the influences of the Mission, the system of education among the Indians, their systems of medical practice, and their music and dances.

It has been prepared at the request of the Synod; and the author enjoyed, in its preparation, the assistance of the Rev. A. L. Riggs, S. W. Pond, G. H. Pond, and T. S. Williamson. It is an admirable and, unquestionably, a most accurate exposition of the history, language, customs, and superstitions of the great family of aborigines, known to us as the Sioux; and, as such, it must be welcome to all who are devoted to the study of the Indian character; while, as a record of the establishment of Christian Churches, in Minnesota, it cannot be overlooked by any one who is devoted to the study of the history of that growing State.

In its arrangement, which is by subjects, related without regard to chronological order, it does not commend itself to the good sense of those who are accustomed to read history; yet its evident fidelity to the truth and its very sensible style, in which no unnecessary display is made, either of cant or bad rhetoric, will commend it to the respect of all who shall peruse it.

Both in its illustrations and its text, this volume is a pattern of typographical neatness; yet it is to be regretted that so handsome a book is so sadly disfigured by faulty proof-reading—a short-coming which is peculiarly noticeable throughout its pages.

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OF
AMERICA.

May, 1870.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.:
HENRY B. DAWSON.

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TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

I.—The last sheet of the last of the unprinted "delinquent numbers" for 1868 *has been printed*; and within two weeks from this time, you will receive that number, with the title-page and index of the volume.

We need not say that we rejoice that we are enabled, at last, to make this welcome announcement; and we beg to assure those peculiar "FRIENDS" of ours, who have been pleased to remain in our debt while they have had in their hands very many numbers of our work, for 1869 and 1870, which they have not paid for, *and prevented us from doing promptly and without peculiar anxiety what we have now accomplished only at the expense of our comfort and health and with unlooked-for delay*, that, as they have now no longer an excuse for their delinquency, we shall employ a portion of our time, during the present Winter, in ascertaining whether they are men or the mere things which they seem to be.

II.—The June number is in such a state of forwardness that we expect to be able to send it out in a very short time; and, as that number will complete the seventeenth volume of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE and close all the gaps as far as July, 1870, we are looking forward to the day when we can send it to you, with considerable anxiety.

III.—The July and August numbers may possibly be issued under one cover. We have received a long-promised article from our ever-attentive friend, Rev. Doctor Gillett, which may overrun the limits of the July number and encroach on those of that for August: and we are very willing that it should be so, in order that our readers may enjoy the privilege of reading one of the most important papers on the history of American Unitarianism, which has ever been given to the world. It is in the hands of our workmen.

IV.—We have contracted for the manufacture of two numbers per month, hereafter, as long as any numbers of the Magazine shall be behind time; and as our own editorial labors and our expenditures of money will be thus systematically doubled, for some months to come, we must request our friends to relieve us, in our business labors, *by sending what they owe, and by adding to our subscription-list, new paying subscribers.*

IV.—Be kind enough to turn to the advertising sheet, at the back of this number; read its contents; and *send your advertisement.* It will help both you and us.

THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. VII. SECOND SERIES.]

MAY, 1870.

[No. 5.

I.—THE BATTLE OF BENNINGTON.*

WRITTEN ON THE INVITATION OF THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AND READ BEFORE THAT BODY, AT BURLINGTON, JANUARY 23, 1861, AND, SUBSEQUENTLY, AT THEIR REQUEST, BEFORE THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIO-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY, AT BOSTON, AND THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BY HENRY B. DAWSON.

MR. PRESIDENT :

The Summer and Autumn of 1777 will be recognized, by every American, at least, as one of the most interesting periods in the history of his country. Sir William Howe—heavily reinforced, and supplied with every article which might conduce to his comfort or ensure his success—had listened to the vile suggestions of Charles Lee, then a prisoner, in his hands, and had moved, by way of the Chesapeake, to divide and conquer the newly-formed Confederacy, agreeably to the *Plan* of the cowardly traitor, which, through the instrumentality of George Henry Moore, Esq., of New York, has recently been recovered and given to the world. Sir Henry Clinton, the second in command, occupied the City of New York, with a powerful reserve, and was ready, and willing, to strike wherever and whenever a blow might promote the success of his associates or advance the interests of his Sovereign. At the same time, General Burgoyne, one of the most accomplished and enterprising officers in the British service, at the head of a powerful and well-appointed army, had moved

from Canada, by way of the Lakes Champlain and George and the vallies of the Mohawk and the Hudson, towards Albany; intending, thence, to join Sir Henry Clinton, at New York, and, with his co-operation, to separate New England from the Northern and Southern States, as Sir William Howe had proposed to separate the Southern from those in the Northern and Eastern sections of the Union. Thus, separated into three fragments, and held in check by sufficient forces at Philadelphia and New York, it had been hoped that the Eastern, the Middle, and the Southern States—no longer able to co-operate one with the other, nor to strengthen the weak, nor to supply the destitute—could have been overrun by the Royal forces; and that the rebellion could have been crushed in all its parts, before the close of the year.

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the plans or the movements of Sir William Howe, in the Chesapeake, nor those of Sir Henry Clinton, in the vicinity of the City of New York; nor are those of General Burgoyne, in the North, nor those of Lieutenant-colonel St. Leger, in the valley of the Mohawk—except wherein they may concern the special subject of my enquiry—more entitled, at this time, to my consideration or your attention. The subject of this paper is “THE BATTLE OF BENNINGTON,” for which, and for myself, I bespeak your indulgence; and I do not propose to weary myself, nor to impose on your kindness, by an elaborate discussion of any other topic.

The army under General Burgoyne—notwithstanding all the annoyances to which the General had been subjected, through the unwillingness of the Canadians to enter the service, even as laborers or teamsters—had rendezvoused at Cumberland Point, on Lake Champlain, between the seventeenth and the twentieth of June; and, on the twenty-first, it had been strengthened by the arrival of about four hundred Indians. At that time, the army numbered not far from eight thousand men, exclusive of officers. Of these, nearly four thousand were British Infantry; upwards of three thousand were German Infantry; two hundred and fifty were British Artillerists;

* Contrary to our usual practise, in such cases, we have omitted, in this publication of it, all the authorities on which we relied, when we wrote and read this paper.

We have done so, in order that those Vermonters who have been pleased to manifest so much ill-will towards us, within the past few months, because of our inability to discover any competent authority for what they have been pleased to consider and to publish as “History,” may have a fair opportunity to turn their artillery on it, and every possible facility to demolish both the article and its author.

We earnestly hope that these gentlemen will let their fire be made as “short, sharp, and decisive” as possible.—*EDITOR OF HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.*

one hundred and fifty were British recruits, under Lieutenant Nutt; seventy-eight were Hessian Artillerists; two hundred and fifty were Canadian and Provincial Volunteers; and four hundred were Indians. It was supplied with an immense train of artillery, embracing sixteen heavy twenty-four pounders, ten heavy twelve-pounders, eight medium twelve-pounders, two light twenty-four pounders, one light twelve-pounder, twenty-six light six-pounders, seventeen light three-pounders, six eight-inch and six five and a half-inch howitzers, two thirteen-inch, two ten-inch, six eight-inch, twelve five-and-a-half-inch, and twenty-four four and two-fifth inch mortars; while of artillery stores and ammunition there was an ample supply, even for this enormous train; and of provisions, hospital-stores, and every other auxiliary, except Canadian teamsters and laborers, there does not appear to have been the least scarcity, either present or prospective.

The troops whom General Burgoyne had thus led into the wilderness, both in their habits and their equipments, were but little adapted to service in the woods. But very few of them had performed any duty such as that which they were then called upon to perform; while their appointments were as poorly adapted to the service as were the men who bore them. An officer of that army has furnished the following sketch of the loads which the soldiers carried during this Campaign: "a knapsack, a blanket, a haversack that contained his provisions, a canteen for water, a hatchet, and a proportion of the equipage belonging to his tent; these articles," he continues, "added to his accoutrements, arms, and sixty rounds of ammunition, make an enormous bulk, weighing about sixty pounds." The Hessian troops, he said, were laden with additional burdens; and he described their Grenadiers, stating that, exclusive of the incumbrances which he had previously described, they carried "a cap with a very heavy brass front, a sword of an enormous size, a canteen that cannot hold less than a gallon, and their coats very long skirted." Picture to yourselves an army of men, thus equipped and encumbered, struggling among the underbrush of an American forest or forcing their way along the roads, which had been obstructed "every ten or twelve yards," as Captain Anbury informs us, "with great trees laid across them, exclusive of smaller ones;" or wading through "the watery grounds and the marshes," which were so numerous that upwards of forty bridges had to be constructed between Skenesborough and Fort Edward; and you may understand a portion, at least, of the difficulties with which General Burgoyne had to contend.

It is proper to remark, in this place, that Gen-

eral Burgoyne, long before that time, had proposed a movement into New England, either independent or in concert with the movement of his army—the latter, in order that the inhabitants of that section might be held in check, while the main body could move directly towards Albany and open a communication with the City of New York. In some *Thoughts for conducting the War from the side of Canada*, dated at his house in "Hertford-street [London] Feb. 28, 1777," he had suggested to the Ministry, that "it may be highly worthy consideration, whether the most important purpose to which the Canada army could be employed, supposing it in possession of Ticonderoga, would not be to gain the Connecticut River;" and, at the same time, he submitted a detailed plan of operations for carrying that idea into effect. It appears, however, that the Ministry did not agree with the General, on this subject; and his orders to effect a junction with General Howe were so emphatic, that, as he expressed it, in a subsequent letter to the latter officer, "under the present precision of my orders, I should really have no view but that of joining you, nor think myself justified by any temptation to delay the most expeditious means I could find to effect that purpose;" although, at the same time, he expressed his wish "that a latitude had been left for a diversion towards Connecticut." The same sentiments were conveyed to Sir William, in a letter from Cumberland Point; and there can be no doubt that it was the policy of the Government, as well as that of General Burgoyne, acting under its orders, to move the army to New York as directly and as rapidly as possible. I refer to this subject, at this time, to show that it was not within the original purpose, either of the Government or the General, to move into New England, except for a diversion; and that it was a local cause which led to the movement into Vermont and to "the Battle of Bennington," rather than a fixed policy on the part of the enemy.

As I have stated, already, the army was organized at Cumberland Point, between the seventeenth and twentieth of June; and, on the first of July, in conjunction with the enemy's naval force on Lake Champlain, it invested Fort Ticonderoga. The subsequent evacuation of that post, the retreat of the garrison toward Castleton, the pursuit by the enemy, and the action at Hubbardton—in which the gallantry of Colonel Seth Warner was so prominently displayed—have been so often and so ably discussed in your hearing that I need not repeat the story. With the single remark, therefore, that loyalty to my own State—at that time the legal sovereign of the territory now forming the State of Vermont—and fidelity to the truth of History alike compel

me to dissent from the opinions respecting the fidelity, courage, and ability of Generals Schuyler and St. Clair, which have hitherto been submitted to this Society, by one of its most learned members, I will proceed to the more immediate subject of my paper.

Leaving behind him, under the command of Brigadier-general Hamilton, the Sixty-second British Regiment, to occupy the works on Mount Independence, and the Hessian Regiment of Prince Frederic, to occupy Fort Ticonderoga, in the afternoon of the sixth of July, General Burgoyne, with "all the rest of the Army"—not already engaged in the pursuit of the fugitives, on the road to Castleton—and forty-two pieces of artillery, proceeded up Lake Champlain, as far as Skenesborough, now Whitehall, in pursuit of the baggage and stores of the fugitive garrison, which had been conveyed in that direction, under the protection of five armed vessels; and, having succeeded in capturing or destroying them, the more active duties of the Campaign were commenced, with that place as the base of the line of operations.

In front of the enemy were small parties of the local Militia of New York, with such reinforcements from the remains of the garrison, at Ticonderoga, as could be collected, under the command of General Schuyler; and, by them, the most laborious efforts were made to obstruct the route which the enemy had chosen for the line of his next movement. Trees were felled, in every direction, forming formidable abatis; pits were dug across the roads; and the bridges were generally destroyed. Wood-creek, also, through which General Burgoyne designed to convey his stores, baggage, and ammunition, had been heavily obstructed by felling trees across it, by sinking stones in the channel, and by other obstacles; and, in the absence of the coveted Canadian laborers, to whom reference has been made, the immense amount of labor which was required for opening the roads, for clearing the channel of Wood-creek, and for repairing the bridges, or building new ones—to say nothing of transporting provisions, for the support of the entire army, from Ticonderoga—devolved upon the Royal troops, except that portion of it which was performed by the unarmed Tories who had joined their fortunes with those of the enemy. What wonder, therefore, need there be, that, within three days after its arrival at Skenesborough, "the army was very 'much fatigued';" or that "many parts of it" had already fasted two days; or that "almost 'the whole' of it, at the same time, 'wanted its 'tents and baggage?'" With so gloomy a prospect around him—with so enormous an amount of labor to be done in his front, and an equally enormous amount of toil, in the transport of provis-

ions, to be done in his rear—what wonder need there be that an officer, such as General Burgoyne was, even at that early day,—while he was yet only on the margin of the wilderness; when he had scarcely struck the first blow into the foremost obstruction which checked his progress or removed the first stone from the channel of Wood-creek—should have quailed before the task which had been placed before him; or that he should have entertained, in his own mind, *as he had*, a desire to avoid it? The General has frankly informed us, over his own signature, that he had "considered not only the general impressions which a retrograde motion is apt to make "upon the minds, both of enemies and friends," but also, "that the natural conduct of the Americans, in that case, would be to remain at Fort George, as their retreat could not then be cut off, in order to oblige me to open trenches "and, consequently, to delay me; and, in the "meantime, they would have destroyed the road "from Fort George [*at the head of Lake George,*] "to Fort Edward," on the Hudson. In other words, the General himself being the witness, after he had destroyed the baggage, at Skenesborough, on the sixth of July, and had witnessed, from afar off, the difficulties which had beset the line of his proposed operations, he had entertained the thought—the wish, evidently, *having been the father of that thought*—of a retreat to Ticonderoga and a movement up Lake George, from the head of which he could, readily, have moved to Fort Edward without removing a single obstruction which then checked his progress, on the route on which he had entered. He well knew, however, that a retreat, at any time, was demoralizing to an army and gratifying to its opponents; while, at that time, especially,—before he had entered the woods, and within ten days after the publication of his inflated Proclamation—it would have been the fore-runner of a more speedy and disgraceful defeat, as he well knew, than any which the pen of the historian had ever recorded. Beside this, had he then abandoned the most eastern route, because of the obstructions which had been thrown into it by General Schuyler and his handful of troops, and by the local militia of New York, whom that officer commanded,—whose attention, too, had been directed to the defence of the more western route, from the head of Lake George to Fort Edward—how much more effectually might not that opposition have been made—if, indeed, it might not have assumed an *offensive* character—with the opposing forces, under General Schuyler, concentrated on *one* line of operations, against an enemy whom they would have already defeated, and with the co-operation of such auxiliaries, from among the people, as would have crowded to their assistance, with the change

of their fortunes? The truth is, General Burgoyne had been already defeated, morally, before he left Skenesborough; and it had become, with him, merely a question of time when that defeat, together with the pretences of the incompetent and unyielding Ministry, in England, who had directed every minutiae of the Campaign in such a manner as to call forth the censure even of Sir Guy Carleton, should be made manifest to the world.

There was another reason, however, which, without doubt, operated on the mind of General Burgoyne, in resolving rather to "bear the ills "he had, than fly to those he knew of." Like a good officer, as he was, he had taken measures, as far as his Instructions allowed, to cover both the flanks of his army, in order that the inhabitants, in those quarters, might be held in check, and that any proposed interference, therefrom, might be prevented. On his right flank, in the valley of the Mohawk—whence a resolute and patriotic people, under the leadership of the lion-hearted Nicholas Herkimer, could have inflicted heavy and continued blows—the Lieutenant-colonel St. Leger was moving with a strong force; and had not only compelled the inhabitants to remain at home, for the defence of their families and their firesides, but, at a subsequent date, he obliged them to seek the assistance of General Arnold and a detachment from the main body of the army, for the same purpose. In like manner, on his left flank—to prevent the incursions of what he then supposed to be the patriotic rebels in northern New England, and to hold in check those who lived in the more southern sections of the same States—he had halted the light-troops, under Brigadier Fraser, and the Hessian and Brunswick troops, under General Reidesel, on the banks of the Castleton-river, the head waters of East-creek, and the roads leading to Pultney and Rutland; and he had busied himself, while he had thus distracted the popular leaders, by "making roads, reconnoitring the country, and making all possible "feints of a march to Connecticut." The General has informed us, that his first intention had been to turn the whole body of Indians which was under his command, into this section of the country, to force a supply of provisions, to intercept reinforcements, and to confirm the jealousy he had, in many ways, endeavored to excite in the New England Provinces; but, finding that the Americans, under General Schuyler, were laboring to remove their magazines from Forts George and Edward; and that they were, everywhere, destroying the roads and preparing to drive their stock and to burn the country towards Albany, he changed his purposes, temporarily, and determined to employ the savages to prevent, if possible, the continuance of those operations;

promising himself, however, that when he should arrive at Albany, they should be employed to renew the alarm towards Connecticut and Boston. He had been obliged, therefore,—whether willingly or not—to detach a portion of his *regular* troops, for the protection of that flank; and, in consequence of that diversion, he had depreciated his effective strength, without enjoying any reciprocal advantage, either present or prospective. But, while the necessity for covering his left flank and of keeping the New Englanders in check would have absolutely continued, whether General Burgoyne had retreated from Skenesborough to Ticonderoga and taken the route through Lake George, as he seemed disposed to do, or continued on the route which he had already taken, by way of Skenesborough and Wood-creek, the main army would, in the former case, have been moved beyond supporting distance of General Riedesel, at Castleton, and that officer and his command would necessarily have been withdrawn from that place, at the cost of the greater number of the advantages which his occupation of that position had promised to General Burgoyne, the army, and the Royal cause.

The General's plans had been laid with all the skill of which he was an accomplished master, on the basis of his Instructions and the intelligence which he had received. On his front was an active and determined, as well as a purely patriotic and skillful General, at the head of a small, but active, and determined, and patriotic body of men, whose axes, and log-chains, and crow-bars, had proved themselves to be more than a match for his sword; and whose skill, and patient endurance, and steadiness of purpose had not only struck dismay into the soul of the invader, but had shielded Vermont from the tomahawk, and the scalping-knife, and the fire-brand of St. Luke and his savage associates. The obstructions which had been thrown into his way appeared to be insurmountable, in the absence of his coveted Canadian laborers; and he looked back, and longed for the comparative comfort which awaited him, on the route through Lake George. At the same time, he was admonished that the labor of conveying all the supplies for the army, from Ticonderoga, must seriously diminish his active force in the field; and while it was necessary to remove the obstructions, in front, and to bring forward his supplies from the rear, he also considered it not less necessary to add to his supplies from the magazines of the Americans, should he be able to come within reach of them.

With these feelings harassing his mind, General Burgoyne moved forward from the head of Lake Champlain, as rapidly as the nature of the service would allow—the head-quarters having been removed from Skenesborough to Fort Anne, on

the twenty-fifth of July; and, on the twenty-ninth of the same month, to Fort Edward, on the Hudson—while General Phillips, to whom had been assigned the duty of “forwarding all the necessities from Ticonderoga,” by way of Lake George, on the twenty-ninth of July—the same day on which General Burgoyne reached Fort Edward—had reached Fort George, with what the General termed “a great embarkation,” and established a dépôt at that place.

From the twenty-ninth of July until the fourteenth of August, the army remained at Fort Edward; during which time “every possible measure was employed to bring forward the batteaux, provisions, and ammunition from Fort George to the first navigable part of Hudson’s River, a distance of eighteen miles, the roads in some parts steep, and in others wanting great repair. Of the horses, (furnished by contract, in Canada,) not more than a third had yet arrived. Fifty teams of oxen, which had been collected in the country through which the army had marched, were added to assist the transport; but these resources, together, were found far inadequate to the purposes of feeding the army, and forming a magazine at the same time. Exceedingly heavy rains augmented the impediments. It was often necessary to employ ten or twelve oxen upon a single bateau; and, after the utmost exertions, from the thirtieth of July to the fourteenth of August, fifteen days, there were not above four days provisions before-hand, nor above ten batteaux in the river.” But General Burgoyne was not slow in perceiving that if, at that time, the utmost exertions of the entire army were necessary to transport provisions for its own support, without allowing more than four days in nineteen for any other purpose, even that small proportion of field service would be reduced as the army moved farther from the magazine, at Fort George. To maintain the communication with the magazine at Lake George, under these circumstances, and, at the same time, to move forward in the face of an enemy, was, therefore, an obvious impossibility. The army was too weak to have afforded a chain of posts; while the organization of escorts for every separate transport would have required a still greater drain of men.

It had become absolutely necessary, therefore, that other sources of supply, beside that on Lake George, should be found—that the Americans, by forced contributions, should be compelled to add to his stock of provisions—or that the object of the Campaign must be abandoned; yet it was equally imperative that the necessity which controlled him should be kept a secret in his own bosom, else his own command, from that cause, would be demoralized and enervated;

while, on the contrary, the Americans would be inspirited, in a corresponding degree, and, at the same time, they would be animated to other and more determined acts of opposition. General Burgoyne, thus influenced, alternately, by his necessities and his fears, occupied a position to extricate himself from which might have baffled a more gigantic intellect, had not other elements, insensibly, led to his relief.

While General Riedesel occupied the position, at Castleton, to which I have already referred, he had traversed different parts of the surrounding country, and procured intelligence from other and more remote sections of it. In all the country, in the vicinity of his position, he “had found the people frightened and “submissive,” and he had encountered no opposition to any of his movements; “while every day’s account tended to confirm the persuasion of “the loyalty, to the King, of one description of “the inhabitants and the panic of the other.” In all these reports, therefore, General Burgoyne found arguments in favor of his secret project; and, more firmly than ever before, he determined to carry it into effect. Yet, at the same, the knowledge of that purpose was confined to himself; and it is evident that even the members of his military family and the General officers of the army, were not entrusted with the secret. It was not long, however, before he was relieved from his anxiety. General Riedesel had also noticed the fine horses which, even at that early day, graced the stables and the pastures of the farmers of Vermont, and he had “conceived the purpose of mounting his Regiment of Dragoons,” then doing duty on foot, from that source; and the subject was brought to the notice of the General. At the same time, two zealous Loyalists, named Peters and Jessup—one from the vicinity of Albany; the other from Charlotte-county—who had received authority to form Battalions of Loyalists, for the King’s service, had heard of the professions of loyalty which the people of “The Grants,” as Vermont was then called, had made; and they, too, as Riedesel had done, had conceived the purpose of perfecting their commands from the same prolific source. Besides these influences, Colonel Philip Skene, of Skenesborough, and other prominent and zealous friends of the Government, seconding the reports of General Riedesel, had urged the General to send a detachment into “The Grants,” where “the friends of “the Government were said to be as five to one,” for the purpose of encouraging the “five” to avow their political predilections, and of holding the “one” in check, until the “five” could “show themselves.” Thus beset by three different parties, each representing a distinct idea and all desiring to employ the same means for the accomplishment of their own particular projects,

General Burgoyne shrewdly availed himself of the opportunity which was thus afforded, to attempt the execution of *his own* important purposes, and of securing, therein, the most cordial co-operation from every portion of his Army, without divulging, to any one, *the real* objects by which he had been actuated. To all the different propositions, therefore, the General appeared to be favorably inclined; and to General Riedesel, while yet in his camp, near Castleton, the duty of preparing a plan of operations, in the form of "Instructions" to the commander of the expedition, was entrusted; and subsequently, that plan was, "considered, amended, and enlarged, in concert with that officer." General Phillips, an officer of rare abilities, was also consulted concerning it, and gave it his "full approbation;" while General Fraser, to whom, also, it was submitted, objected to it only by reason of the employment of German instead of British troops; but his objections were modified, if not entirely removed, within a few hours afterwards. In that plan, thus "amended and enlarged," all the varied purposes of General Riedesel, Colonel Skene, and Majors Jessups and Peters, had found places; and the requirements of his own Quarter-master and Wagon-master, for additional horses, for draught purposes, were also provided for. It was truly an "omnibus"-plan, as Colonel Benton would have called it; and there was quite a variety of passengers within it: but, strange as it may appear to you—as it appeared strange to his army and to the House of Commons, some time afterwards—instead of being also a passenger, booked for an inside seat, General Burgoyne unexpectedly mounted the box, seized the reins, and drove the concern to suit *his own* purposes.

The commandant of the expedition—Lieutenant-colonel Friedrich Baume, of Riedesel's Regiment of Dragoons—was selected as "an officer well-qualified for the undertaking;" the Instructions which had been prepared by General Riedesel were delivered to him; and he moved forward to Fort Miller, as he afterwards advanced to Batten-kill, in advance of the main-body, preparatory to his movement into "The Grants," unwittingly ignorant, all the time, as every other person than the General was also similarly ignorant, of the *real* purpose for which the expedition had been organized. The party which was thus moved forward embraced the Regiment of Riedesel's Dragoons, numbering fifteen officers and two hundred and nineteen non-commissioned officers, drummers, and privates; an officer (Lieutenant Bach) and thirteen men, from the Hesse Hanau Artillery, with two light six-pounders; a small body of Rangers, under Captain Fraser—the only British troops in the detachment; the skeleton Battalions of Loyalists, under

Majors Jessup and Peters—the completion of which was one of the supposed objects of the expedition;—a body of Canadian Volunteers; and about a hundred Indians. It is said that a larger body, from General Frazer's Brigade, was originally under orders to join the party; that it could not be got ready in season—probably an excuse, to mask the true reason;—and that other troops were ordered to take its place, a short time previous to the movement of the expedition from Batten-kill. One officer and twenty-five men, from the Battalion of German Grenadiers commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Breyman; two privates from the Regiment of Rhetz; one officer and nineteen men from the Infantry Regiment of von Riedesel (Von Speth's); sixteen privates from the Infantry Regiment of Specht; and two officers and fifty-nine Chasseurs, from the Rifle Regiment of Major von Barner, under these circumstances, joined the detachment. The number of effectives who were thus placed under the orders of Lieutenant-colonel Baume, is quite uncertain; and the estimates of different authors have greatly varied. The number of Germans employed have been satisfactorily ascertained, from the Returns made to the Duke of Brunswick, to have been twenty-one officers and three hundred and fifty-three men, in the aggregate; the Rangers, under Captain Fraser, were a Captain's command—not less than a hundred men; General Burgoyne says there were a hundred Indians; but of the Loyalists and Canadians we know nothing concerning their numbers. General Burgoyne, in his *public* Despatch to the Government—you are undoubtedly aware that he wrote two, one intended for the public eye, through the medium of *The London Gazette*; the other, marked "Private," for the especial eye of the Ministry and the King—has stated "the whole detachment amounted to about 500 men;" but when it shall be remembered that he there states the number of Dragoons at "two hundred," when two hundred and thirty-four were present; that he does not make a single allusion to the fourteen Artillerists, the twenty-six German Grenadiers, the thirty-eight German Infantry, nor the sixty-one German Chasseurs; and that it was not usual, at that time, to include either the Militia or the Indians, in the public reports, the degree of confidence to which this Despatch is entitled will be readily perceived.

Let us turn aside from the enemy's camp, at Fort Edward, for a few minutes, and look at the inhabitants of "The New Hampshire Grants"—the Vermonters of that day.

The elaborate threats of General Burgoyne, which he had published in his "Proclamation," had been followed by his successes at Ticonderoga and Hubbardton, and by the establishment of

his flanking-party, under Reidesel, at Castleton and its vicinity; and the entire country had been exposed to the enterprize or the necessities of the enemy. That he had actually intended to employ St. Luke and his savages to ravage that portion of the country, as he had threatened, he, himself, asserts; but the movements of General Schuyler had furnished other employment for the savage allies of the King, and they had been withheld from Vermont, as I have already stated. The local and bitter disputes with New York, respecting the sovereignty of the country, in which the inhabitants of Vermont had been so long engaged, had produced a mutual hatred between the parties engaged in that dispute; and so completely had that animosity absorbed all other sentiments, that it appeared to be impossible for either to expect any good from the other, or to co-operate, for the mutual advantage of both, even while the invader was within their boundaries. The inhabitants of Vermont and the valley of the Connecticut, therefore, neither knew nor stopped to enquire, what had been done by General Schuyler or the inhabitants of north-eastern New York, to oppose the progress of the enemy toward Albany; much less did they offer any assistance to prevent a measure which was fraught with so much mischief to the cause of their common country and of mankind. Nor were they any better informed of the nature of General Burgoyne's instructions. They did not know, of course, that the threats of that loud "Proclamation," had been intended more for New York—the mother of the rebellion—than for them; nor did they have the least suspicion that, like a galley-slave chained to his oar, General Burgoyne dared not move, in force, into *their* country. It was enough for them to know that he had issued threats; that he had opened the door, in his occupation of Ticonderoga; and that he had walked into their territory, and seated himself at Castleton. They naturally supposed that the next movement would be made for their extermination; and every scouting party was magnified into a Division, and every idle rumor was swelled into a grave reality. Many of them, abandoning their homes, flocked into the neighboring States of Massachusetts and New Hampshire; and, in some cases, so numerous were the fugitives, that they "greatly burdened" those among whom they had thus taken refuge. Others of them, who remained in Vermont, in their weakness, sought the assistance of their neighbors; while they accepted, from the enemy, for their immediate safety, the "protection" which they needed, and cajoled him with fair promises of submission, which many of them never intended to consummate. New Hampshire—then, and subsequently, faithful and unyielding—had seen,

from the slopes of her mountains, the danger of her neighbor; and, in accordance with that "higher law" which God, himself, has enacted, and before the swift-footed messengers from Vermont could lay their errands before her, she "had determined to send assistance to that "State." Under the influence and with the example of John Langdon before her, she immediately ordered the organization of three Regiments, in addition to the force which she had then in the field; and the veteran Colonel John Stark—who had been driven from the service into private life, as Wooster had been, and as Schuyler was, soon afterwards—was called from his farm and his saw-mill, on the bank of the Merrimac, to take the command, with the local rank of Brigadier-general.

Frank, hospitable, and strictly honorable: widely known throughout the upper parts of New England, in the French and Indian Wars and in the earlier movements of the Revolutionary struggle, as an able and successful commander; cool and determined in action; cautious, yet prompt, at all times; individually, courageous; and politically, a blameless patriot, the newly-appointed commander—rejected, indeed, by the demagogues of that day, and slighted by a Continental Congress whose dishonesty he would not approve—possessed, in himself, a power over the people which neither adversity could obliterate nor inactivity corrode. The people, therefore, flocked to his standard, without hesitation; and more men than his Orders called for were speedily collected and marched to Charlestown, on the Connecticut-river, the appointed place of rendezvous; whence, as soon as they had been equipped, they were moved to Bennington, in Vermont, at which place General Stark arrived on the ninth of August—the day on which Lieutenant-colonel Baume moved from the main body to Fort Miller, on his way to the same place.

On the ninth of August, therefore, the belligerents—as far as this enquiry goes—were posted at the following places: General Burgoyne, with the main body of the army, was at Fort Edward, on the Hudson, where, also, the force commanded by General Riedesel had assembled, after it had moved from Castleton, on the fourth of August; at Fort Miller, seven miles below Fort Edward, Brigadier Fraser had encamped, with the advance of the army; and, immediately in his rear, Lieutenant-colonel Baume, with his command, had taken a position. On the other hand, General Stark, with part of his newly-recruited force, was encamped near the residence of Colonel Herrick, since known as the Dimick-place, about two miles West from the Meeting-house, at Bennington; two Companies were posted on the mountains, between Charles-

town and Ticonderoga, to observe the movements of the garrison of the latter post; one Company occupied the rendezvous, at Charlestown; and the remainder were *en route* to the appointed places of assembly. Colonel Seth Warner, with the fragments of his Regiment,—the noble relics of Hubbardton—was at Manchester: the positions, at that time, of the Berkshire and Vermont militia, have not, as far as I have seen, been placed on record. General Stark's command and Colonel Warner's Regiment remained, respectively, at Bennington and Manchester, until within a few hours of the action: the enemy, on the contrary, kept constantly in motion, and I beg your attention, while I follow his movements. You will recollect that, on the ninth of August, General Fraser had moved, with the enemy's advance, to Fort Miller; and that Lieutenant-colonel Baume had followed him, on the same day, and encamped in his rear. You will also remember, that, on the following day, orders were issued for a hundred Germans to join the latter, in the place of a similar party, from General Frazer's Brigade, which, it was said, could not be got ready in season; and that, on the evening of the eleventh of August, that detachment had joined him at Batten-kill, to which place he had advanced on that day. With the Instructions, to which I have referred, in his possession, and with a knowledge of their contents in possession of many others, at five o'clock in the morning of the twelfth of August, Lieutenant-colonel Baume, with his command, moved from Batten-kill, on his way toward Arlington, naturally supposing that he, at least, knew the purpose of his movement. The column had not moved more than a mile from the place of its encampment, however, when it was overtaken by a messenger from General Frazer, who commanded the advance of the Army, with Special Orders from General Burgoyne to Lieutenant-colonel Baume, directing him to return and post the detachment advantageously on Batten-kill, until he should receive other Instructions from Head-quarters; and the Order was immediately obeyed. The time was rapidly approaching when the *dénouement* of the scheme was to be manifested to the army; and the Commander-in-chief entrusted to no one, but himself, the untieing of the knot. Some of his officers, subsequently, manifested great indignation at the deception; and, as will be seen, the veteran Riedesel resented it in the most emphatic terms.

The "Instructions" which Lieutenant-colonel Baume had already received were in writing; and they were in these words:

"The object of your expedition is to try the affections of the country, to disconcert the councils of the enemy, to mount the Reidesel's Dragoons, to compleat Peters's corps, and to

"obtain large supplies of cattle, horses, and carriages.

"The several corps, of which the inclosed is a list, are to be under your command.

"The troops must take no tents, and what little baggage is carried by officers, must be on their own bat-horses.

"You are to proceed from Batten-kill to Arlington, and take post there, till the detachment of the Provincials, under the command of Captain Sherwood, shall join you from the southward.

"You are then to proceed to Manchester, where you will take post so as to secure the pass of the mountains on the road from Manchester to Rockingham; from hence you will detach the Indians and light-troops to the northward, toward Otter-creek. On their return, and also receiving intelligence that no enemy is in force upon the Connecticut-river, you will proceed by the road over the mountains to Rockingham, where you will take post. This will be the most distant part on the expedition, and must be proceeded upon with caution, as you will have the defile of the mountains behind you, which might make a retreat difficult; you must, therefore, endeavour to be well informed of the force of the enemy's militia in the neighboring country.

"Should you find it may with prudence be effected, you are to remain there while the Indians and light troops are detached up the river; and you are afterwards to descend the River to Brattlebury, and from that place, by the quickest march, you are to return by the great road to Albany.

"During your whole progress, your detachments are to have orders to bring in to you all horses fit to mount the Dragoons under your command or to serve as bat-horses to the troops, together with as many saddles and bridles as can be found. The number of horses requisite, besides those necessary for mounting the Regiment of Dragoons, ought to be thirteen hundred. If you can bring more for the use of the army, it will be so much the better.

"Your parties are likewise to bring in waggon and other convenient carriages, with as many draft oxen as will be necessary to draw them and all cattle fit for slaughter, milch cows excepted, which are to be left for the use of the inhabitants. Regular receipts, in the form hereto subjoined, are to be given in all places where any of the above-mentioned articles are taken, to such persons as have remained in their habitations and otherwise complied with the terms of General Burgoyne's manifesto; but no receipts to be given to such as are known to be acting in the service of the rebels.

"As you will have with you persons perfectly

"acquainted with the abilities of the country, it
 "may perhaps be advisable to tax the several
 "districts with the portions of the several articles,
 "and limit the hours for their delivery;
 "and should you find it necessary to move before
 "such delivery can be made, hostages of
 "the most respectable people should be taken,
 "to secure their following you the ensuing day.
 "All possible means are to be used to prevent
 "plundering.

"As it is probable that Captain Sherwood,
 "who is already detached to the southward and
 "will join you at Arlington, will drive in a considerable
 "quantity of cattle and horses to you,
 "you will, therefore, send in this cattle to the
 "army, with a proper detachment from Peters's
 "corps, to cover them, in order to disencumber
 "yourself; but you must always keep the Regiments
 "of Dragoons compact.

"The Dragoons themselves must ride, and
 "take care of the horses of the Regiment.
 "Those horses which are destined for the use of
 "the army, must be tied together by strings of
 "ten each, in order that one man may lead ten
 "horses. You will give the unarmed men of
 "Peter's corps to conduct them, and inhabitants
 "whom you can trust. You must always take
 "your camps in good position; but, at the same
 "time, where there is pasture, and you must
 "have a chain of sentinels round your cattle
 "and horses, when grazing.

"Colonel Skeene will be with you as much as
 "possible, in order to assist you with his advice,
 "to help you to distinguish the good subjects
 "from the bad, to procure you the best intelligence
 "of the enemy, and to chuse those people
 "who are to bring me the accounts of your progress
 "and success.

"When you find it necessary to halt for a day
 "or two, you must always entrench the camp of
 "the Regiment of Dragoons, in order never to
 "risk an attack or affront from the enemy.

"As you will return with the Regiment of
 "Dragoons mounted, you must always have a
 "detachment of Captain Fraser's or Peters's
 "corps, in front of the column, and the same in
 "the rear, in order to prevent your falling into
 "an ambuscade, when you march through the
 "woods.

"You will use all possible means to make the
 "country believe that the troops under your
 "command are the advanced corps of the army,
 "and that it is intended to pass the Connecticut,
 "on the road to Boston. You will likewise insinuate
 "that the main army from Albany is
 "to be joined at Springfield by a corps of troops
 "from Rhode Island.

"It is highly probable that the corps under
 "Mr. Warner, now supposed to be at Manchester,
 "will retreat before you; but should they,

"contrary to expectation, be able to collect in
 "great force and post themselves, advantageously,
 "it is left to your discretion to attack them or not,
 "always bearing in mind that your corps is too valuable
 "to let any considerable loss be hazarded on this occasion.

"Should any corps be moved from Mr. Arnold's
 "main army, in order to intercept your retreat,
 "you are to take as strong a post as the country
 "will afford, and send the quickest intelligence
 "to me, and you may depend on my making
 "such a movement as shall put the enemy between
 "two fires, or otherwise effectually sustain you.

"It is imagined the progress of the whole of
 "this expedition may be effected in about a fortnight,
 "but every movement of it must depend upon
 "your success in obtaining such supply of provisions
 "as will enable you to subsist for your return
 "to the army, in case you can get no more.
 "And should not the army be able to reach Albany
 "before your expedition should be completed,
 "I will find means to send you notice of it,
 "and give your route another direction.

"All persons acting in Committees, or any officers
 "acting under the directions of Congress, either
 "civil or military, are to be made prisoners."

It will have been seen that, in these written
 "Instructions, no mention was made of the stores
 "at Bennington—that which, above all others,
 "was the especial object of the expedition—that
 "the Lieutenant-colonel was ordered to proceed
 "from Batten-kill to Arlington, thence to Manchester
 "and Rockingham, thence to Brattleborough,
 "and from that place, by way of the great road,
 "to Albany—not the most distant allusion having
 "been made to Bennington, nor to the stores which
 "laid there.

I believe that none of the many writers, on this
 "hackneyed subject, either in Europe or America,
 "except General Burgoyne himself, have publicly
 "called attention to this fact; and yet, Mr. President,
 "what fact, relating to this Campaign, was or can
 "be more significant or more important. *The truth is,*
 "that Lieutenant-colonel Baume had two sets of
 "Instructions, when, on the thirteenth of August,
 "he left Batten-kill, the second time—one, a comparatively
 "public, written set, which you have heard read,
 "and which, from the beginning, was intended to
 "mislead, both the enemy and the Americans,
 "should it fall into the hands of the latter;
 "the other, a private and confidential set,
 "which the General had delivered, verbally
 "and in person, to him, after the latter had
 "returned to Batten-kill, and after the General
 "had despatched Riedesel to the head of Lake
 "George, on a pretended inspection, evidently
 "to prevent him from meeting Baume, after the

latter had received his final Orders. Like some of the Ministry, to whom the General was accountable, you may suppose that he acted in bad faith with his colleagues, in thus concealing the true purpose of the expedition; but, as in that case the Ministry was answered, so you will be answered, in the General's own words, that "a man must indeed be void of military and political address, to put upon paper a critical design, where surprize was in question and everything depended upon *secrecy*." "Surely there is nothing new or improbable in the idea," he continued, "that a General should disguise his real intentions, at the outset of an expedition, even from the officer whom he appointed to execute them, provided a communication with that officer was certain and not remote;" and if the world has dealt unjustly with General Burgoyne at all, as I believe it has, it has been in failing to recognize in his character those elements which made him one of the ablest officers of his time.

As I have said, Lieutenant-colonel Baume received a second set of Instructions—verbal and confidential in character—from General Burgoyne, in person; and, at four o'clock in the morning of the thirteenth of August, he moved, a second time, from Batten-kill, on his way toward Bennington. While on his way, he received intelligence of a magazine, which was protected by some forty or fifty militia; and he pushed forward thirty of Captain Sherwood's Company of Provincials and fifty Indians, to seize it. The movement was successful; and, although the greater part of the guard escaped, five prisoners—John, Matthew, and Samuel Bell, George Duncan, and David Slarrow, by name—and a considerable number of cattle, horses, carts, and wagons, were taken, without loss to any of the troops who were engaged in the expedition. The Indians, however, seized the horses; and not one of them could be returned to the army, unless by purchase. With the exception of a subsequent slight brush between a party of militia and his advance-guard, in which a private of Captain Sherwood's Company was wounded in the thigh, nothing further occurred, during the day; and, at four in the afternoon, after a march of sixteen miles, the detachment encamped at Cambridge, from which place a full report of the operations of the day was despatched to General Burgoyne.

At an early hour in the morning of the fourteenth of August, Lieutenant-colonel Baume again moved forward; and, at eight o'clock, he reached Van Schaick's Mill, on a branch of the Walloomacock, near North Hoosick. A small party, who had occupied the mill, after breaking down the bridge which spanned the Walloomacock, near by, fled toward Bennington, leaving

behind them seventy-eight barrels of very fine flour, one thousand bushels of wheat, twenty barrels of salt, and one thousand pounds worth of pearl and potashes. Five prisoners were also taken at this place, from whom the enemy received information—as they had received it on the preceding day—that eighteen hundred men had assembled at Bennington, for the purpose of protecting the stores at that place; and he anxiously looked forward to the time when, as he supposed, these troops also would retire as he approached. With feelings of just pride in view of his exploit, he leaned over a barrel, and, on its head, he wrote a hasty note to General Burgoyne, recounting his success, and informing him of the reported strength of the guard at Bennington, of the constant addition to his own numbers of flocks of unarmed people, and of his determination to proceed so far, on that day, that he could fall on the Americans at an early hour on the following morning; and then, flushed with his successful adventure, in the midst of an intensely hot day, he again moved forward toward Bennington.

In the meantime, General Burgoyne had disposed his troops in such a manner that the expected success of Lieutenant-colonel Baume might be instantly improved, to the best advantage. A bridge of rafts was formed; and, on the thirteenth, General Fraser's corps crossed the Hudson, with orders, "upon the first news of 'Baume's success,' to push forward and take possession of the heights near Stillwater, and to throw up entrenchments, occupying them until the army and the magazines could join him, by which means the whole country, on the West side of the river, to the banks of the Mohawk, would have been commanded by the enemy. On the same day, Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, with the Brunswick Grenadiers, Light Infantry, and Chasseurs, was moved forward to Fort Miller, and, on the following day, to Batten-kill, whence he could move to Baume's support, should that become necessary. On the fourteenth, so completely was General Burgoyne impressed with the idea of the success of the expedition, "in order to facilitate its operation" and to be ready to take advantage of its success," the main-body of the army moved down to Fort Miller, and encamped at that place.

While General Burgoyne and Lieutenant-colonel Baume were thus busily engaged, General Stark had not been idle, in preparing the raw materials with which he was surrounded, for the important duty which was rapidly devolving upon them. On the thirteenth of August, while Lieutenant-colonel Baume was on his way to Cambridge, as I have already remarked, his advance-guard, which was mostly Indians, had

a slight brush with a small party of militia, who fled after a slight opposition. This party, without having seen the main-body of the detachment, which was a mile in the rear, hastened to Bennington; and Isaac Clark and Eleazer Edgerton, of that place, two of the party, reported that a party of Indians was at Cambridge, on its way to Bennington. Without knowing anything of the approach of Baume's command, and to check the progress of what he supposed to have been merely a marauding-party of savages, General Stark immediately detached Lieutenant-colonel Gregg, with two hundred men, to meet and stop it. During the evening of the same day, however, other intelligence, conveying a more particular description of the enemy's strength, was received; and, on the morning of the fourteenth, the General moved toward Cambridge, in person, with his own Brigade of New Hampshire troops and a portion of the Vermont militia. He had not proceeded more than four or five miles from Bennington, however, when he met Lieutenant-colonel Gregg, falling back before Lieutenant-colonel Baume, who, since his success at Van Schaick's Mill, earlier in the day, was pressing forward toward Bennington.

It then became the turn of the enemy to avoid an engagement and to provide for his own safety, until he could receive reinforcements; and, with that object, "he presently halted on a "very advantageous piece of ground;" while General Stark finally fell back about a mile, to the farm now owned by Paul M. Henry, Esq., and there, to the North-east of the dwelling, he encamped, keeping out, meanwhile, some skirmishing parties, who killed thirty of the enemy, and two Indian Chiefs.

While thus held in check by General Stark, Lieutenant-colonel Baume appears to have written a third letter to General Burgoyne, which reached Head-quarters during the night, or, at least, before the General had arisen, in the morning. As I have been unable to find a copy of this Despatch, I esteem it a privilege in being able to give the substance of it from the Manuscript Diary which was furnished to the Duke of Brunswick by General Riedesel, and which is still preserved in the archives of that Duchy. It related, in the words of the Diary, translated into our own language, "that while he [Baume] was on "his march to Bennington, yesterday, [Aug. 14] "his advance guard had been attacked by a "corps of rebels, about seven hundred in number, "who had retreated, however, on the first cannon-balls being thrown among them. He had ascertained, both from prisoners and from Royalists "who had escaped from Bennington, that the "strength of the rebels encamped at that place was "about eighteen hundred men; that reinforcements from the rebel Army were expected; and

"that they occupied a strong position, behind entrenchedments. They appeared willing to attack "him, in his position; and he solicited reinforcements, to enable him to defend himself and to "execute his Instructions." When this letter reached Head-quarters, at five o'clock in the morning of the fifteenth of August, General Burgoyne and his Staff were aroused from their slumbers; and the Earl of Harrington, a Volunteer Aide of the General, was sent to General Riedesel, with Orders for that officer to despatch Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, who was then in advance of the army, at Batten-kill, to support Baume. The gallant German had not forgotten what he considered the impropriety of General Burgoyne's conduct in changing the Instructions which had been prepared for Baume, however; and he did not hesitate to display that feeling, even in that crisis of their affairs. The Diary, from which I have cited already, thus describes the scene: "General von Riedesel felt very "anxious about the matter, and begged that General Burgoyne would, himself, give the necessary instructions to Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, which the General did, in a few words, "by his Adjutant-general, Sir Francis Clarke"—a statement which has been confirmed, in part, under oath, before the House of Commons, by the Earl of Harrington, as well as by the papers left by Sir Francis Clarke, at his decease. As the formalities of the service had to be observed; as the Lieutenant-colonel was considerably in advance of Head-quarters; and as the terrible heat of the preceding day had been followed by as severe a rain-storm, although the Despatch required prompt obedience, the Order for the movement did not reach Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, until eight o'clock. The Diary states, that when Breyman received the Order, "he departed with all haste, leaving behind him his "tents, baggage, and heavy ammunition;" and a private letter, written by an officer of the Brunswick troops, to which I have referred already, states that he also left his colors behind him, in his camp. The detachment embraced a Battalion of Brunswick Grenadiers, a Battalion of Chasseurs, a Company of Yagers, and a party of artillerymen, with two field-pieces—the latter commanded by Lieutenant C. D. Spangenberg of the Hesso-Hanau Regiment;—and it numbered twenty-two officers and six hundred and twenty effective men, all told.

It appears, also, that the scarcity of teams detained the party at this outset; and as it was obliged to ford the Batten-kill, considerable time was lost before the detachment was fully on its way. Nor did the troubles it experienced end here. "The number of hills, excessive bad "roads, and a continued rain," as Breyman subsequently reported to General Burgoyne, "im-

"peded his march so much that he scarcely made half an English mile in an hour; each gun and ammunition-cart was obliged to be dragged up the hills, one after another; and an artillery carriage was overturned, and, with the greatest difficulty, was put into a situation to proceed." Beside these troubles, "his guide lost his way, and, after a long search for the right road, without success, Major Barner was obliged to look out for another, who put the party on the right road again." All these troubles, combined, prevented Breyman from reaching Cambridge, as he had designed; and, after a laborious and unsatisfactory march of nine miles, he encamped for the night, and despatched a messenger to Lieutenant-colonel Baume, to advise him of his approach.

I trust that I need not enter into any detailed argument to show to this Society, nor its friends now assembled with us, that this delay in Breyman's march, by preventing a junction with Baume, was productive of the most important results to America and to the world, at that time and for all future time. The failure to effect a junction of the two detachments, before the battle, in all probability saved the Americans from defeat; and, looking beyond the events of that day, it preserved the stores which were at Bennington; gave the local victory, with all its moral effects, to the Americans instead of the enemy; compelled the latter to look to Lake George, solely, for his supplies; and ratified the great victory which General Schuyler had already secured, before General Burgoyne left Skeneborough.

While Lieutenant-colonel Breyman was thus struggling with the elements and with an overruling Providence, through the entire day, on the fifteenth, the enemy's main body laid quietly in its camp at Fort Miller, awaiting the result of the expeditions, but under General Orders to "hold itself in readiness to march at a minute's warning;" while the opposing forces, under Baume and Stark, quietly prepared for an appeal to arms, whenever the elements and other circumstances should permit.

General Stark had remained in his encampment, awaiting the arrival of reinforcements, for the movement of which he had despatched messengers; and he contented himself with sending out small parties to beat up the enemy's position and to harass him. Lieutenant-colonel Baume, who had been advised of the approach of Breyman, proceeded, in the most deliberate manner, to entrench his position with timber which he procured from the log-houses in the vicinity, some of which he tore down for that purpose.

The position which Lieutenant-colonel Baume had selected was admirably adapted for defence;

and whatever faults, if any, he may have displayed, in the discharge of other parts of his duty, there can have been none in the choice of his position. The Walloomscoick, a branch of the Hoosick-river, intersects the road which leads from Saratoga to Bennington and the railroad leading from North Bennington to Troy, at a point, in the North-east part of the town of Hoosick, Rensselaer-county, New York, which is about six miles from the village of Bennington, and in the midst of a defile which is formed by the near approach of two points of high ground, from the North-west and the South-east, respectively. The general course of the stream, in that vicinity, is to the North-west; but, as it approaches the most north-western of the high grounds referred to, it bends, almost at right angles, to the South; and, after flowing at the foot of the abrupt eastern slope of the most north-western hill, through the defile—where the road crosses it—and at the foot of the western slope of the south-eastern-most high ground, it bends again, almost at a right-angle, and passes down, toward the Hoosick, by Sancoik, in a westerly course, as before. It will be seen, therefore, that each of the two points of high ground, which, together, form this pass, commands the bridge over which the road crosses the creek; and that neither of them is more than three hundred yards distant from it, while one is less than one hundred. In the defile, on either bank of the stream, and close by the bridge, were, also, several log buildings, each of which afforded fine cover for light troops, of which the enemy had a large proportion. The hill which forms the north-western-most point of the pass rises abruptly, on three sides, to the height of about three hundred feet above the channel of the creek; while on the other—its north-western-most front—the slopes ascend with a more gradual rise. It will be seen, from what I have said, that it was protected on its front, and as well as on its left flank, by the two-fold course of the creek; while its right flank was entirely covered by the high-ground on the opposite side of the stream. On this ground, so favorable for defence, Lieutenant-colonel Baume posted his troops. It was correctly described by General Stark, when he called it "a very advantageous piece of ground;" and he also displayed his own good judgment, when he "marched back a mile, and there encamped," beyond the reach of the Hessian field-pieces, until the arrival of the reinforcements which he needed.

As I have stated already, Lieutenant-colonel Baume was busily employed, during the storm, on the fifteenth, in strengthening his position and in otherwise preparing for his defence. The northern, eastern, southern, and south-western

fronts of the principal, or north-western-most, hill, being steep, were naturally strong; and, for the purpose of securing the gentle north-western slope, a line of breastworks, forming two sides of a parallelogram, was thrown up, on the summit of the hill. Behind this breastwork, the citadel of his position, fronting towards the North and North-west, a portion of Captain Frazer's Rangers and the greater part of the Lieutenant-colonel's own Regiment of Dragoons were posted; the other portion of the Dragoons and the Chasseurs occupied positions on the eastern declivity of the same hill—the former near its summit; the latter near its base—for the defence of the abrupt eastern face of the hill, should the Americans attempt to ford the creek and assail it in front. The Dragoons, the Chasseurs, and part of the British Rangers, therefore, let it be remembered, formed the *garrison* of that hill, if the term may be allowed. At the same time, portions of the Tories, under Major Peters, and of the Brunswick Grenadiers, were sent farther to the rear, and about two hundred yards from it; and there they were posted, behind a fence, for the purpose of commanding the western approach to the hill. Nearly at the foot of the south-eastern angle of this hill, on the high bank of the creek, covering the bridge—which Baume considered the key of his position—and not more than seventy-five yards from it, a strong breastwork was thrown up; and, on it, was mounted one of the two field-pieces which he possessed, supported by the remainder of his Grenadiers. This bridge was further protected by two breastworks, at the foot of the hill—one on each side of the road which led from Saratoga—and close to the creek, behind which were posted the remainder of the Rangers which Captain Frazer commanded. At the same time, the Canadians who accompanied the expedition, were thrown into the log-houses in front of the bridge, where they would have been exceedingly useful, had the Americans approached the position according to European tactics. While these measures all prove the fore thought and bear silent testimony to the skill of the German commander—a monument more fitting to the memory of the gallant soldier, than a cenotaph in Westminster Abbey would have been—he did not neglect the high ground on the south-eastern side of the valley, which, as before stated, also commanded the bridge. On that point, also, but facing *from* the bridge—proving that it was intended for the purpose of *local* defence, in his independent occupation of that point, rather than for the direct support of those who opposed the passage of the bridge—he had erected an extended and well-designed breastwork, behind which the remainder of the Tories—under the command of Colonel Francis Pfister, formerly

of His Majesty's LX. (Royal American) Regiment of Infantry, but, at that time, on half-pay, and residing about half a mile West from Hoosick Four Corners—was posted. In brief, therefore, we find that the German troops, with small portions of the British Rangers and of the Tories, occupied the principal hill, North-west from the bridge; that the remainder of the Rangers, and the Canadians, separated from their associates, on either hand, were in the valley, defending the bridge; and that the great body of the Tories, also entirely separated from their associates, in the valley and on the opposite side of the stream, were on the opposite hill, South-east from the bridge. It is, at all times, a comparatively easy task, Mr. President, to criticise a military movement or disposition, after the enemy may have taken advantage of its defects, and after the final result may have proved its incorrectness. Without any improper censure of Lieutenant-colonel Baume, however, and without detracting from his real merits, let me suggest that if he had disposed of his detachment with greater compactness, so that every corps, in case of an emergency, could have been concentrated on any particular part of his position, the result might have been different; while, with his forces divided and without the means of communication, one with another, much less with any power to concentrate them on any particular spot, the story of his defeat will be more readily understood.

When the evening of the fifteenth, itself as stormy as the day had been, had closed the labors of that day, General Burgoyne was at his camp, near Fort Miller, looking anxiously for the messenger bearing good-tidings from Baume: Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, wearied with his eight miles march, had bivouacked—for you will remember that he had left his tents at Battenkill—seven miles from Cambridge and some fifteen from Lieutenant-colonel Baume, whom he had been sent out to support: and Baume and his command, wearied with their toil, and also without shelter from the peltings of the pitiless storm, had bivouacked behind the log-works which they had thrown up, and sought, in vain, for the repose which they needed. On the other hand, the Regiment of Continental troops commanded by Colonel Seth Warner—reduced, by its gallantry at Hubbardton, to one hundred and fifty men—was moving from Manchester toward Bennington, to support General Stark; while the latter, with his New Hampshire Battalions and the handful of Vermont militia which was with him—estimated by the enemy to number not more than seven hundred men—continued to occupy the position, two miles in front of Baume, to which he had fallen back on the preceding day.

During the stormy night of the fifteenth, General Stark was strengthened by the arrival of a party of volunteers from Berkshire, in Massachusetts, under the command of Colonel Symonds; one Company of which, from Pittsfield, is said to have been commanded by the first Pastor of the Church in that beautiful village, the Rev. Thomas Allen—one of the many political preachers of that day, who, shaping his politics by his religion and enforcing his precepts by his example, has sent down to succeeding generations, a name which will never be forgotten and a fame which will never be obscured. The General was also joined, during the night and early on the sixteenth, by several bodies of Vermont militia; when, finding himself at the head of about fifteen hundred men, he resolved to attack the enemy, in his entrenchments, without further delay.

Accordingly, at an early hour in the forenoon of the sixteenth, the General issued his orders for the disposition of his forces; and the men quietly occupied the positions to which they were assigned, without meeting any opposition from the enemy or, in fact, arousing the least suspicion of their true character or purposes. In the language of the Diary to which I have referred, "the Provincials who were with Lieutenant-colonel Baume asserted that these men were 'well-disposed Loyalists; and Baume was led, more readily, to believe this, because most of the little parties laid down in the rear of his 'position'—a movement which had not been described, nor provided for, in any system of European tactics; and the American improvements thereon had not then been put to press.

General Stark had divided his force into four portions, beside the reserve. The first, numbering two hundred and fifty men, New Hampshire troops, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Moses Nichols, of Amherst, N. H., was ordered "to the rear of the enemy's left wing," as General Stark called it—that is, in front of the breast-work, near the North-west angle of the principal hill, where the Regiment of dismounted Dragoons and the detachment from Frazer's Rangers had been posted. This party was afterwards strengthened, at the request of Lieutenant-colonel Nichols, before the commencement of the action, by the addition of a hundred men. The second party, numbering three hundred men, Rangers, so-called, belonging to Vermont, commanded by Colonels Herrick and Brush of Bennington, was sent to the rear of the enemy's left, opposite the South-west angle of the same hill, where, behind a fence, in an open field, the detachments from the Brunswick Grenadiers and from Peters's Tories had been posted. The third party, numbering two hundred men, New Hampshire troops, and commanded by Colonels Hub-

bard and Stickney, were sent in front of the enemy's right, where, on the summit of the smaller hill, the remainder of Peters's Tories had thrown up a breastwork and taken a position. The fourth, consisting of one hundred men, was sent to the front of the enemy, to amuse him, there; while the reserve, or main-body of the army, under General Stark, in person, was held back, in its encampment—probably for the purpose of deceiving the enemy, as he was deceived—until the four detachments, which had been sent out, could occupy their respective positions and begin the action.

"Precisely at three o'clock in the afternoon," every man having reached the position to which he had been assigned, Lieutenant-colonel Nichols opened his fire on the Dragoons and Rangers, who occupied the breast-work on the principal hill; and it was immediately responded to, by the astonished and indignant troopers and light-troops, who had hitherto regarded their assailants only as Loyalists and friends, ready to become auxiliaries. At the same time, the other detachments, under Colonels Herrick, Hubbard, and Stickney, poured their fires into the ranks of those before whom they had seated themselves; while the main body, under its veteran commander, "pushed forward, with all speed," against the front of the enemy's lines.

The enemy has borne testimony to the gallantry of the several assaults, although the capture of his entrenchments, without artillery, would have proved it, without any collateral testimony. "The rebels fought desperately," said a Brunswick officer; "and, in order to secure a surer aim at the artilleryists who were serving the guns," he says, "they rushed up, within eight paces of the field-pieces loaded with grape-shot. But," as the same writer says, "Colonel Baume's resistance was equal to the attack;" and, with genuine German determination, and with the desperation which always attends a fratricidal war—victory or death being before the eyes of the Loyalists—the conflict raged incessantly. Three times the Germans beat back the determined rebels, and three times the latter returned to the assault, each time more resolutely than before; and the din of the battle, shut in by the woods with which the combatants were surrounded and by the hills which intercepted it, intensified the confusion, and rendered the scene more terrible. During two hours, each party fought without securing any permanent success; but the failure of his supply of ammunition, at that time, compelled Lieutenant-colonel Baume to seek safety in an attempt to retreat, in which the Indians, Canadians, and Loyalists also joined. Flinging their carbines over their shoulders and drawing their unwieldy sabres, the Dragoons rushed on

the Americans, sword in hand ; while the Grenadiers, the Chasseurs, and the Rangers, with clubbed muskets or with their trusty side-arms, gallantly seconded the movement of their associates. Thus, in their turn, thrown on the defensive, the Americans proved themselves to be quite as obstinate as the enemy had been ; and three several attempts to break through their lines were gallantly and effectually frustrated. Baume, battling nobly, fell, mortally wounded ; and, with him, as nobly fell his men—nine of the Germans (six Dragoons, a Grenadier, and two Light-infantry) having alone escaped. The British Rangers, under Captain Frazer, appear, also, to have suffered severely ; although the details have not been published. The Indians are said to have made good their retreat, as did many of the Canadians and Loyalists ; and the exact loss which they sustained is not known.

The action having terminated, the prisoners were speedily collected and removed from the field, under the escort of an ample guard ; and the remainder of the victors, flushed with their success and unconscious of the additional labor which was yet undone, rambled around the field of battle, in search of plunder or for the satisfaction of their curiosity. There is no doubt that every spot of the eventful field underwent a rigid scrutiny ; and it is reported that the head of a hoghead of rum was knocked in, on the field, for the purpose of celebrating, in the most approved style of the times, the victory which had rewarded the bravery of the troops.

At this moment, intelligence was received of the near approach of another enemy ; and the utmost exertions of General Stark were necessary to reduce the scattered troops, or any considerable number of them, to any thing like order. Providentially, at that moment, the Regiment of Colonel Warner, one hundred and fifty in number, came on the field, and pushed forward to meet the unexpected enemy, followed by the two captured guns and as many of the victors as could be collected.

My hearers need not be told that this second enemy, who had obtruded himself upon the notice of the victors, was the detachment under Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, whose disastrous march from Batten-kill, on the preceding day, has been already noticed. He had moved from the spot where he had halted on the previous evening, at an early hour ; and, by means of pressed teams and a forced march, he had reached Van Schaick's mill, at half past four in the afternoon, finding it in possession of his advance guard, and the most perfect quiet prevailing in the vicinity. Not a single sound had been heard to indicate the obstinate conflict which was raging immediately in his front ; nor had a messenger, nor even a rumor,

from the field, disturbed the quiet repose of the rural valley.

Philip Skene—that "poor follower of the British Army," whose fortunes had been cast with these detachments, on the especial request of General Burgoyne—was at the mill ; and he accompanied Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, probably for the purpose of facilitating his progress, by acting as a guide to the position occupied by Lieutenant-colonel Baume. The column had not proceeded much more than half a mile from the mill, when considerable numbers of armed men, some in jackets, but many in their shirt-sleeves, were seen on the heights which skirted the left flank of the detachment ; and Skene assured Breyman—as Baume had been assured, in the morning—that they were Loyalists, and well-disposed to the Government. It is said, in the Diary to which I have referred, that "Lieutenant-colonel Breyman being cautious, he sent "on a reconnoitring party, which was received "with a heavy fire : " Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, in his Report of the affair, says "Colonel Skene rode towards them, and called out, but "received no other answer than a discharge of "firearms," without referring to the reconnoitring party ; and I leave, without settlement, whether the discovery of the real character of these militia-men may be more properly attributed to Breyman's caution or to Skene's reliance on the supposed loyalty of the people.

Be this as it may, the people who were on the hill fired on the detachment ; when the Battalion of Yagers, commanded by Major von Barner, was ordered to move up the heights against them, in front ; while, at the head of the Battalion of Grenadiers, the Lieutenant-colonel commanding took a position on the right. The two field-pieces were placed in the center ; and, as a party of the Americans had occupied a log-house, which commanded the road, their fire was thrown in that direction.

It is a matter of regret that there has been so little information, relating to this second affair, left on record. It is known that Colonel Warner and his Regiment, and those who accompanied him from the scene of the first struggle, joined the people—militia, and others—who had opened the second ; that the fresh troops, opening to the right and left of the people, fell in on their flanks, where the enemy was most successfully pushing forward ; and that a second severe action ensued, ending only when the close of the day compelled the combatants to desist. The Hessian accounts claim that the party who opened the battle "were driven from every "height" which they had occupied ; and I can readily imagine, considering the character and strength of the assailants, that such may have been the case. It is equally clear to me, how-

ever, that every height from which they had, previously, been driven, if any, was, soon afterwards, recovered, when the gallant one hundred and fifty men, led by Warner, came on the ground and added the weight of their blows to those which the militia had inflicted; and it is not less clear that, beside those heights from which the militia had been driven, others, also, which they had not before occupied, were, soon afterwards, found to be in the possession of the Americans.

The ammunition may have been expended, also, as alleged—the supply, in the beginning, had been very light—or a tumbrel may have fallen to pieces, and scattered it, as General Burgoyne reported: these were contingencies which should have been provided for, before the detachment left Batten-kill, and furnish, as far as Lieutenant-colonel Breyman was concerned, no excuse for his defeat. He was defeated, as Lieutenant-colonel Baume had been, earlier in the day; and there is a reason for his abrupt retreat, in the very significant language of the Diary of which I have already spoken—"Lieutenant-colonel Breyman gathered his men," it says, "and held the rebels in check, until the night set in. *Being afraid to be cut off from the "Bridge," [near Van Schaick's mill] it continues, "he thought it best to cross the river. The cannon, however, which were, all the time, exposed to the fire of the rebels, could not be removed, in spite of all the exertions which were made for that purpose; and Breyman, therefore, had no choice, other than to abandon them, in order to save his Corps, which, otherwise, would have been lost to the last man; and for the same reason the dead and wounded of the Corps were, also, left on the field."*

This simple and unvarnished tale, furnished by General Riedesel to his Sovereign, tells the story of the narrow escape from annihilation which the second detachment secured by its precipitate retreat; and I can add nothing to its significance, were I to make the attempt.

As in the case of Lieutenant-colonel Baume's command, so I have been favored also with a copy of the Returns of the killed, wounded, and missing of this detachment, as communicated to the Duke, and under which, it is probable, he settled for the damage, with the British Government. Of killed, there were Captain Gottlob Deitrich von Shick, of the Grenadiers, and Lieutenant Carl A. L. Mühlenfeldt of the Yagers, and eighteen non-commissioned officers and privates; of wounded, there were Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, of the Grenadiers, Major Ferdinand A. von Barner, Captains Carl von Geyso and Gottlieb von Gliessenborg, and Lieutenants Johann Casper Hannemann, of the Yagers, and Spangenberg,

of the Hesse-Hanau Artillery, and sixty-three non-commissioned officers, drummers, and privates; and of missing, Captain Ernst August von Bartling, Lieutenants Theodor F. Gebhardt, Johann A. Meyer, and Carl F. d' Annier, of the Grenadiers, and Ensign Georg L. Hegemann, of the Yagers, and one hundred and thirty-seven non-commissioned officers, drummers, and privates—the whole forming an aggregate of thirteen officers and two hundred and eighteen men, out of twenty-two officers and six hundred and twenty rank and file who had gone into the action. This severe loss was increased by that of the artillery and baggage; and, discomfited and dispirited, the fragments of the detachment returned to Cambridge, and thence to Batten-kill, where they arrived on the afternoon of the following day.

The sad intelligence of the double disaster had preceded the remains of the party, arriving in the camp at three o'clock on the morning of the seventeenth, and arousing the Generals, as well as the more humble of their commands, from their welcome slumbers. Anxious to relieve the fugitives, General Burgoyne placed the army under the orders of General Riedesel, with instructions to move forward to Batten-kill; while, at the head of the Forty-seventh British Regiment, he pressed forward, in person, waded the Batten-kill, and advanced towards Cambridge, to cover the retreat of the exhausted and discouraged Brunswickers, then, more than ever before, sighing for their Fatherland.

Beside the loss of life and limb which the enemy sustained at their hands, the victors captured his baggage, four pieces of artillery, a thousand stands of arms, about two hundred and fifty Hessian swords, and eight brass-barrelled drums, beside a number of horses, carriages, etc.

The loss of the Americans, during the day, was "inconsiderable," as General Stark expressed it—"about thirty killed and forty wounded."

The Battle of Bennington was the harbinger of good tidings from the Northern Department—that scene of long-continued disaster and trouble. The army of the invader was thereby paralyzed; his prospect of a supply of provisions became more gloomy; the dissatisfaction of the British troops, because German forces had been employed in such an expedition, was more distinctly expressed; and the Indian auxiliaries abandoned the field. On the other hand, the spirits of the American army and those of the people were revived; the ability of militia to contend with regular troops, posted behind entrenchments and defended with artillery, was demonstrated; the movements of General Burgoyne and his ability to do mischief were checked; and new hopes and new resolutions were produced. Congress, disregarding the questions of insubordina-

tion which had occupied its attention, hastened to return its thanks to the troops who had refused to recognize its authority or to obey its officers; the gallant Stark, whom it had insulted, a short time before, and refused a hearing when he asked leave to remonstrate against its injustice, had a Brigadier-general's Commission thrust upon him, with only one dissenting voice; the General Court of Massachusetts, "as a testimony of the high sense it had of the great and important services rendered by that brave officer, to the United States of America," voted to present to him a complete suit of clothes becoming his rank, together with a piece of linen for shirts; and the country and the world, then and since, have determined that the "Battle of Bennington," unimportant as it may appear, was one of the most important actions, in its results, of the American Revolution.

The task which I had imposed upon myself, Mr. President, has been performed, as far as my humble abilities and the means at my command have allowed; and I would that the result had been more worthy of your acceptance. My own experience and my observation have taught me, however, that the reading-desk is not the place which is best adapted for the discussion of the nicer points, either of politics or of history; and I did not visit you with the expectation of settling any old disputes or of laying the foundation of any new one. I remembered that, despite the assertions and the efforts of many of our contemporaries, we still have a country, and that that country has a history, beside and beyond any which has yet been written. Our Colleges and our Universities, scattered profusely throughout the land, apparently forgetful of their duty, have taxed the ingenuity of their Trustees in searching for Chairs for Professors; and the young gentlemen whose education has been entrusted to their wisdom, have been led through the most varied and ornamental paths of Literature and Science. Line has been added to line, and precept upon precept, in all which relates to Grecian, or Roman, or European history; and the cold and unpromising mazes of the dark ages have not been left unexplored. The heavens above and the waters beneath, as well as the surface of the earth around us, have been examined and re-examined with commendable fidelity and perseverance; and Science and the Arts, Ethics and Divinity, Philosophy and the Belles-Lettres have been, properly and constantly, made the subjects of their care. In the meanwhile, our country's history has been passed, comparatively, without notice; and the names and the actions of its founders, the motives which actuated them, in their deeds of daring, and the imperishable results of their devotion to the cause of freedom, have been considered scarce-

ly worthy of even a passing thought. Washington and Greene, Schuyler and Wayne, Marion and Stark, are, comparatively, unknown in these our classic groves; and Roger Williams and the freedom of conscience, and John Peter Zenger and the freedom of the press, the Committees of Correspondence of 1764 and "the Battle of Golden Hill,"—the "massacre" at your own Westminster, even—have not been made the subjects of their refined attention. Upon such bodies as this therefore—upon the patient toiler over half-obliterated manuscripts; and upon those who grope into the dark recesses of ancient garrets and who explore the mysterious, and untold, and neglected lumber which accumulates in the store-rooms and pantries, in our older settlements—the sacred duty has, therefore, devolved to bring to light the hidden things of the past, in our own land, and to perpetuate the names and the worth of those village Hampdens by whom the foundations of the Republic were laid, and through whose energy and perseverance the cap-stone of the structure was also raised to its position. It may be true that the movements which may be raised through such feeble instrumentalities as those to which I have referred, may be unworthy of the objects which they may be intended to commemorate; that our predecessors and their services deserve testimonials which may be more elegant in their proportions, than any which we can rear. All this I grant; but when my brethren who have honored me with an invitation to meet with you, undertook to raise a humble cairn to keep in remembrance the bravery and the skill of Stark, and Warner, and Nichols, and their associates, I did not feel at liberty to withhold my pebble, as I passed, humble and unpolished as it is. That pebble is now in its place; and I shall look forward with interest to the time when the next passer-by—younger, or more skillful, or more fortunate than I have been—shall add his contribution to the heap, and thus increase the interest in the subject, while he will also add to the durability, if he does not improve the appearance, of the memorial.

II.—THE MORMONS.

INTERVIEW WITH THE FATHER OF JOSEPH SMITH,
THE MORMON PROPHET, FORTY YEARS AGO.
HIS ACCOUNT OF THE FINDING OF THE SACRED
PLATES.

By FAYETTE LAPHAM, Esqr.

I think it was in the year 1830, I heard that some ancient records had been discovered that would throw some new light upon the subject of religion: being deeply interested in the matter, I concluded to go to the place and learn for myself

the truth of the matter. Accompanied by a friend, Jacob Ramsdell, I set out to find the Smith family, then residing some three or four miles South of the village of Palmyra, Wayne-county, New York, and near the line of the town of Manchester. Joseph, Junior, afterwards so well known, not being at home, we applied to his father for the information we wanted. This Joseph Smith, Senior, we soon learned, from his own lips, was a firm believer in witchcraft and other supernatural things; and had brought up his family in the same belief. He also believed that there was a vast amount of money buried somewhere in the country; that it would some day be found; that he himself had spent both time and money searching for it, with divining rods, but had not succeeded in finding any, though sure that he eventually would.

In reply to our question, concerning the ancient records that had been found, he remarked that they had suffered a great deal of persecution on account of them; that many had been there for that purpose, and had made evil reports of them, intimating that perhaps we had come for a like purpose; but, becoming satisfied of our good intentions and that we only sought correct information, he gave us the following history, as near as I can repeat his words:

His son Joseph, whom he called the illiterate, when about fourteen years of age, happened to be where a man was looking into a dark stone and telling people, therefrom, where to dig for money and other things. Joseph requested the privilege of looking into the stone, which he did by putting his face into the hat where the stone was. It proved to be not the right stone for him; but he could see some things, and, among them, he saw the stone, and where it was, in which he could see whatever he wished to see. Smith claims and believes that there is a stone of this quality, somewhere, for every one. The place where he saw the stone was not far from their house; and, under pretence of digging a well, they found water and the stone at a depth of twenty or twenty-two feet. After this, Joseph spent about two years looking into this stone, telling fortunes, where to find lost things, and where to dig for money and other hidden treasure. About this time he became concerned as to his future state of existence, and was baptized, becoming thus a member of the Baptist Church. Soon after joining the Church, he had a very singular dream; but he did not tell his father of his dream, until about a year afterwards. He then told his father that, in his dream, a very large and tall man appeared to him, dressed in an ancient suit of clothes, and the clothes were bloody. And the man said to him that there was a valuable treasure, buried many years since, and not far from that place; and that he had now arriv-

ed for it to be brought to light, for the benefit of the world at large; and, if he would strictly follow his directions, he would direct him to the place where it was deposited, in such a manner that he could obtain it. He then said to him, that he would have to get a certain coverlid, which he described, and an old-fashioned suit of clothes, of the same color, and a napkin to put the treasure in; and go to a certain tree, not far distant, and when there, he would see other objects that he would take or keep in range and follow, until he was directed to stop, and there he would find the treasure that he was in pursuit of; and when he had obtained it, he must not lay it down until he placed it in the napkin. "And," says Smith, "in the course of a year, I succeeded in finding all the articles, as directed; and one dark night, Joseph mounted his horse, and, aided by some supernatural light, he succeeded in finding the starting point and the objects in range." Following these, as far as he could with the horse, without being directed to stop, he proceeded on foot, keeping the range in view, until he arrived at a large boulder, of several tons weight, when he was immediately impressed with the idea that the object of his pursuit was under that rock. Feeling around the edge, he found that the under side was flat. Being a stout man, and aided by some super-natural power, he succeeded in turning the rock upon its edge. And under it he found a square block of masonry, in the centre of which were the articles referred to by the man seen in the dream. Taking up the first article, he saw others below: laying down the first, he endeavored to secure the others; but, before he could get hold of them, the one he had taken up slid back to the place he had taken it from, and, to his great surprize and terror, the rock immediately fell back to its former place, nearly crushing him in its descent. His first thought was that he had not properly secured the rock when it was turned up, and accordingly he again tried to lift it, but now in vain: he next tried with the aid of levers, but still without success. While thus engaged, he felt something strike him on the breast, which was repeated the third time, always with increased force, the last such as to lay him upon his back. As he lay there, he looked up and saw the same large man that had appeared in his dream, dressed in the same clothes. He said to him that, when the treasure was deposited there, he was sworn to take charge of and protect that property, until the time should arrive for it to be exhibited to the world of mankind; and, in order to prevent his making an improper disclosure, he was murdered or slain on the spot, and the treasure had been under his charge ever since. He said to him that he had not followed his directions; and, in consequence of laying the article down before

putting it in the napkin, he could not have the article now; but that if he would come again, one year from that time, he could then have them. The year passed over before Joseph was aware of it, so the time passed by; but he went to the place of deposit, where the same man appeared again, and said he had not been punctual in following his directions, and, in consequence, he could not have the article yet. Joseph asked when he could have them; and the answer was, "Come in one year from this time, and bring 'your oldest brother with you; then you may 'have them.'" During that year, it so happened that his oldest brother died; but, at the end of the year, Joseph repaired to the place again, and was told by the man who still guarded the treasure, that, inasmuch as he could not bring his oldest brother, he could not have the treasure yet; but there would be another person appointed to come with him in one year from that time, when he could have it. Joseph asked, "How shall I 'know the person?" and was told that the person would be known to him at sight. During that year, Joseph went to the town of Harmony, in the State of Pennsylvania, at the request of some one who wanted the assistance of his divining rod and stone in finding hidden treasure, supposed to have been deposited there by the Indians or others. While there, he fell in company with a young woman; and, when he first saw her, he was satisfied that she was the person appointed to go with him to get the treasure he had so often failed to secure. To insure success, he courted and married her. When his work was ended at Harmony, he returned with her to his father's, in Wayne-county; and, at the expiration of the year, he procured a horse and light wagon, with a small chest and a pillow-case, and proceeded, punctually, with his wife, to find the hidden treasure. When they had gone as far as they could with the wagon, Joseph took the pillow-case and started for the rock. Upon passing a fence, a host of devils began to screech and to scream, and made all sorts of hideous yells, for the purpose of terrifying him and preventing the attainment of his object; but Joseph was courageous, and pursued his way, in spite of them all. Arriving at the stone, he again lifted it, with the aid of superhuman power, as at first, and secured the first, or uppermost article, this time putting it carefully into the pillow-case, before laying it down. He now attempted to secure the remainder; but just then the same old man appeared, and said to him, that the time had not yet arrived for their exhibition to the world; but that when the proper time came he should have them, and exhibit them with the one he had now secured: until that time arrived, no one must be allowed to touch the one he had in his possession; for if they did, they would be

knocked down by some superhuman power. Joseph ascertained that the remaining articles were a gold hilt and chain, and a gold ball with two pointers. The hilt and chain had once been part of a sword of unusual size; but the blade had rusted away and become useless. Joseph then turned the rock back, took the article in the pillow-case, and returned to the wagon; the devils, with more hideous yells than before, followed him to the fence; as he was getting over the fence, one of the devils struck him a blow on his side, where a black and blue spot remained three or four days; but Joseph persevered and brought the article safely home. "I weighed it," said Mr. Smith, Senior, "and it weighed thirty 'pounds."

In answer to our question, as to what it was that Joseph had thus obtained, he said it consisted of a set of gold plates, about six inches wide, and nine or ten inches long. They were in the form of a book, half an inch thick, but were not bound at the back, like our books, but were held together by several gold rings, in such a way that the plates could be opened similar to a book. Under the first plate, or lid, he found a pair of spectacles, about one and a half inches longer than those used at the present day, the eyes not of glass, but of diamond. On the next page were representations of all the masonic implements, as used by masons at the present day. The remaining pages were closely written over in characters of some unknown tongue, the last containing the alphabet of this unknown language. Joseph, not being able to read the characters, made a copy of some of them, which he showed to some of the most learned men of the vicinity. All the clue he could obtain was from George Crane, who said he had seen a Pass that had been given to Luther Bradish, when traveling through the Turkish dominions; and he thought the characters resembled those of that Pass. Accordingly, Joseph went to Franklin-county, and saw Mr. Bradish, who could not read the strange characters, but advised him to return home and go into other business. But Joseph was not willing to give up the matter, without further trial; and from Franklin-county he went to New York city, where the most learned man then in the city told him that, with few exceptions, the characters were Arabic, but not enough to make any thing out. Returning home, he one day tried the spectacles, and found that, by looking through them, he could see everything—past, present, and future—and could also read and understand the characters written on the plates. Before proceeding to translate the characters, Joseph was directed to choose twelve Apostles, who must be men who believed in the supernatural. He would not err in choosing them, as he would know the proper persons as soon as he saw them. One was to be

a Scribe. After much opposition, Joseph succeeded in finding the requisite number of believers, among them Martin Harris, who was chosen Scribe. After having made these necessary arrangements, Joseph was directed not to make the translation where there was so much opposition; hence, after procuring the necessary materials, he and Martin went to Harmony, in Pennsylvania, where they would be less persecuted, and where Joseph, with spectacles on, translated the characters on the gold plates, and Harris recorded the result.

After thus translating a number of plates, Harris wanted to return to Palmyra, taking a part of the writings with him; but the Lord objected, for fear that Harris would show them to unbelievers, who would make sport and derision of them. But Harris finally obtained leave to take them, on condition that he should let no one see them, except those who believed in them: in this he was indiscreet, and showed them to some one that he ought not to. When he next went to his drawer to get them, behold! they were not there; the Lord had taken them away.*

Joseph and Harris returned to Harmony, and found the plates missing—the Lord had taken them also. Then Joseph put on the spectacles, and saw where the Lord had hid them, among the rocks, in the mountains. Though not allowed to get them, he could, by the help of the spectacles, read them where they were, as well as if they were before him. They were directed not to re-translate the part already gone over, for fear the new work would not correspond, in every particular, with the old; their enemies might take advantage of that circumstance, and condemn the whole. But they could begin where they left off, and translate until they were directed to stop; for, in consequence of their indiscretion, they would not be allowed to translate the whole, at present. At some future time, they would be allowed to translate the whole; and then their translation, the gold plates, the gold hilt, ball and pointers could all be circulated together, each a witness of the others.

In answer to our question as to the subject of the translation, he said it was the record of a certain number of Jews, who, at the time of crossing the Red Sea, left the main body and went away by themselves; finally became a rich and prosperous nation; and, in the course of time, became so wicked that the Lord determined to destroy them from off the face of the earth. But there was one virtuous man among them, whom the Lord warned in a dream to take his family and depart, which he accordingly did; and, after traveling three days, he remembered that he had left some papers, in the office where

he had been an officer, which he thought would be of use to him in his journeyings. He sent his son back to the city to get them; and when his son arrived in the city, it was night, and he found the citizens had been having a great feast, and were all drunk. When he went to the office to get his father's papers he was told that the chief clerk was not in, and he must find him before he could have the papers. He then went into the street in search of him; but every body being drunk, he could get but little information of his whereabouts, but, after searching a long time, he found him lying in the street, dead drunk, clothed in his official habiliments, his sword having a gold hilt and chain, lying by his side—and this is the same that was found with the gold plates. Finding that he could do nothing with him in that situation, he drew the sword, cut off the officer's head, cast off his own outer garments and, assuming those of the officer, returned to the office where the papers were readily obtained, with which he returned to where his father was waiting for him. The family then moved on, for several days, when they were directed to stop and get materials to make brass plates upon which to keep a record of their journey; also to erect a tabernacle, wherein they could go and inquire whenever they became bewildered or at a loss what to do. After all things were ready, they started on their journey, in earnest; a gold ball went before them, having two pointers, one pointing steadily the way they should go, the other the way to where they could get provisions and other necessities. After traveling many days, they came to a mountain, from which they were directed to get gold plates to keep their records upon, and to transfer to them those already on the brass plates. Finishing these, they resumed their journey; and, after traveling many days, came to a wide water, where they were directed to build a vessel. When this was completed, they set sail, still directed by the gold ball. After sailing a long time, they came to land, went on shore, and thence they traveled through boundless forests, until, at length, they came to a country where there were a great many lakes; which country had once been settled by a very large race of men, who were very rich, having a great deal of money. From some unknown cause, this nation had become extinct; "but that money," said Smith, "is here, now, every dollar of it." When they, the Jews, first beheld this country, they sent out spies to see what manner of country it was, who reported that the country appeared to have been settled by a very large race of men, and had been, to all appearances, a very rich agricultural and manufacturing nation. They also found something of which they did not know the use, but when they went into the tabernacle, a voice said, "What have you got in your hand,

* It is rumored that Joseph whipped his wife for being concerned in this transaction.

"there?" They replied that they did not know, but had come to inquire; when the voice said, "Put it on your face, and put your face in a skin, and you will see what it is." They did so, and could see everything of the past, present, and future; and it was the same spectacles that Joseph found with the gold plates.

The gold ball stopped here and ceased to direct them any further; the family took possession of the country; their descendants became a great nation; among them were prophets who foretold the coming of Christ, and said that, as a sign of his coming, there would be three days in which there would be no night, for the light of day would continue during three days. In process of time the sign appeared as foretold by the prophets; and when Christ left Jerusalem he came to this nation; and, finding them much more perfect and harmonious in their religious views than the Jews were at Jerusalem, he was more particular in giving them instructions as to baptism, and said they must go down into the water, and be put under the water, and come up out of the water. But, after this, they became corrupt and wicked; enmity and discord prevailed among them, to such an extent, that they could no longer dwell together; hence they divided up into tribes, were scattered over the face of the earth, and their descendants are the American Indians.

At this point, the interview came to an end; and my friend and myself returned home, fully convinced that we had smelt a large mice.

III.—THE FITZ-ROYS IN NEW YORK.

By COLONEL THEODORUS BAILEY MYERS.

EDITOR OF HISTORICAL MAGAZINE :

I enclose a newspaper cutting from the *Evening Post* of the third ult., which contains facts which appear to entitle it to a place in a more enduring record, as a well-written and entertaining historical waif.

It may interest some of your readers to know that the Lieutenant Fitz-Roy alluded to, is not the first member of his family who had visited New York, and perhaps stayed there. *The Boston Weekly News Letter*, of November 16, 1732, thus chronicles another Fitz-Roy arrival: "NEW YORK, November 6.—The Mayor Aldermen and Assistants of this City of New York, being informed that the R^d Hon the Lord Augustus Fitz-Roy, son of his Grace Charles Duke of Grafton, was arrived at Fort George, on a visit to his Excellency our Governour,* his Lady and Family, they waited on his Lordship on Monday, being the 28^d of October last, in a full

body, attended by the principal officers of the City Regiment; and being introduced to his Lordship in the Council Chamber, the Recorder* addressed himself to him in the name of the Corporation, congratulating his Lordship's safe arrival, and returning the thanks of the City for the Honour they received by his Lordship's Presence, as also, for his Lordship's condescension in being pleased to become a Member thereof. Then the Worshipful the Mayor† presented his Lordship with the Copy of his Freedom, to which was annexed the City Seal, enclosed in a curious Gold Box, with the arms of this City thereon neatly engraved; which his Lordship was pleased to receive with the greatest Goodness and Complaisance and likewise to assure the Corporation, that he should always entertain the kindest Sentiments of this Expression of their Regard and esteem for him."

After this somewhat Japanese, yellow kid-glove ovation by a Common Council of the period, which would have formed a precedent, if it had been exhumed, for doing something, if not for our late visitor of that name, at least for his Royal companion, his Lordship seems to have tarried in this country, † for, on the twenty-fourth of August, 1735, nearly three years later, the *New York Gazette* has the following notice of the decease of his son, another Fitz-Roy:

"NEW YORK, August 2^d. On the 10th of this instant died the Hon Charles Fitz Roy only son of Lord Augustus Fitz-Roy, and on the 12th he was decently interred. His Corps was attended by the Gentlemen of the Council and Assembly and the Corporation, the Merchants and Gentlemen of the Place. The Companies Marched before with Revers'd Arms and Minute Guns were fir'd during the performance of the Funeral Service." §

On the tenth of March, following, Governor William Cosby, who was Lord Fitz-Roy's entertainer, died of a violent "Pleurisie and Fever;" and, on Saturday following, was decently interred "in his Majesty's Chappel in the Fort." He

* Hon. Francis Harrison, being Recorder.

† Colonel Robert Lusting, being Mayor.

‡ Our respected contributor has evidently overlooked the curious record of the match-making abilities of Mrs. Cosby, the Governor's wife, through which this underling of royalty was secured as the son-in-law of that official. That event and the subsequent troubles which arose out of it are among the causes which, secretly and at a distance, affected the public affairs and interests of the Colony; and they deserve the attention of our readers.—ED. HIS. MAG.

§ When it shall be remembered that this deceased Fitz-Roy was a more infant, not more than two years old, the reader will understand what, in her infantile days, New York did to secure the favor of those who wielded an influence over the Government which controlled her; and he may see, too, what, in the decline of her power, she may do, hereafter, to preserve the good-will of those, nearer home, who may sway imperial power in the name of Liberty.—ED. HIS. MAG.

* Colonel William Cosby, being Governor.

had arrived on the thirty-first of July, 1732, and spent less than four years in the Colony.

The climate of New York, or at least that of Fort George, at that time, must have been unwholesome, from the fact of so many deaths in rapid succession amongst the early Governors, and because others of them preferred to reside outside the Fort. The history, and even the memory, of these Governors was wiped out in the upheaving of the Revolution; and no period of the history of the country has been left so barren as that of their administration.

The remains of those interred in this Chapel in the Fort, including many Governors and people of rank, were either removed to Trinity Churchyard or carried back to England; and few of those who are now doing business around the foot of the Bowling Green* are aware that they are located on soil which once contained the ashes of the rulers of old New York.

NEW YORK.

T. B. M.

[THE EXTRACT REFERRED TO.]

THE BAR SINISTER.

An English writer sends us the following: A member of Prince Arthur's suite, now in this city, is a young officer who, after his father, is heir presumptive to one of those dukedoms of which Defoe observed that Charles the Second had, by his own exertions, contributed them to the British Peerage.

Although the most of the "merrie monarch's" very numerous and oftentimes disreputable additions to the House of Lords have long since become extinct, no less than four of the six dukedoms which he conferred on his illegitimate sons survive and flourish at this hour.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature about the families which have sprung from this source is,

* The location of the present Bowling Green, on which the Church fronted, and which was created a market by a Dutch Ordinance of 1659: "It was found good and resolved that for all fat cattle brought to the market (not slaughtered) posts shall be erected by the side of the Church where those who bring such cattle to market for sale shall present them. It is also resolved that shambles be built, a cover be made, and a block brought in, and that the key be given to Andries the baker who shall keep oversight of the same." And by an English Ordinance, of 1676, made a Fair Ground. "A Market Fair is ordered for three years ensuing, to be held in this City, at the Markett House and plaine afore the Forte to be held each Thursday Friday and Saturday," and by a map, printed in 1728, is set down as "The Parade;" and, in 1732, the year of Lord Fitz-Roy's visit, became, by an Ordinance of the Corporation, a Bowling Green, viz: "Resolved, That this Corporation will leave a piece of land lying at the lower end of Broadway, fronting the Fort, to some of the inhabitants, in order to be enclosed to make a Bowling Green there, with walks therein, for the beauty and ornament of said streets as well as for the delight of the inhabitants of the city." A lease for eleven years, at one pepper-corn per annum rental, was accordingly made, to John Chambers, Peter Bayard, and Peter Jay, three well-known citizens of the day; and, although the term of the lease has expired, the "Bowling Green" is still a land-mark on the city map.

that, in the course of two centuries, they had not, although possessed of every advantage that wealth and birth could give, produced a single really eminent man. It certainly was not the fault of Junius, if one descendant—the Duke of Grafton of his day—is not notorious; nor of Mr. Charles Lever, if another is not handed down to posterity as a specimen of rollicking conviviality, the "three-bottlest" of three bottlers, who proved himself, when Viceroy of Ireland, so far as the consumption of claret was concerned, more Irish than the Irish themselves.

The royal papa adopted a simple but most effectual expedient for providing handsomely for his natural sons. He betrothed them, at a very tender age, to the great heiresses of the day, who were his own wards.

Thus Monmouth, his especial darling, became the child-husband of Ann, Countess of Buccleuch, in her own right, who is poetically described by Sir Walter Scott, in the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, as one who,

"In pride of youth, in beauty's bloom,

"Had wept o'er Monmouth's bloody tomb."

So far, however, as connubial happiness went, the lady had little reason to lament her lord, who lived openly and notoriously with Lady Henrietta Wentworth, daughter of Lord Strafford. The Duchess, like many ladies whose first husbands have come to a tragical end, consoled herself with a second, Lord Cornwallis.

Monmouth was Charles's son by Lucy Walters, said to have been the daughter of a Welsh gentleman. It was often asserted that Charles was privately married to this lady; and the support which he received in the western Counties, no doubt, was, in a considerable degree, owing to the prevalence of this idea among the populace. There was a rumor in London, not without foundation, some years ago, that certain papers had been discovered by those most interested in the matter, which gave credit to this story of a private marriage.

Probably, however, no one in the wide world has less desire to contest Victoria's right to the throne, than the Duke of Buccleuch, the lineal representative of the unhappy Monmouth.

The same Buccleuch property which, in Charles the Second's time, was worth five thousand pounds a year, is now probably rated at that sum multiplied by twenty. Besides this, the Duke—who is also Duke of Queensberry—has inherited the estates of the notorious "old Q.," the hero of those milkbaths which spread terror through London, some seventy years ago, when the report was rife that the very same milk in which he laved his corrupt old carcass was re-sold by the servants to the milkman and by him to the public.

With this dukedom of Queensberry, there came

to the present Duke of Buccleuch his magnificent seat, Drumlanrig Castle, in Dumfriesshire, with its seventy-five miles of drive, over closely mown velvet turf; and, by the marriage of the Duke's grandfather with the daughter and heiress of the last Duke of Montagu, the Duke of Buccleuch inherits Boughton Park, an enormous chateau, in the French style, in Northamptonshire, remarkable for being surrounded by miles and miles of avenues of trees.

Nor was this all. Beaulieu Abbey, a charming old place in the loveliest part of the New Forest, and Ditton Park, famous for its oaks, near Windsor, have also fallen to him, in right of heirship to the great house of Montagu.

The Duke of Buccleuch thus represents the four dukedoms of Monmouth, Montagu, Queensberry and Buccleuch, and is possessor of estates yielding an income of probably not less than three hundred thousand pounds a year, his property in Dumfriesshire alone being rated at upwards of ninety thousand pounds a year.

"This grand-father of mine is a great Prince," said Mr. Disraeli's Coningsby, as he drove, for the first time, into the court-yard of Monmouth House; and the observation really applies to the Duke of Buccleuch.

Fortunately, the owner of so much wealth and influence uses it worthily.

The other English dukedoms with the bar sinister, are Grafton, St. Albans and Richmond. The Duke of Grafton springs from Charles's liaison with Barbara Villiers, created Duchess of Cleveland. The first Duke was well provided for, by marriage with the only daughter and heiress of Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington. It will be remembered that Arlington was one of the celebrated Cabal. Some members of the Fitz-Roy family yet have an extraordinary resemblance to their royal progenitor; and it need scarcely be said that these are not remarkable for personal beauty.

Charles Beauclerc, created Duke of St. Albans, illegitimate son of Charles the Second, by the actress, Nell Gwyn, married Lady Diana de Vere, eldest daughter, and eventually sole heiress, of Aubrey, twentieth and last Earl of Oxford, of that family. The Duke was further enriched by the hereditary offices of Grand Falconer and Registrar of the Court of Chancery. Somehow, this family has not contrived to keep an eye to the main chance so well as the others; and the Duke of St. Albans is probably the poorest man of his rank in Great Britain.

The Duke of Richmond is descended from the first Duke, Charles's son by Louise de Querouaille, created Duchess d'Aubigny, in France, sent over to England, to influence the King, by Louis XIV.

The second Duke increased his estate very

much by marriage with the co-heiress of the Earl of Cardigan; but the grand-father of the present peer raised the fortunes of the family still more by marrying the heiress of the last Duke of Gordon. This was the lady who gave the celebrated ball, on the eve of Waterloo, which has been commemorated by Thackeray and Byron.

The Goodwood races are held in the park of the Duke's beautiful place, in Sussex, of that name. From the Gordons, he inherits Gordon Castle and an immense estate, in the North of Scotland. The present holder of the title, a man generally and deservedly respected, was a member of the last Tory Government, as President of the Board of Trade.

IV.—REMINISCENCES OF THE CAMPAIGN ON THE RIO GRANDE.—CONCLUDED, FROM PAGE 238.

BY MAJOR GEORGE DEAS, U. S. A.

The whole army marched from Marin, on the eighteenth of September, occupying, in the evening, a small town called San Francisco. On the following day, General Taylor with his Staff pushed on to the front, until he came in sight of the city, and within range of the guns in the exterior works. At the first view, not a living thing was to be seen. All was as still and quiet as the grave. The city lay in the distance, as if it had been deserted by its inhabitants. The Staff was permitted to carry up its reconnaissance to the ground covered by the fire of the citadel, or Black Fort, when, suddenly, as if by magic, the whole scene was changed. A thick smoke, bursting forth from the fortifications, followed by the report of a heavy piece of ordnance, announced to the General that he was observed. This shot was well directed; but the range was long, and the ball bounded over the heads of the Staff. At this signal, all seemed to spring to life in the silent city. Flags were run up; bugles blew; drums beat to arms; and sentries lined the works.

Satisfied now that the enemy was in force, the General retraced his steps, halted the army, and encamped at Walnut Springs, about three miles from the city. This is a most delightful spot, and will be remembered by all who have ever enjoyed its delicious water and its shady groves. The water gushes forth, in great volumes, from a number of fountains, and finds its way, by beautiful rivulets, to the stream which passes into Monterey. Large walnut trees, hundreds of years old, covering several acres of ground, afford most ample shelter from the rays of the sun, which, at times, are powerful. Other timber abounds, and the ground is, in every respect, admirably fitted for an encampment. Here was

the General's favorite dwelling-place; and here he had his Head-quarters, during all the time he stayed in that vicinity. During the afternoon of the nineteenth, the General was occupied in reconnaissance and forming his plan for attack. The heights, in rear of the town, which covered the road to Saltillo, were clearly visible; and the movement of troops upon them showed them to be fortified. To carry these heights, occupy the Saltillo road so as to cut off reinforcements coming from the interior, and to take the town in reverse was the resolution of the General, on the following day. For this service, the entire Division of General Worth, reinforced by the Texas Regiment of Light Cavalry, was selected. The Division was composed of the Fifth, Seventh, and Eighth Regiments of Infantry, the Artillery Battalion (eight Companies serving as Infantry) Duncan's and Mackall's Batteries of Light Artillery, and the Texas Light-horse, under Hays. Detailed from the several corps, was a light Battalion, under Captain C. F. Smith of the Second Artillery. While Worth was to attack the positions in the rear of the town, the General intending it to be the real attack, a diversion, or feint, was to be made in front. The sequel showed a different state of things. Worth moved out of Camp, on the afternoon of the twentieth of September, and, entering some cornfields to the right, made a detour of about six miles, which brought him, at the close of the day, to a position, near some ranchos, not far from the base of the hill upon which the Bishop's Palace is situated. The Saltillo road had not yet been reached. Some slight skirmishing took place in front; but was of no consequence. Bivouacking where they had halted, the troops moved, the next day, more to the front; and, passing under the fire from the heights of Obispado and Federacion, by which we experienced the loss of an officer, Captain McKavitt of the Eighth Infantry, and a few men, the road leading to Saltillo was gained. A gallant, but most absurd and ineffectual, charge was made, in the morning, upon the head of our column advancing, by a Regiment of Cavalry coming from the city. The Texans were in front; who, opening and dismounting, poured a deadly fire into the enemy, with their rifles, while, at the same time, they were received by the regular Light-infantry with such effect as to send them off the field, in complete confusion. Their gallant leader paid the forfeit of his life for the bold adventure; and some fifty of his men were killed. I think this Cavalry Regiment was from Jalisco. It is worth recording that, with the exception of the affair at Buena Vista, when Colonel Yell was killed, this is the only instance in the War where Mexican Cavalry charged or came to a hand-to-hand encounter with our troops.

The first object of Worth's movement being

now attained, immediate preparation for assaulting the first range of heights was made. The advance, on this occasion, was entrusted to Captain C. F. Smith's Light Battalion and the Texans dismounted. The river, which passes between the heights, and flows around the base of the most southern of them—which was now the object of attack—is here quite shallow. Crossing the stream, the Light troops advanced, and, shortly afterwards, were supported by the Seventh Infantry. From his point of observation—a distance of nearly a mile—Worth was unable to perceive the exact strength of the enemy. Skirmishing of a lively nature was going on, upon the hill-side; but our people did not seem to be gaining ground. Accordingly, the Fifth was sent in additional support. Fording the river, we pushed along, at double-quick, and soon reached the base of the hill. By this time, the summit had been carried by the Light troops, a piece of artillery captured, and the enemy driven along the heights to a field-work, called "Soldado," some few hundred yards towards the town. Brigadier-general Persifor F. Smith, who had come over with the Fifth, now ordered the Regiment to assault the work "Soldado." The altitude of these heights was about five hundred feet; they were rather steep, exceedingly rugged, and covered with a thin growth of rough bushes. Under cover of the inclination of the hill, the Fifth advanced, and, when within about three hundred yards of the work, came forward into line, in which formation they rushed to the attack. With wild hurrahs and bayonets fixed, undisturbed by a stinging fire from the enemy, they steadily pushed forward—the Seventh and some of the Texans in close support. The fire of the enemy was sharp, and caused some loss; but the rush of our men it was impossible to withstand. In ten minutes, the place was ours, and the Mexicans were driven, over the valley, to take refuge with their comrades in the Bishop's Palace, opposite.

Here was now the first advantage gained. From this eminence, the future operations of the Division could be plainly traced. Opposite, at the distance of a half mile, with the river between, were the heights of Obispado, alive with soldiers, while, to the right, in the distance, lay the city, embowered in trees and orange groves, with its streets plainly exposed to view. Around us, at our feet, were rich valleys teeming with vegetation; while far away, on either side, arose the majestic ranges of the Sierra Madre. Leaving the Seventh in the captured work, the General immediately detached the Fifth to occupy the ridge, a mile farther in advance, directly overlooking the town. Here strong pickets were thrown out, to guard the approach to our flank, in that direction. The Regiment passed the

night in the clouds, without food or water, exposed to a nasty drizzling rain, which wet us to the skin, and fires, of course, were prohibited. For upwards of two days, the Fifth never eat a mouthful—merely because the emergency and activity of the service they were upon, detached from the train of supplies, rendered it impossible to obtain and cook their rations.

Before the dawn of day, on the twenty-second, smart firing was heard from the opposite hill. This, we knew, was the assault upon the crest of the Obispado. The Eighth Infantry and some Companies of the Artillery Battalion, with a support of Texans, all under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Childs, formed the attacking force on this occasion. Some sharp fighting took place; but, in a few moments, the enemy retreated to the Bishop's Palace, carrying with them a piece of artillery that had annoyed us the day before. In the meantime, the Fifth was withdrawn from the position it had held during the night, and sent to reinforce the attack opposite. In less than an hour, they had joined the Eighth, at the crest of the height, having passed under the fire of the Bishop's Palace. From early in the morning until about mid-day, the operations here were confined to skirmishing, in front of the Bishop's Palace. This place was one of importance. Strongly fortified, and built of solid masonry, it presented itself as an object to be approached with care. Its capture would secure the complete command of the southern portion of the city. To avoid unnecessary loss of life, incident to an immediate assault, it was determined first to try the effect of artillery. Accordingly, General Worth sent over a howitzer from Duncan's Battery, under Lieutenant Roland, which being dragged, with some difficulty, up the nearly perpendicular ascent, was skillfully placed in battery, on the summit, behind a quantity of sand-bags left by the enemy. The fire of this piece was telling. The range was soon obtained; and shells were exploded directly in the interior of the Palace. The place became too hot to stay in. Out-poured swarms of Mexicans; our skirmishers advanced; the reserves arose in a mass and, with a deafening shout, rushed down upon the devoted work. Some slight resistance was attempted, but of short duration; and, at about three o'clock, on the twenty-second, the Bishop's Palace was in our possession. This very pretty operation was witnessed by the troops of the First Division and the Volunteers, on the northern side of the city.

Worth, leaving a small detachment to watch the Saltillo road, now came up with the Headquarters and the regimental trains; and our weary soldiers satisfied their hunger. Spirits are not used in our army as a ration. They have long since been abandoned; and, in their stead, the sol-

diers are supplied with sugar and coffee—good substitutes, in many respects. On this occasion, however, a small allowance of brandy or rum would not have been amiss. But we were obliged to be tee-totalers—there was not a drop of spirits, nor even a bottle of wine, in the whole Division. It is a great mistake to give soldiers ardent spirits, just before going into action. It is said to inspire artificial courage, but if it does, it cannot last long; and then comes the reaction, which has a bad effect. The excitement of battle is enough without drinking; and men become pretty savage when fighting. It is not necessary to make them more so; and a little too much liquor might tend to make them insubordinate and disregardful of their officers. If I were to use spirits at all, I would reserve it for issue to the men, after the fatigue of battle or the march.

Worth was now firmly established at the Bishop's Palace, and in complete command of the southern part of the city. On the twenty-third, the Division began its approaches to the Plaza, distant a little more than a mile. Passing through gardens, picking through houses, and carefully feeling their way, avoiding the raking fire from the barricades, the troops found themselves in the heart of the city, early in the afternoon, occupying the smaller of the two plazas, or squares, called the Plazauela de C—. The Headquarters were still slightly to the rear, bringing up and placing in position, a ten-inch mortar, which had been sent around by General Taylor. The enemy was in great strength between the two Divisions of the American army, now distant from each other not quite half a mile—both making their way towards the main Plaza. During the evening, a message was received by Worth from General Taylor, by the hands of a Dragoon—a brave man whose name I regret to say I have forgotten—who, at the imminent risk of his life, had run the gauntlet, through the Mexican troops. Sharp skirmishing was kept up, during the afternoon, chiefly from the azoteas, or tops of the houses, the enemy always retiring before our men. The Texans, who had left their horses in the rear, and several Companies of the Fifth, Eighth, and Artillery Battalion had gained a position on either flank, well to the front; while the main body, with the Light Artillery, remained in the Plazauela and adjacent buildings. A piece of artillery, during the night, was taken up to the second story of a house, and placed in such a position as to command a direct fire upon the main Plaza. The ten-inch mortar had got its range. In this effective condition, General Worth found himself, on the morning of the twenty-fourth. But, before renewing the engagement, intelligence came that a parley was to take place. The result of

this was the formation of a Commission settling the terms upon which the city was surrendered to the American forces. The fighting was now over, and the troops were comfortably quartered in the spacious houses, near at hand.*

While thus the Second Division had been engaged, climbing mountains, fording rivers, and carrying everything before it, almost at the point of the bayonet and with trifling loss, bloody work had taken place on the other side of the town. As I have before observed, it was intended by General Taylor to make a diversion in front, while the Second Division attacked in reverse; and, for this purpose, on the morning of the twenty-first, he displayed his troops, both Regulars and Volunteers, in considerable numbers, on the plain. A close reconnaissance was now undertaken by the Engineers, with a small Infantry escort. These soon required support, and another Company was sent; soon after, additional troops were required, until, gradually, whole Battalions and Regiments became engaged; and the movement, instead of a diversion, resolved itself into a general action, of the most determined and fearful nature. Ignorant of their ground, and uncertain as to the point to be assailed, the American commanders were at a loss to give directions to their troops. Crowded into narrow streets and lanes, and exposed to a tremendous fire of small arms and artillery, which shot them down by scores, it was impossible to advance. Every part of that portion of the town swarmed with the enemy, whose fire was delivered with deadly effect from behind their ramparts and defences. The fire from the *tete-de-pont* swept the approach to that quarter; while, from the Black Fort, the enemy commanded all the approaches to the exterior works. While the troops under Garland were thus exposed to this terrible suffering, the Brigade of Volunteers under Quitman—composed of the Regiments from Tennessee and Mississippi, both ably commanded,—was led by that gallant officer to assault the exterior advanced work called "Teneria." This was a sort of a redan, with an open gorge, garnished with three pieces of artillery, and well filled with men. Quitman attacked directly to the front,

exposed to the whole fire from the enemy. His Volunteers rushed madly on: there was a little hesitation; a speedy rally; again the charge; and then the work was carried by these brave men, who left upon the field, behind them, nearly one-third of their number. It must here be mentioned, that Captain Backus, of the First Infantry, had succeeded in reaching the roof of a house, just in rear of "El Teneria," with about twenty men of his Company, whose fire being delivered with effect into the gorge of the work, shot down some gunners, and materially assisted in the fall of the place.* The enemy now retired from their advanced works, and left the Americans on the ground which they had won by such brave conduct, but with such melancholy loss. The flower of our troops fell on this bloody day; and many an intimate friend I lost.

During the twenty-second, nothing of importance was undertaken on this side of the town; but, on the twenty-third, the troops began to make lodgments in the suburbs, and some strong positions were attained. The Grand Plaza was approached; and the evening of that day found the troops well up to the point of attack. The two portions of the American army were now, in a measure, masters of the city—the only place of defence remaining for Ampudia being the central Plaza, which was completely commanded. To avoid a disastrous defeat, which must have necessarily ensued, and to save the honor of his army, the Mexican General now proposed the armistice which resulted in the surrender of the city. The first proposal for a suspension of hostilities was sent by Ampudia to General Taylor, on the night of the twenty-third. The Second Division had no news of it, until the morning of the twenty-fourth. The terms were liberal—so much so, indeed, that the American commander was blamed for this exercise of generosity to a foe so completely in his power. Let us examine the facts in the case. General Taylor, on the morning of the twenty-fourth of September, had under his command less than six thousand men. This force was entirely inadequate to a complete investment of the city. Notwithstanding that

* The part taken by Captain Backus and his command, in the capture of Fort El Teneria, is not generally understood.

It was our privilege to enjoy the intimate friendship of that gallant officer, when he was the Colonel of the Fourth Infantry; and he honored us, shortly before his death, by entrusting to us his professional papers, in order that we might the more intelligently defend his reputation as a soldier, especially on this particular subject, concerning which he was not insensible of the injustice which he had experienced.

The Diary of Captain Backus, extending over a very long period, and many other papers illustrative of the military operations of our armies, in Florida and Mexico, are yet in our possession; and those who are interested in the particular subject now before us, will find a portion of the documentary evidence concerning it, in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, First Series, Volume X.—ED. HIS. MAG.

* We have before us, the Letter Books, Order Books, and other professional papers of the distinguished commander of this detachment, General Worn, which have been entrusted to us by his respected widow; and we shall avail ourselves of an early opportunity to lay before our readers a more minute and more precisely accurate record of the part taken by the General, in the Mexican War, than has yet been published.

The custom of awarding all the honors of a Campaign to the General in chief, has led to an undue appreciation of the merits actually belonging to Generals Taylor and Scott, in the matter of this War with Mexico; and we are disposed to let the records determine who were and who were not entitled to the honors, before the world, which belonged only to the *real* captor of "the Halls of the Montezumas."—ED. HIS. MAG.

we held possession of the Saltillo road, yet the Mexicans had another road and paths over the mountains by which they could have retreated, if too hard pressed. The egress by the eastern side of the city was, and had been, always open to them. Supposing, then, that General Taylor had continued the assault, disregardful of Ampudia's proposition, the consequence would necessarily have been the evacuation of the city. But, if forced to this extreme alternative, the Mexican commander, before retreating, would have destroyed all his artillery and public property, and blown up his magazines. We should have found nothing in the city but ruin, and desolation, and some miserable prisoners. Other considerations also weighed upon the mind of the General. Ampudia had assured him that Santa Anna desired to treat for Peace. Our Government was always ready to entertain this proposition. If this assertion was true, would it not be good policy to grant honorable terms to the garrison of Monterey? These considerations, together with sentiments of humanity which prompted General Taylor to spare the loss of life which must have attended the storming of the place, induced him to accede to the terms drawn up by the Commissioners. On the part of the Americans, there were Generals Worth and Henderson, and Colonel Jefferson Davis; and on that of the Mexicans, Generals Llano, Ortega, and Requena. The terms were as follows: The Mexican army to march out with its arms, and six pieces of artillery, and the honors of war, and to retire beyond the limits of the Rinconada, Linares, and San Fernando de Pressa. All the fortifications, cannon, munitions of war, and public property to be turned over to the American forces; and hostilities to be suspended for eight weeks.

The evacuation of the citadel took place at ten o'clock, on the morning of the twenty-fifth. The Mexican flag was saluted by a salvo of artillery; and the troops marched out with banners flying and music playing. For the first time, we now had an opportunity of a close observation of the Mexican Regiments. As a general thing, they were a remarkably fine looking swarthy set of fellows, well dressed, and martial in appearance. They wore a light blue uniform, with white trousers, and a leathern shako of the French pattern. For the feet, they had the sandal—in some respects, much better than shoes. The Company officers had a very shabby look—far from soldierlike, either in appearance, dress, or carriage.

During the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh, the remainder of the Mexican force left the city. It was then occupied, at every point, by the American army. Due care was taken to prevent collisions; and no disturbance took

place. In spite of every vigilance, however, some assassinations, in the suburbs, were perpetrated, of a most disgraceful nature—not, however, by the regular soldiers, but by the wild Texas Volunteers, who really seemed to think that "a Greaser," as they called a Mexican, was no better than a beast. Such occurrences could not fail to give annoyance to the General. Courts Martial were of no avail to punish the offenders; and he, therefore, disbanded the corps, and sent them home. It was not until General Scott had issued his decree, from Tampico, declaring martial law in force with the American army abroad, that offences of a nature such as murder and theft, not cognizable by Courts Martial, could be investigated. Subsequent to the promulgation of that very able paper, Military Commissions were established, before which all offences not strictly of a military character were brought to trial. Citizens of Mexico, charged with crimes or misdemeanors against any persons attached to the army, in Mexico, were also tried by these Commissions.

The Mexican army having now been driven beyond the Sierra Madre, retired gradually to San Luis de Potosi, where Santa Anna was already beginning to assemble the active forces of the Republic. There is reason to believe that Ampudia's declaration to General Taylor, in respect to Santa Anna's desire for Peace, was a pure fabrication of his own. Certainly the Mexican chief had given no evidence of such a wish on his part—on the contrary, all his energies were directed to War. The Government of the United States, however, seemed constantly to be grasping at any chance to patch up a Peace. It seemed to be alarmed at the magnitude of the enterprise in which it had embarked. Hoping, perhaps, that Santa Anna might form a Government with which to treat for a cessation of hostilities, it permitted that wiley chieftain to return from exile; pass our blockading fleet in the Gulf; and enter his own country. No sooner had he landed, than he began his preparations, not to make a Peace with the North Americans, but to declare himself President and to carry on, with redoubled vigor, the War against the invaders of his country. On the fourth of August, 1846, he proclaimed himself the chief of the nation. San Luis de Potosi, a central strategic point, was selected for the formation of his Camp; and here, in a few months, he assembled an army of upwards of twenty thousand men. The Government at Washington having disapproved of the armistice of eight weeks, granted by General Taylor, announced the same to be at an end.

Attention was now given to the occupation of the country farther towards the interior, with the view to penetrating in the direction of San Luis

de Potosi. To take possession of Saltillo, the capital of Coahuila, was the first step. General Taylor, selecting Worth's Division for that service, marched, on the thirteenth of November, from Monterey. The distance is about seventy miles, ascending gradually to the table-lands, which here begin their formation in the North. Passing between spurs of the Sierra Madre, the road winds through a continuous valley, in many places of great beauty, the mountains rising high on either side. At two points—the Rinconada and Paso de los Meurtos—is afforded excellent ground for obstructing the passage of an army. At the latter place, some fortifications had been thrown up, but were abandoned.

Saltillo had no garrison; and, of course, it was occupied without resistance. The General having satisfied himself as to the capacity of the country to afford supplies, leaving General Worth in command, returned to Monterey. The garrison consisted of the Fifth and Eighth Infantry, the Artillery Battalion, two Squadrons of Dragoons, and Duncan's and Mackall's Batteries of Light Artillery. Beyond Saltillo, about seven miles, is the celebrated Angostura, where the great battle, called BUENA VISTA, was fought on the twenty-second and twenty-third of February, 1847. General Worth, a day or two after entering Saltillo, taking with him his Staff, commanders of corps, and Adjutants, proceeded to reconnoitre this ground. It is so admirably fitted for a defensive position, with a small against a large force, that every one was struck with its advantage, in this respect; and here we would have met the Mexican army, had they advanced during our stay at Saltillo. The natural strength of Angostura strikes the eye of a military man, at once; indeed, it is the only place in that immediate neighborhood, where a good defensive position can be taken. It may be observed, also, taking a more extended scope in regard to the general defence of the American advanced lines, that the formation of the mountains is such, that it cuts off all approach to Saltillo, except through this pass; and, therefore, excluded the enemy from the possession of the fertile valleys, extending westward, depriving them of the means of supply. Between the Angostura and San Luis de Potosi is a barren waste, where no army can support itself. Thus, it will be perceived, the pass had the double advantage of being not only a *tactical*, but, also, a *strategic* point. Subsequently, when General Taylor defeated Santa Anna, on that ground, the latter was forced to retreat to San Luis. He could make no diversions, either to the right or left. The mountains cut him off, thus proving the excellence of the position.

It has been supposed, by some writers, that the occupation of Saltillo was the ultimate object of

the military operations in that quarter. This is an error. The idea of penetrating the country by the northern Provinces was always seriously entertained, and would certainly have been carried out, had not insurmountable obstacles prevented it. It is safe to assert, that, with a determined resistance on the part of the enemy, an invading army could never have been marched to San Luis de Potosi. The simple reason is, that there is no living water on the road. Tanks, alone, furnished a meagre supply for Santa Anna; and these being destructible could not be depended upon by us. The enemy could easily have destroyed them. So anxious was the General to proceed, that the question of transporting a supply of water was even entertained. But this could hardly be said to be feasible. Subsequent events, which changed the whole character of the War and shifted the scene of operations to the other extremity of the Republic, rendered unnecessary the advance of the American army in the North. No occupation of the country, therefore, beyond the line of Mendoza and Buena Vista, took place. These protected, completely, the valley of the Rio Grande and the borders of Texas.

The Government of the United States, in the commencement of hostilities, had determined upon seizing the exterior Provinces, or States, of the Mexican Republic. Chihuahua, an important city in the North-west, seemed to be the principal point of attention, as having a direct bearing upon New Mexico and California. To reach the city, it was supposed that a force could march from the frontiers of Texas. No information in respect to the surface of the country was in the possession of the authorities at Washington. Here, again, an old map of Mexico seemed to form the only guide for military operations; and, with this imperfect knowledge before it, the initiatory steps were taken by the Government to concentrate an army at San Antonio de Bexar, the chief city of Texas, one hundred and forty miles from the Gulf of Mexico, and one hundred and sixty from the Mexican borders. The organization and concentration of this force was entrusted to that very able and energetic officer, Brigadier-general Wool. Receiving his orders at Troy, in the State of New York, on the fifteenth of May, 1846, the General proceeded at once, by way of Washington, to the western States, from which his force was to be recruited. The President had issued his Proclamation * *

[The Major did not complete his Sketches; and we leave the subject where he left it.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

V.—MOOSE-ISLAND AND ITS DEPENDENCIES, FOUR YEARS UNDER MARTIAL LAW.—CONCLUDED, FROM PAGE 229.

BY HON. LORENZO SARINE.

We pass to other topics. It will be remembered, that, by the terms of capitulation, *all* the public property on the island was to be surrendered to the captors. This property consisted of Fort Sullivan and its arms and munitions of war, provisions for the troops, duty-bonds amounting to sixty-four thousand, five hundred, and eight dollars and twenty-seven cents, Treasury notes to the amount of nine thousand dollars, the Custom-house furniture, several lots of merchandise which had been seized, the revenue-boats, and parcels of real estate which had been set off to the United States, to satisfy debts against individuals. Colonel Lemuel Trescott,* the Collector of the Customs, was not consulted by Major Putnam, when the demand for the surrender of Fort Sullivan was made, and endeavored to effect his escape, with the bonds, notes, and other valuable papers in his charge; but the ship-of-war, already mentioned, as stationed between Lubec and Tuttle's-ferry, cut off all communication. Finding that he must become a prisoner, he concealed his papers, and returned to town.

A few days previously, he had seized a vessel and cargo belonging to a man who lived on the Penobscot, who was still at Eastport, and who was much enraged at the detention of his property. This man seems to have watched the movements of the Collector, for purposes of revenge; and presenting himself to Sir Thomas Hardy, while Colonel Trescott was before him, answering his enquiries, gave information where these papers were secreted. By this means, the bonds and notes fell into the enemy's hands. But, as the Treasury-notes were specially endorsed to the Collector, and as he steadily refused to negotiate them, they were without value. The obligors of the bonds were, however, placed in an unpleasant dilemma. The British claimed payment, as being entitled, under the capitulation, and as having the originals; while the United States insisted upon the right to recover on the copies which the Collector had previously taken and sent to a place of security, to provide against emergencies.

As many as one hundred packages of the goods on which the duties had been secured by these bonds, were still in the warehouses of the importers, and were subject, by might or right, to such disposition only, as the Military Governor would permit; and, though the merchants had

the proper certificates, dated before the surrender, the Collector refused to allow the validity of his own documents and to suffer the goods to leave the island, for transportation to the markets for which they were intended. After some delay, an arrangement was concluded with both Governments, to the effect, that the duties* on a certain part should be secured a second time, when the goods were to be allowed to go into the United States, under sufficient protections from the Collector to prevent seizure elsewhere; and that the obligors of the first bonds should abide the issue of suits to be commenced against them, in the British Courts. In these Courts, the decision was that payment should be made to the British Government; and the Marshal of Nova Scotia came to Eastport, very privately, in the Spring of 1815, to enforce the Decree. His arrival was the signal for the obligors to depart; and, with one exception, all of them escaped. They had friends among the British officers, at the garrison, who felt the injustice of the steps to be taken and gave them a timely hint of their danger, and who were not a little amused at the preparations made, at the Fort, by the commander, for their confinement, as soon as the Marshal should have succeeded in arresting them. The officer particularly charged with the duty of fitting up apartments for their accommodation, significantly asked the Marshal, who busied himself in forming plans to ensure success, whether he "had ever heard how the Yankees cook a dolphin?" "No." "Well, then, I'll tell you: they always catch him first; and so do you catch these fellows, before I turn every thing topsy-turvy, to make a place to keep-em."

These obligors were twelve in number, of whom six belonged to Eastport. Of the Eastport merchants, five went to Lubec, where they built stores and wharves, at the "Point," and commenced business. Lubec "Point," at this time, was a forest; and the only houses within a mile of the "Narrows," were those owned by Mr. Delesdernier† and his son-in-law, Mr. Small.

This attempt of five citizens of Eastport, to avoid the payment of these duty-bonds to the

* The amount of duties thus paid twice, was \$28,981.26.

† Louis Frederic Delesdernier, an Acadian Frenchman who espoused the Whig cause in the Revolution, and, for a time, was associated with Albert Gallatin in the military service, at Machias. His father was a native of Geneva, and sheltered Gallatin, when, friendless, he arrived in America. Mr. Delesdernier was the first Collector of the Customs of the District of Passamaquoddy, and was succeeded by Colonel Trescott. After Mr. Gallatin became eminent, Mr. Delesdernier used to speak of him as he was in 1780, to almost every one who had leisure to listen. As concerns myself, I was never weary of hearing him.

‡ The writer of this paper, when he went to Eastport, in 1821, was first employed by William, son of the above named Louis Frederic Delesdernier; and was subsequently educated to business in the counting-room of Jonathan Bartlett, one of the five founders of Lubec.

* A Major in the Army of the Revolution, and much with Lafayette: and, in the troubles with France, during the administration of John Adams, selected by Washington, as a Colonel in the Provisional Army, then raised. Colonel Trescott is mentioned frequently, in *Thacher's Journal*.

British, was the sole cause of founding the present village of Lubec. These gentlemen had a large interest at stake, in the eastern section of Maine, which they were unwilling to abandon; and, uncertain what would be the final decision of the question of jurisdiction, they determined to remain in the neighborhood, until it should be known whether the ancient "Mouse-island," or Eastport, was to be retained by Great Britain or restored to Massachusetts and to the United States.

The settlement which they commenced grew up rapidly: and, in 1818, when the Island was formally acknowledged to belong to the United States, it had become so large and important, as to compete with Eastport, for the trade of the Passamaquoddy. Lubec, was, indeed, highly prosperous: buildings which cost five hundred dollars, were rented for one hundred and fifty dollars, per annum; and it was the point of attraction for many persons of enterprise, who came to it, from various parts of the country, to establish themselves in business. The competition between the two towns was injurious to both; and it has been said by many persons of good judgment, that money would have been saved, if the whole capital invested in real estate, on the mainland, at the "Point," had been abandoned, and the combined operations of the commercial community been concentrated on the Island.

After retiring to Lubec, one attempt was made to secure the persons of the obligors, but without success. A party of soldiers was dispatched, at night, to make prisoner of one of them; * but, as the moon shone, he was apprised of their approach, and escaped. As the story is told, he rose from bed, and seeking the lady † with whom he boarded, asked her to secrete him. With woman's ready wit, she opened a trap-door, over the oven, bade him hide himself there; and calling up her hired girl, put her in his bed, to pass in the search, for its regular occupant.

Another of the obligors ‡ came to the Island, occasionally, but cautiously. On one of his visits here, it is related that he wore female apparel; that the friends who knew of his intended visit, and who met him in the beach, to show him the attentions due to a lady, were sorely tasked to preserve their gravity as they accompanied him through the streets, since "he stepped off so 'long," and, in other respects, demeaned himself with so little grace and propriety, *as a woman*, that both he and they, in spite of all hints and lessons, were objects of attention in passing persons by whom they did not wish to be recognized. But, after the return of the Marshal to Hali-

fax, there seems to have been little or no motive for further concealment, since a third refugee * returned openly, and, in fact, was known by the British officers to occupy his house. He was not disturbed in his pursuits, though an officer would sometimes say, as he passed his dwelling,—"Well, Wheeler, I think I *must* come 'after you to-night—you'll be at home, I suppose."

While the obligors, *who were always willing to pay these bonds once*, fled, to escape the double payment of the duties on the merchandise which they imported in 1814, previous to the capture; they were still induced, or compelled, to make partial satisfaction to their enemies; and, during the time in which the subject was in controversy, they actually liquidated, a second time, about half of the amount of their indebtedness.

To terminate a matter so vexatious to them, they finally petitioned their own Government for relief; and, in 1816, Congress passed an Act, granting them full discharge, on payment to the United States of the amount which had not been extorted from them by the British; while the latter, solicited to be content with the part which they had received, discontinued further proceedings, consented to this compromise, and thus relieved them from all further apprehension and liability.

We have now to speak of the importations of goods in vessels, which, in the language of the time, were called "neutral." Soon after the capture, a British Deputy Collector of the Customs was appointed; and liberal terms of commercial intercourse were arranged, both to promote trade and to supply the post with articles of subsistence. Thus invited, people from various parts of Maine attempted to avail themselves of the high prices and ready sale of beef-cattle and agricultural produce, at Eastport; and those who succeeded in eluding the officers of the United States, who, to prevent supplies from reaching the frontier, were stationed at different points on the roads, carried on a profitable business. Pork, at one time, was as high as fifty dollars the barrel; and several other articles of food bore a corresponding price.

The surrounding country was poor, and in the rudest state of cultivation; and not only the troops, but the inhabitants were dependent on distant places, for fresh provisions and vegetables. Persons were sometimes despatched to Machias, a distance of fifty miles, as the road then was, to procure small lots of butter, eggs, and poultry. The traveling was exceedingly rough and wearisome, and the transportation of such articles, expensive and precarious. By water, the communication was far easier and safer. The

* My old master, Jonathan Bartlett.

† The late Mrs. Stearns, a beautiful woman, and as good as she was beautiful.

‡ The late James Mowry.

• The late Samuel Wheeler.

British were in undisputed possession of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and had cruisers in the waters of both Colonies; and as Castine, at the mouth of the Penobscot, was soon added to their conquests, the trade between that port and Halifax was free, and attended with but little hazard. In fact, merchant vessels, bound to the Penobscot, frequently sailed under convoy of ships of war. As was the case, prior to the capture, "neutral" bottoms were speedily made, to meet the wants of the American merchants who flocked to the frontier, to purchase and introduce British manufactures into the country, under the *forms* of law.

Among the vessels which they employed, was the sloop *Abu*. It was well understood that she was owned by a native of New Brunswick, who lived at Eastport; that she was registered at a British Custom-house: and that, provided with registers of various other kinds, and with masters to correspond, she changed her nationality or flag, as often as circumstances required. Loaded to the water's edge, and propelled with oars, she was yet so fast a sailer that *two voyages to Sweden or Spain, in a single day*, were among the extraordinary feats which she accomplished.

There was still another device, which consisted in the capture of British vessels: and a person who was concerned in these enterprizes, relates the following instance. A British vessel, loaded with goods and cleared at the *English* Custom-house at Eastport, for Halifax, set sail professedly for that port, towards evening; but, when off Allan's Island, was boarded by a band of men who jabbered in imitation of a foreign tongue. By some strange coincidence, the leader of these men had a Swedish register, which recited the dimensions and name of this vessel with entire accuracy. Assuming command, he compelled her crew to abandon her, and proceeded to Lubec, a distance of only three miles, where he entered the goods at the *American* Custom-house. The original crew spent the night at Rice's Island, drinking shrub and playing cards; and, in the morning, made a protest, in which their capture by pirates—who were in truth their own townsmen in disguise, speaking as above mentioned—was set forth with due and grave particularity. The trade, conducted in these and other ways equally ingenious, was very large. The duties secured to the United States, on the merchandise—as appears in the Custom-house records—amounted, in less than one month, to the sum of one hundred and twenty-seven thousand, two hundred and sixty-one dollars, and fifty-one cents. The common method and route of transportation was, by land, to Southbay; thence, by water, to Whiting; thence, by land and across the lakes, to East Machias; and thence, in horse-wagons, to Boston. The "neutral" ves-

sels earned money something as it is coined at the mint; and the compensation to agents, boatmen and others, was liberal; but yet, few persons retained the property which they acquired, and many of them spent as fast as they received.

Additional conquests, soon after the capture, caused a change in the course of this commerce. Castine was captured on Thursday, the first of September, 1814, and Hampden, on the Saturday morning following. The Penobscot was declared the boundary between Maine and the territory now conquered; and the country East of that river, was erected into a British Colony. The "neutral trade," at Eastport, came at once to an end. Large quantities of goods were, however, shipped from Eastport and St. John to Castine, and thence found their way into the United States. Hampden, on the westerly, or American, side of the Penobscot, became what Eastport was before its capture, and what Lubec was, for two months after it. Josiah Hook, the Collector of the Customs at Castine, opened an office at Hampden, and entered vessels with British merchandise under the Swedish flag. Though a young boy, I well remember the occurrences there. Peleg Tallman, of Bath, appeared as Swedish Consul; and a brisk business was prosecuted, until the close of the river. The amount of duties secured at Hampden, in five weeks, is said to have been one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. During the Winter, there was much smuggling; and collisions on the ice, at Hampden and elsewhere in the river, were frequent, and sometimes serious.

The traffic by land experienced interruptions, and several droves of cattle were seized. The officer in command of the fortification at Machias had sixty or seventy oxen in charge, which had been detained on their way to the frontier, when the approach of the British force compelled him to evacuate the post. But he left the cattle behind; and a British officer, on examining the works, wittily said, that it was "the first fort he ever saw manned with bullocks."

After the Peace, commercial adventures took a new turn. In 1815, the trade in gypsum, or plaster of Paris, was prosecuted with great spirit. In 1816, vast quantities of salt came out from England; and, as that article in the United States was high, as, too, the Revenue-cutters on the eastern coasts of Maine were small, and could only pursue smugglers in calm weather, it was freely introduced. Yet, the records of the seizures of vessels, boats, salt, fish, rum, and woolen and cotton goods—which I have examined—show that the contraband traders were not always successful.

The situation of Colonel Trencott, the Collector, as appears by his correspondence,—which is before me as I write—was unpleasant and, to use

his own expression, even "hazardous." Novel questions of law were continually coming up for decision; and Instructions from the Treasury Department were indispensable. But he could only communicate with the Secretary through the post-office at Dennysville, a distance of nineteen miles from his own office, at Lubec, and by a road often impassable in vehicles or on horse-back. He was in constant apprehension of the seizure of his person; and, to provide against incursions from the enemy, he regularly transmitted the bonds, which he received for duties, to Boston, by special messengers. One of the persons thus employed went to Portland, a distance of two hundred and fifty miles, on foot; True Bradbury, another, equally to prevent suspicion of his errand, passed through the wilderness, and across the Schoodic Lakes. The bonds which he transmitted for safe-keeping, to the State Bank, by three messengers, in September, 1814,—only about two months after the capture—amounted to upwards of one hundred and twenty-seven thousand dollars.

His officers, stationed at Calais, Robbinston, Whiting, and other places, to detect smugglers, were often in collision with persons who claimed that the goods which were taken from them had been entered; and the schemes and plans of the "neutrals" kept them excited, and tasked his patience. His opinion of the importation of goods, in the manner which I have mentioned, was often and freely expressed. He allowed it, he said, because "the law overruled" him. In August, 1814, he wrote to the District-attorney, that "notwithstanding" his "advice, the merchants, (and the country," said he, "is full of them,) will persist in bringing in merchandize in neutral vessels, and I am obliged to submit." "The neutrals," he remarks in another letter, "insist upon bringing in British manufactured goods, and I see no law I can avail myself of, to prevent them. Five cargoes have been brought over; since the capture of Moose-island; the one which arrived last night, is a large sloop, *crowded full*." These five cargoes consisted of six hundred and sixty-nine packages. Again, he wrote to the Collector, at Penobscot, "I cannot prevent the neutral deal, though to allow it is much against my wish, under existing circumstances." In a letter to the Comptroller of the Treasury, dated in October, he said that as "the enemy had possession of every port, from the Passamaquoddy to the Penobscot, he had no authority to act in his official capacity, and should retire to Portland, or some town East of it, and there wait the orders of the Secretary." He accordingly departed the district in the course of that month, but returned in March, 1815, reopened his office, and continued at his post. He came back much against his

will, it would seem, since, in a letter to General Dearborn, at Boston, he said "God knows I have wished to avoid doing business at my office." His official papers were scattered over a line of four hundred miles, and were to be searched for, in by-places, and in the custody of the many people to whom their removal, from time to time, had been entrusted.

War introduces strange distinctions. It sets up startling definitions of right and wrong. It regulates human actions by a monstrous code of morals; all of which are illustrated by the terms of intercourse allowed and forbidden, with the frontier. The "neutral trade" was clearly open to severe censure. We have seen that the Collector, though it was for his personal interest to countenance it, remonstrated against it. The Government obtained the duties on the merchandise imported, it is true; but, in principle, in what respect did the trade differ from that which the Government interdicted as treasonable?

The words "treason" and "traitor" are easily spoken, at any time; and parrots can be taught to repeat them. There are human bipeds, who are ever ready to cast them at those who do not bow the knee, and doff the cap, and shout for blood—more blood. But the cry of "treason" is raised, sometimes, to cover the guilt of those who utter it. Who does not feel, that "a mother with an infant in her arms, has nature's passport through the world." And yet, when the mothers of Eastport, with babes at the breast, were held in unwilling subjection to a foreign power, it was called "treason" to feed them!

No article of the first necessity for children, for the suffering, and the sick, could go to "Moose-island," without guilt: but every article of luxury and fashion could be carried, innocently, from it! The wagon of the farmer who, perhaps, was a relative of some sufferer, laden with the surplus produce of his own land, just across Tuttle's-ferry, was an object of suspicion, of detention, and of confiscation; but the four-horse teams which thronged the rough and difficult high-ways between Lubec and the Penobscot, loaded with British manufactures, for sale in Boston, New York, and elsewhere, were furnished with Government passports! Men affected to be shocked, when they heard that the officers of the Customs had seized an ox, a lamb, or a gallon of milk, on the way to the frontier; but they smiled and chuckled at the skill displayed by adventurers, in changing the national character of vessels, seamen, and fabrics, at Lubec and at Hampden, the war ports of entry, for goods called *neutral*, but known to every body to be British. To punish the "treason" of those who came to Eastport, with provisions, an Act of Congress was hinted at, and the employment of troops suggested, by an American functionary:

but I have no where found that the commercial adventurers who went to it, from the great cities of the United States, were threatened with the loss of liberty, or life, for *their* practises. Nay: *they* enjoyed the express sanction of the Secretary of the Treasury. "Neutral vessels and cargoes," said that officer, "coming from any port of the British dominions, may be admitted to enter in every port of the United States." And, he added that "whether the port from which they cleared be *real or colorable, friendly or hostile*, can make no difference in the case."

As in the Embargo, the odium of the reprehensible transactions of which I have spoken was cast upon the inhabitants of the island. The public sentiment, to a very great degree, was unjust. The projectors, the great movers in these enterprises, came from abroad. There was not then a merchant, at Eastport, who had the experience, the capital, or the correspondence with persons in business, elsewhere, necessary to plan or execute extensive importations; and their participation in the "neutral" trade was, therefore, limited and confined, principally, to storing, shipping, and forwarding the merchandise of others, after the *legal* entry at the Custom-house. Enough has been said, to show that the people of Eastport endured many privations and were denied many of the privileges to which they had been accustomed. True, they were allowed to manage their private concerns, at pleasure, according to certain prescribed rules, and some of their civil rights were expressly permitted or enjoyed, by the inattention of their captors; but yet, there were many things to render their situation irksome and extremely unpleasant. If they desired to pursue their maritime avocations and applied to the Collector at Lubec, for leave, the question arose, whether, being in subjection to the enemy, they could appear as owners or masters of American vessels. If, in the business in which they might engage, they purchased fish and oil of the neighboring islanders, they were not suffered to introduce these commodities into the United States, which were the only markets for them. If fuel or fresh provisions were sent to them, from the mainland, their own former townsmen—the revenue officers—were in readiness to seize whatever should come within their grasp. If they attempted to revive their trade on "*the lines*," they were met with the declaration, that, as the boundary was not yet determined, as provided in the Treaty at Ghent; that, as Moose-island was held as a foreign place, and Dudley and Frederic Islands, though less important, were still claimed by the British; that, as the *old lines*, established long before, by the Collectors of the Customs of the two Governments, for official purposes of their own, were now abolished, usages and prescrip-

tions, in this state of affairs, were at an end; and that, no indulgences could be allowed. If they endeavored to communicate with their countrymen, West of the frontier, the nearest post-offices, until 1816, were at Robbinston and Dennysville, both of which, at times, in the Winter, were inaccessible for weeks; while letters addressed to them were stopped on the Penobscot, by order of the Government, and reached them only after delay, and by surreptitious and circuitous routes.

In a word—*claimed by England, and claimed by the United States, they were partially disowned by both*. When the subject of allowing them the full privileges of British subjects was considered in the Cabinet Council of New Brunswick, the boon was denied, and the official decision was sent to town, to be posted on the corners of the streets; so, on the other hand, when their Senator appeared in the Legislature of Massachusetts, it was gravely urged that, as he came from a *conquered* district, he could not hold his seat. *Yet, the Commonwealth levied the State tax, as usual, and actually sued to recover it*.

Peace removed some of these disabilities; but others continued during the entire period of British rule. That event caused every hostile foot, elsewhere, to leave our soil. The absurd claim to the territory, from the Penobscot, Eastward to the St. Croix, was abandoned; but the Islands in the Passamaquoddy were left, by the Treaty, in dispute. To these Islands, the British Commissioners clung with almost invincible tenacity. "After commencing the negotiations 'with the loftiest pretensions of conquest,'" says John Quincy Adams, "they finally settled down 'into the determination merely to keep Moose-island and the Fisheries to themselves. This 'was the object of their deepest solicitude. Their 'efforts to obtain our acquiescence to their pretension that the fishing liberties had been forfeited 'by the War, were unwearied. They presented 'it to us in every form that ingenuity could devise. It was the first stumbling-block and 'the last obstacle to the conclusion of the 'Treaty.'

Mr. Adams and his associate Commissioners, at Ghent, insisted upon the *immediate* restitution of Moose-island and its dependencies, until they had reason to believe that further perseverance would have prevented the termination of the War; when they consented that the possession of England might be continued, until Commissioners, to be appointed under the Treaty, should decide the question of title, finally. Nearly three years elapsed before the Commissioners came to a determination; and six months were suffered to pass, after their decision was made, before martial law ceased to be enforced on territory acknowledged, after so much de-

lay, to belong to the United States, and entitled, therefore, to all the immunities guaranteed by the Constitution.

How few now remember that a part of Maine was under the rule of officers in the British Army, from the eleventh of July, 1814, to the thirtieth of June, 1818.

Finally: Brigadier-general James Miller, of the United States Army, was designated by the President, and Colonel Henry Sargent, by the Governor of Massachusetts, to receive from Captain R. Gibbon, the British officer in command, the formal restoration of Moose-island and its dependencies; and the last day of June, 1818, was fixed upon for the exchange of national flags.

Captain Gibbon was entitled to the respect of the inhabitants; and, on taking leave of him, they prepared and presented the following letter:—

“EASTPORT, 27th June, 1818.

“TO CAPT. R. GIBBON,
“Commandant, &c., &.

“SIR: The time being near at hand when this Island will revert to the United States and our separation being about to take place, we, the undersigned citizens of Eastport, beg leave to express to you our high respect and esteem for the disposition you have, at all times, evinced during your command, to conserve the interests of the inhabitants; to unite moderation with firmness: and prudence with decision.

“We congratulate you and ourselves, that the circumstances under which we are about to separate are so widely different from those which brought us together. The happy return of Peace between the two countries to which we are respectively attached must ever be a subject of congratulation to the people of both nations.

“The causes of war having passed away, we sincerely hope the passions and resentments of the contest have passed away with them; and it is with pleasure we reflect, that it is far from being the characteristic of the enlightened people of either country, to suffer the bitterness of animosity to mingle with their joy; but rather to consider each other *‘enemies, in War—in Peace, friends.’*

“While, from an ardent attachment to the Government of our own country, we felicitate ourselves that its laws are again to be restored to us, which must ever be more congenial to our feelings, as American citizens, than the laws of any other; we should do injustice to our own feelings, were we to be unmindful of the tribute of respect, so justly due to yourself and other officers who have presided over

“us; and who, in the discharge of their official duties, have had the magnanimity and uprightness to refrain from all oppression, and to overcome the temptation *‘to feel power and for—get right.’*

“We would also avail ourselves of this opportunity to express, through you, our high consideration and esteem for Major Gallagher, whose prompt and friendly attention to the interests of the inhabitants will ever be justly appreciated.

“To Doctor Bett, also, we would offer the sentiments of our sincere regard and esteem: his many charitable and kind offices towards many of the inhabitants of this place, will durably impress his name upon the tablet of grateful recollection.

“To the other officers of the garrison, whose habits have been but little detached from the community, and who, in the character of the soldier, have not lost the feelings of the citizen, we would present our best and most sincere wishes for their future welfare and prosperity.

“Wishing you health and happiness, we have the honor to be, Sir, with great respect,

“Your most obedient servants.”

[Signed by JOHN BURZIN, and by forty-two of the respectable resident inhabitants, in the name of the whole.]

Captain Gibbon, replied thus:

“MOOSE ISLAND, June 28th, 1818.

“GENTLEMEN:

“I have received an Address, to which the names of you, the principal inhabitants of Moose Island, is attached.

“It gives me much pleasure and satisfaction to learn that my conduct, as well as that of the officers of the detachment of his Majesty’s troops placed under my command, have met your expressed approbation.

“I beg you will accept, Gentlemen, from myself and those officers, our united thanks for such a flattering testimonial of your regard. With best wishes for your future welfare and happiness, we sincerely hope that the amity and good understanding so happily re-established between nations of the same origin, the same language and feelings, may be so strongly cemented by a reciprocity of interests and advantages, as never to meet with interruption or disunion.

“I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,

“Your very obedient humble servant,

“R. GIBBON, Capt. 98th, Commandant.

“JOHN BURZIN, Esq., Moose Island.”

Sergeant Crook, though of humble rank as a military man, had been the Commandant’s Sher-

iff or High-constable, and, therefore, a personage of power and consequence. He could have given the citizens much trouble. But he had executed the mandates of his superior with due regard for the feelings of the citizens; and had so far won their confidence that they had made him their own officer of police. In the hour of leaving, he was not to be forgotten.

"EASTPORT, June 25, 1818.

"TO SERGEANT PETER CROOK,

"1st Battalion Royal Artillery.

"SIR: As the time has nearly arrived when you will leave this place, we, the undersigned, citizens of Eastport, cannot forbear giving you some parting testimony of our respect and esteem.

"The prudence with which you have discharged your various duties among the citizens, and the delicacy with which you have executed the commands of the Commandant, relating to them, deserve our best acknowledgements: and we would be doing injustice to our feelings, did we not, in this public manner, assure you of our best and most sincere wishes for your future welfare and prosperity."

[Signed by the most respectable inhabitants.]

The Sergeant thus replied to this letter:

"EASTPORT, June 27th, 1818.

"TO THE CITIZENS OF MOOSE ISLAND.

"GENTLEMEN: I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your note, dated the 25th inst, and must confess my inability to express myself sufficiently on this occasion; but gratitude for your friendly and civil conduct towards me, as well as this mark of your approbation and esteem, demands my most sincere thanks; and that you may long enjoy health, happiness, and prosperity, is the sincere wish of,

"Gentlemen, Yours, &c.

"P. CROOK,

"Sergeant Royal Artillery."

Early in the morning of the thirtieth, agreeably to the plan of arrangements, the British and American troops exchanged salutes, when the former evacuated Fort Sullivan and the latter took possession of it. A national salute of twenty guns; "Yankee Doodle," by the band; the lowering of the British, and the hoisting of the American, colors; and six hearty cheers, by the throng of spectators, completed the ceremonies and rejoicings of the occasion. On the first of July, a public dinner was given to General Miller, by the citizens, in a spacious awning erected for the purpose, on the spot subsequently occupied by the houses of Daniel Kilby and Joseph H. Claridge. The first sentiment at table, was—"the President of the United States;" the second—"the Governor of the

"Commonwealth;" the third—"Brigadier-general Miller."

On the annunciation of the last, Ichabod J. Chadbourne arose, in behalf of his townsmen, and addressed their distinguished guest, thus:

"GENERAL: It is with no ordinary sensations of pleasure that we again see the National Standard waving over our heads. Four years deprivation of our civil rights have given to them an increased value. The pleasure we feel on again receiving the privileges and protection of our country is in no wise diminished in having them restored to us by one who has so bravely fought in their defence.

"The world has heard of the gallant deeds done at Erie, Bridgewater, and Brownstown. We tender our admiration and respect to the man who sought danger, and won for himself and country, glory and renown."

To this terse and happy speech, the General made the following reply:

"SIR: It is impossible, at this time, to do justice to my own feelings in answer to your very flattering Address. Permit me, however, to return to you, and through you, to the inhabitants of Eastport, my grateful acknowledgements for the very liberal expressions of approbation contained in it, and be assured it will ever be a source of gratification to me, to be instrumental in promoting your future prosperity and happiness."

Volunteer sentiments were then given, of which some have been preserved.

By GENERAL MILLER:—"The Citizens of Eastport—May their future prosperity equal their present hospitality."

By LIEUTENANT ALLANSON, *Aide to General Miller*:—"Major-general Jackson, of the United States Army. He would not flatter Neptune for his trident, nor Jove for his power to thunder."

By COLONEL HENRY SARGENT:—"May we never despise our enemy, nor from him fly—But, like Miller, boldly forward march, and say, 'We'll try.'"

By DR. BENJAMIN WATERHOUSE:—"Those three bright stars, yet visible in the American horizon—Adams, Jefferson, and Madison."

By LIEUTENANT MERCHANT, of the United States Army:—"The young Ladies of Moose-island—May they each catch a Deer of their own choosing."

By JONATHAN BARTLETT:—"The Commissioners under the Fourth Article of the Treaty of Ghent—They have cast our lines in pleasant places."

By JONATHAN D. WESTON:—"The thirtieth of June, 1818,—which not only restored to the

"inhabitants of Eastport their personal and civil rights, but the right of exercising them."

By GEORGE NORTON :—"May the war-whoop and tomahawk of destruction pursue the incorrigible enemies of our country, until they accept the wampum belt of reformation."

By SOLOMON RICE :—"The Commissioners of Ghent—The enlightened guardians of the honor and rights of their country."

The same day (*July 1*) Colonel Sargent, in a pertinent note, communicated to the citizens "the pleasure which the Supreme Authority of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts receives from their restoration to the full enjoyment of all the rights and benefits of our Constitution and Laws;" and announced that the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, by the termination of of the disputes relative to the Boundary, was "now perfect and complete." The Selectmen of the town—Abel Stevens, Ezra T. Buchnam, and Ethel Olmstead—in behalf of the citizens, made a suitable reply, in which they breathed the wish that those who were restored to their former share of interest in the State Government, would "ever be good citizens; faithful to their country; and ambitious for the exalted character and honor of" Massachusetts.

The restoration of the island was the beginning of a new era in its annals. A spirit of enterprise prevailed immediately, and additions were made to the wharves and stores, in anticipation of an increase of business; while several gentlemen of Portland and other parts of Maine removed there, who soon gave a high tone to the moral, social, and literary character of the town and the neighborhood.

BOSTON, MASS.

L. S.

VI.—A NAVAL HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND.—CONTINUED, FROM PAGE 234.

By HON. JOHN RUSSELL BARTLETT.

VII.

THE FRENCH PIRATES APPEAR OFF BLOCK-ISLAND. SUCCESSFUL TRICK TO DECEIVE THE ISLANDERS. THEIR FRIENDLY RECEPTION. THEIR DESIGNS AGAINST NEWPORT FRUSTRATED. THEY TAKE BLOCK-ISLAND WITHOUT RESISTANCE. THE ISLAND PLUNDERED. ALARM ON THE MAIN LAND. VESSEL CAPTURED BY THE PIRATES. SLAVES KILLED AND THE INHABITANTS ABUSED.

We now retrace our steps, a few years, to give the details of the taking of Block-island by pirates, the materials of which were not in our possession when we reached this period in our history.

Some time during the month of July, in the

year 1689, the French privateer vessels, consisting of a large bark, a small bark, two sloops, and some smaller vessels, appeared off Block-island, which greatly alarmed the inhabitants, who knew not whether they were friends or enemies. These vessels came to, near the island, when a boat, or periauger, as it was then called, put off and came to the shore. The islanders, in large numbers, attracted by the novelty of their visitors, met them as they landed, first providing themselves with fire-arms, uncertain, as they were, whether the strangers were friends or foes. They made eager enquiry of them, who they were, whence they came, whither they were bound, and what was the name of their Captain or Commodore.

They were answered by an Englishman, whose name was William Trimming, who seemed to be the sole spokesman of the company. This man said their Commodore was George Asten, a man who was well known to the islanders as a privateersman, whose great exploits among the French and Spaniards had rendered him famous among seafaring men. Trimming further said that they were Englishmen, but that their crews consisted of French and Spaniards; that their Captain's name was *Pekar*, [probably Picor or Piquard]; that they came from Jamaica, and were then bound for Newport, on Rhode Island. They further added, that they were in want of a pilot to take them into that harbor, where they wished to purchase a supply of wood, water, and fresh provisions. This relation was so plausible, that the honest islanders believed it. Their belief was strengthened, too, by a stranger who happened to be on the island, who claimed an acquaintance with Captain Asten, and who sent his compliments to him.

Trimming, finding his story believed, took his departure and joined his vessel, when the fleet made sail towards Newport. They had not proceeded far, when, discovering a pilot-boat at a distance, they made signal, which soon brought her to their aid. No sooner, however, had the pilot and his crew got on board the vessel, than they were made prisoners, driven into the hold, and then questioned as to the strength of Newport and Block-island. Their true character now became known, as well as their designs, which were to take and sack the town. But, finding the town stronger than they had anticipated, and believing they had quieted the fears of the Block-islanders, they resolved to return, take possession of the island, and plunder it. With this object in view, they manned three periaugers, with about fifty men each, who, placing their guns in the bottom of the boats, out of sight, pushed boldly for the shore.

The islanders, as on their first visit, collected on the shore to receive them, although, says the

narrator, "they were something amused at their "great number." Nevertheless, believing they were Englishmen and, consequently, friends, they directed their visitors to the most convenient landing-place. But, no sooner had they reached this spot, than every man sprang from his seat, suddenly seized his gun, and presenting it: at the people, told them if they stirred from the place or made any resistance, they would shoot them. Thus were the islanders, to their great surprise, made prisoners of war, by a party whom they had welcomed as friends.

Having now become masters of the island, the pirates, as they now proved themselves to be, at once disarmed the islanders, broke their guns in pieces on the rocks, and led them prisoners to the large house of Captain James Sands, which stood near the landing-place. Here they confined them; and, after placing a guard over them, set to work in plundering the houses. They also killed numbers of cattle, sheep, and hogs, not only to feed upon, but to impoverish the people and lay the island waste.

The people now learned the secret of the deception which had been practiced on them by Trimming. This man, it seems, was the only Englishman in the party, and was used by the pirates as a decoy, when they wished to board an English vessel. On these occasions, he was sent on board of them, in order to deceive them as to the nationality of their vessels. By the same means, he deceived the people of Block-island.

News was at once sent to the main land, that the island had fallen into the hands of the French. Beacon-fires were lit all along the coast, from Pawcatuck Point to Seaconnet; and the whole country was aroused. For a week, the piratical crews remained in quiet possession of the island, plundering houses, and despoiling it of every moveable thing. They even ripped up beds, scattered the feathers to the winds, and carried away the ticking. Our narrator states that they committed great abuses upon Simon Ray, an aged gentleman, and one of the most prominent men on the island. Mr. Ray and his son, on seeing the enemy approach, and while yet at a distance, took their money and valuable effects out of the house, and concealed them. The pirates having ascertained that chests and other articles had been suddenly removed, demanded their restoration, together with the Rays' money. On his refusal to give these up, they became enraged, and beat him over the head with a rail, and would have killed him on the spot but for the interference of his wife. Indeed, so covered with blood was her husband, as he lay senseless on the floor, that she believed him dead. But he finally recovered, and lived many years. The pirates also abused John Rathbun, who, they were told, had money; and,

mistaking the son for the father, they tied him up, and whipped him unmercifully, in the vain endeavor to extort from him the place where they supposed he had concealed his money.

Among other atrocities of the pirates, was the killing of two negro men, one belonging to Mr. Ray, before mentioned, the other to Captain John Sands. Two of the servants of Doctor John Rodman ran away from him, and joined the French. This Doctor Rodman, writes the narrator, the Reverend Samuel Niles, "was a gentleman of great ingenuity, and of an affable, engaging behaviour, of the profession of them called Quakers. He also kept a Meeting in his house, on the Sabbaths, with exhortations unto good works, after the manner of teachers of that Society, but more agreeably than I suppose is common with them, judging from the meetings I had often attended in my younger time." When the Frenchmen came to Doctor Rodman's, "one of them essayed to lead his wife, a very desirable gentlewoman, into a private room. but the Doctor stepped into the doorway, and prevented him." Upon this, the ruffian cocked his pistol, and threatened to shoot him; whereupon the Doctor opened his clothes on his breast, and said: "Thou mayest do it if thou pleasest, but thou shalt not abuse my wife."

While the piratical fleet lay riding at anchor, off the island, they took two vessels, bound up the Sound, one of which, being laden chiefly with steel, they sunk; the other had a cargo of wine and other liquors.

VIII.

THE PIRATES MAKE AN ATTACK ON NEW LONDON. ARE DRIVEN OFF. THEY LAND ON FISHER'S ISLAND. ENCOUNTER WITH A PARTY FROM STONINGTON. DEATH OF THEIR LEADER. EXPEDITION UNDER CAPTAIN PAINE SENT FROM NEWPORT AGAINST THE PIRATES. THEY MEET NEAR BLOCK ISLAND. A SHARPLY CONTESTED FIGHT. DEFEAT AND ESCAPE OF THE PIRATES. A FEW MONTHS LATER, THEY AGAIN ATTACK AND PLUNDER THE ISLAND. THIRD VISIT OF THE PIRATES. THEY ARE PURSUED AND CAPTURED BY AN ENGLISH MAN-OF-WAR. THE PRISONERS SENT TO BOSTON, AND THE VESSELS BROUGHT TO NEWPORT, AND CONDEMNED.

The great bonfires, before spoken of, along the coast of the main-land, very naturally led the pirates to believe that the country had taken alarm, and might send out a force against them; at any rate, they became satisfied, from all they could learn, that it would be useless for them to make any attempt on Newport, which was a populous town, and was protected by fortifications. They therefore determined to make an attack on New London, which they imagined would be

less prepared for them. For this port they accordingly sailed, and entered its harbor; but the country having been warned of their approach, large numbers of men, from the bordering towns, had come to New London for its relief. This place, like Newport, had its well-built fort, as a protection from the neighboring Indians, as well as from any foreign enemy that might assail it. The piratical fleet had scarcely reached its harbor, when a volley from the great guns on the fort was discharged at them, with good effect. This being a reception for which they were not at all prepared, they hastily drew off, and made sail, intending to return to Block-island, there to renew their work of plunder.

As the fleet was passing out to sea, some of the company landed on Fisher's-island, upon which there was then but a single house. Trimming, the Englishman before spoken of, who was one of the party, having mentioned his intention to stop there, the people of Stonington got wind of it, when a party of seventeen men determined to intercept him. They accordingly set off, and by landing on another part of the island, approached the house spoken of, before they were discovered by the pirates, who had already arrived. Trimming now came out in an apparently friendly manner, with his gun concealed behind his back, to receive them; whereupon the Stonington party demanded whence they came. Trimming replied that they had been shipwrecked. One of the Englishmen from Stonington then said, "If you are friends, lay down your guns, and come behind us." Upon this, Stephen Richardson, fearing an attack of the pirates, levelled his gun, and shot Trimming dead on the spot, an act for which he was much blamed. "Thus," writes the honest Niles, "he that delighted in falsehood, in his life, died with a lie in his mouth; and received, it seems, the just reward of his perfidious, villainous, and multiplied treacheries."

While the French privateers were engaged in their futile attempt upon New London, the people of Newport were busily engaged in fitting out an armed force of volunteers, with two sloops, with which to attack them; and, supposing they were still at Block-island, they sailed thither. The expedition was under the command of Captain, or Commodore, Paine, as he was sometimes called, a daring fellow, who had, some years before, "followed the privateering design," a very mild term for a freebooter, and who, notwithstanding his occupation, still enjoyed the confidence of his fellow-citizens, at Newport. The second in command was Captain John Godfrey, a brave and energetic officer, who had also seen active service, and was eager to try his hand with the piratical crew. Arriving at Block-island, they found the Frenchmen had taken their departure, and learning that, when they

sailed, they had taken a North-westerly course, in the direction of New London, they stood off to the westward, in the hope of intercepting them, in case they should be beaten off. The Block-island vessels had not proceeded far, when they discovered a small fleet standing eastward, which proved to be the piratical vessels. Preparations were now hastily made to receive the enemy—the crews prepared their small arms, and their great guns were all brought to bear on one side, that their first discharge might be the more effectual. The Frenchmen discovered the approaching sloops, which they imagined to be unarmed merchant vessels, and made all sail, expecting soon to secure them as prizes. As they approached, a periauger, full of men, was sent by the pirates to demand the surrender of the sloops. Captain Paine's gunner urged him to fire on them at once; but the Captain proposed waiting for their nearer approach. He at length sent a shot at them, which was seen to skip over the water and strike the bank, as they were not far from the shore. This unexpected shot alarmed the pirates, and brought them to a stand, when they pulled off as fast as possible, to await the coming up of their ships.

As the Frenchmen approached, they bore down upon the Rhode-island vessels, the great bark leading the way, and poured into them a broadside, with small arms. They were quickly answered with the same, followed with shouts and huzzas from our vessels; and the action now became general. The larger sloop now followed, the Captain of which was a most violent and daring fellow. "He took a glass of wine," says the narrator, "and wished it might be his 'damnation if he did not board the English immediately.'" While drinking, a bullet struck him in the neck, when he fell dead, as they afterwards learned from the prisoners. The other vessels now passed in course, each discharging a broadside, then tacked, and brought their opposite guns to bear. In this manner, the fight was kept up on both sides, until darkness came on, and put an end to the conflict. The piratical Captain and several of his men were killed, and some of them driven on shore. "In this action," says the narrator, "the fire was so sharp and violent, that the echo in the woods made a 'noise as though the limbs of the trees were rent and torn from their bodies;' yet, on the part of the English, but one man, an Indian, was killed, and six white men wounded. It seems that the enemy aimed too high, as numbers of their cannon and musket-balls were picked up on the adjacent shore.

A second encounter was expected on the following morning, as the French lay at anchor, all night, at a short distance; but the fight was not renewed. But, either because their ammunition

had become short, or they had found the English too much for them, and did not desire another contest, which, even if they triumphed, would not give them much booty, they wisely raised their anchors, hoisted sail, and stood out to sea. Another reason current in Newport, why the Frenchmen did not renew the combat, was, that Peckar, their Captain, had been informed that, in encountering the English or Rhode-island vessels, he had been fighting with Captain Paine; and that he had said he "would as soon fight 'the devil as Paine.'" It was understood, too, that Paine and Peckar had sailed together in privateering expeditions in some former wars, the former as Captain, and the latter as Lieutenant, which is quite probable.

The piratical fleet now stood off to sea, pursued by the two Rhode Island sloops, under Paine and Godfrey; but the Frenchmen, being more expert sailors, left them far astern. The prize vessel, loaded with wines, which the latter had taken while they were in possession of Block-island, not being so good a sailer as the fleet, fell behind; and, fearing the English would come up with and take her, her captors fired a cannon-ball through her bottom. When the English came up with her, they found her sinking, and merely secured, as a trophy of their victory, the long-boat at her stern.

But Block-island, with the departure of the privateers, was not entirely forgotten by them, as it appears that, before the end of the year, some of the same company, with others, landed one night, surprised the inhabitants in their beds, and proceeded in the same manner as they had before. They plundered houses, destroyed the cattle, and committed other depredations, but killed no one. The Reverend Samuel Niles, who has left us the fullest account of the visits of these privateers, was one of the sufferers on the occasion of this second visit. This gentleman was surprised in his bed, by one of the company, who rushed into his chamber. After questioning Mr. Niles, he suddenly said to him: "Get down, you dog." To which he replied, "As soon as I have put on my shoes and stockings." The pirate then, with a violent thrust of his gun, threw Niles backward on his bed, and struck him several times with his cutlass. He afterwards bound his hands tightly behind him, with a cord, and then left him. How long they remained in possession of the island, at this time, does not appear. On the first visit of the pirates, Mr. Niles, with many others, took refuge in the great swamp, in the centre of the island, where they found a small piece of upland, upon which they encamped and remained until the enemy left.

During the continuance of the War with France, the pirates made a third visit to Block-

island; but at what precise time, it does not appear, and met with no opposition. Mr. James Sands and his family, whose house they had on previous occasions made their headquarters, on seeing the pirates approach, betook themselves to the woods, to avoid a repetition of the outrages to which they had before been subjected. Mr. Niles, who was the grandson of Mr. Sands, accompanied his family, and was followed by others. The pirates landed on a Sunday morning, and forming a long train, in two files, with colors flying and trumpets sounding, marched up and took possession of the island. "Thus they came," says Mr. Niles, "in triumph, and as absolute lords of the soil and all belonging thereto, as indeed they were, for the time." They then set up their standard or flag, on the hill, after which they set to work killing geese, pigs, etc., and fired several shots at particular houses.

But the piratical crews had not long carried on their work of pillage when their proceedings were suddenly arrested by the appearance of a large English man-of-war, which proved to be the *Nonestuch*, Captain Dobbins. This ship lay at anchor, about a league distance, where she had been concealed from view by a dense fog, in which she had doubtless approached the coast. Hence, neither the pirates nor the islanders discovered her, till the fog broke away.

As soon as the Frenchmen discovered the great English ship bearing up towards them, they hastened on board their vessels, and, after sending on shore a number of English prisoners whom they had taken in their cruise, made sail. Among these prisoners was a Captain Rodney, with his lady. This gentleman, who was from the West Indies, possessed a large fortune, most of which he had with him, in money, but which was taken from him by the pirates. He was coming to take up his residence in the Northern Colonies.

Soon after leaving the island, both the piratical vessels and the English man-of-war, which was in pursuit, disappeared in the fog; nevertheless, both took the same course, to the North-east, and the latter finally came up with the former in Buzzard's-bay, where the pirates had gone in the hope of concealing themselves. Finding there was no chance to escape by sea, about forty of them landed, in the vain hope of concealing themselves, or escaping by land; but they were soon seized and disarmed by the people who dwelt near, and who may have heard of their acts on the coast. They were sent prisoners to Boston. The remainder, with their vessels, fell into the hands of Captain Dobbins. The prizes, which proved to be very rich, were sent to Newport, where they were condemned.

A fourth time, certain pirates, but whether the

French or some others, we do not know, made an attempt upon Block-island; but the people on this occasion took courage, and, encountering them in an open pitched battle, drove them off, without loss of life to the English. The date of these latter events is not given by the witness and narrator, the Reverend Samuel Niles, who merely says that they occurred while he lived on the island. Our colonial records show that several French privateers appeared on the coast, in 1708. The particulars connected with their visit will be related with the events of that period; and, as Mr. Niles did not take up his residence at Braintree, Massachusetts, till 1711, it is presumed that he resided on Block-island until that year; and that the fourth visit of the pirates, mentioned by him, is that referred to on the record.

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[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VIII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S RELIGION.*

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., February 18, 1870.

MR. ABBOT :

Some time since, I promised you that I would send a letter in relation to Mr. Lincoln's religion. I do so now. Before entering on that question, one or two preliminary remarks will help us to understand why he disagreed with the Christian world, in its principles as well as in its theology. In the first place, Lincoln's mind was a purely logical mind; secondly, Lincoln was purely a practical man. He had no fancy or imagination, and not much emotion. He was a realist as opposed to an idealist. As a general rule, it is true that a purely logical mind has not much hope, if it ever has *faith in the unseen and unknown*. Mr. Lincoln had not much hope and no faith in things outside of the domain of demonstration; he was so constituted—so organized—that he could believe nothing unless his sense of logic could reach it. I have often read to him a law point, a decision, or something I fancied; he could not understand it till he took the book out of my hand, and read the thing for himself. He was terribly, vexatiously skeptical. He could scarcely understand anything, unless he had time and place fixed in his mind.

I became acquainted with Mr. Lincoln in 1824; and I think I knew him well to the day of his death. His mind, when a boy, in Kentucky, showed a certain gloom, an unsocial nature, a peculiar abstractedness, a bold and daring skepticism. In Indiana, from 1817 to 1830, it manifested the same qualities or attributes as in Kentucky; it only intensified, developed itself, along those lines, in Indiana. He came to Illinois in 1830, and, after some little roving, settled in New Salem, now in Menard-county, Illinois. This village lies about twenty miles North-west of this city. It was here that Mr. Lincoln became acquainted with a class of men the world never saw the like of, before or since. *They were large men—large in body and large in mind; hard to whip; and never to be fooled.* They were a bold, daring, and reckless set of men; they were men of their own minds—believed what was demonstrable—were men of

great common sense. With these, Mr. Lincoln was thrown; with them, he lived; and, with them, he moved and almost had his being. They were skeptics, all—scoffers, some.

These scoffers were good men, and their scoffs were protests against theology—loud protests against the follies of Christianity: they had never heard of Theism and the new and better religious thoughts of this age. Hence, being natural skeptics, and being bold, brave men, they uttered their thoughts, freely. They declared that Jesus was an illegitimate child. I knew these men well, and have felt for them—have done my little best, when occasion offered, to educate them up to higher thoughts. These men could not conceive it possible that three could be one, nor one in three Gods; they *could not believe that the Father ruined one of his own lovely children*. This was monstrous to them. They were, on all occasions, when opportunity offered, debating the various questions of Christianity among themselves: they took their stand on common sense and their own souls: and, though their arguments were rude and rough, no man could overthrow their homely logic. They riddled all divines, and not unfrequently made them skeptics—disbelievers as bad as themselves. They were a jovial, healthful, generous, social, true, and manly set of people.

It was here, and among these people, that Lincoln was thrown. About the year 1834, he chanced to come across Volney's *Ruins* and some of Paine's theological works. He, at once, seized hold of them and assimilated them into his own being. Volney and Paine became a part of Mr. Lincoln, from 1834 to the end of his life. In 1835, he wrote out a small work on "Infidelity," and intended to have it published. It was an attack upon the whole grounds of Christianity, and, especially, was it an attack upon the idea that Jesus was *the Christ*, the true and only begotten Son of God, as the Christian world contends. Mr. Lincoln was, at the time, at New Salem, keeping store for Mr. Samuel Hill, a merchant and postmaster of that place. Lincoln and Hill were very friendly. Hill, I think, was a skeptic at that time. Lincoln, one day, after the book was finished, read it to Mr. Hill, his good friend.

Hill tried to persuade him not to make it public—not to publish it. Hill, at that time, saw in Lincoln a rising man, and wished him success. Lincoln refused to destroy it—said it should be published. Hill swore it should never see the light of day. He had an eye to Lincoln's popularity—his present and future success; and, believing that, if the book were published, it would kill Lincoln, forever, he snatched it from Lincoln's hand, when he was not expecting it, and ran it into an old-fashioned ten-plate stove.

* This letter appeared, originally, we believe, in the *Toledo Index*; was copied by Colonel Forney's *Washington Chronicle*; and was taken, for this purpose, from *The Albany Argus*.—Ed. HIS. MAG.

heated as hot as a furnace; and so Lincoln's book went up to the clouds, in smoke. It is confessed, by all who heard parts of it, that it was at once able and eloquent; and, if I may judge of it from Lincoln's subsequent ideas and opinions, often expressed to me and to others, in my presence, it was able, strong, plain and fair. His argument was grounded on the internal mistakes of the Old and New Testaments, and on reason, and on the experiences and observations of men. The criticisms from internal defects were sharp, strong, and manly.

Mr. Lincoln moved to this city, in 1837, and here he became acquainted with various men, of his own way of thinking. At that time, they called themselves *free-thinkers*, or *free-thinking men*. I remember all these, distinctly, for I was with them, heard them, and was one of them. Mr. Lincoln, here, found other works—Hume, Gibbon, and others—and drank them in. He made no secret of his views, no concealment of his religion. He boldly avowed himself an infidel. When Lincoln was a candidate for our Legislature, he was accused of being an infidel and of having said that Jesus Christ was an illegitimate child. He never denied his opinions, nor flinched from his religious views: he was a true man; and yet it may be truthfully said that, in 1839, his religion was low indeed. In his moments of gloom, he would doubt, *if he did not, sometimes, deny, God*. He made me once erase the name of God from a speech I was about to make, in 1854; and he did this, in the City of Washington, to one of his friends. I cannot now name the man, nor the place he occupied in Washington: it will be known some time. I have the evidence, and intend to keep it.

Mr. Lincoln ran for Congress against the Rev. Peter Cartwright, in the year 1847 or 1848. In that contest, he was accused of being an infidel, if not an atheist; he never denied the charge—would not—"would die first:" in the first place, because he knew it could and would be proved on him; and, in the second place, he was too true to his own convictions, to his own soul, to deny it. From what I knew of Mr. Lincoln, and from what I have heard and verily believe, I can say: first—that he did not believe in a special creation, his idea being that all creation was an evolution, under law; secondly, he did not believe that the Bible was a revelation from God, as the Christian world contends; thirdly, he did not believe in miracles, as understood by the Christian world; fourthly, he believed in universal inspiration and miracles, under law; fifthly, he did not believe that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of God, as the Christian world contends; sixthly, he believed that all things, both matter and mind, were governed by laws, universal, absolute, and eter-

nal. All his speeches and remarks, in Washington, conclusively prove this. Law was to Lincoln, everything—and special interferences, shams and delusions. I know whereof I speak. I used to loan him Theodore Parker's works; I loaned him Emerson, sometimes, and other writers; and he would sometimes read and sometimes would not, I suppose—nay, know.

When Mr. Lincoln left this city for Washington, I knew he had undergone no change in his religious opinions and views. He held many of the Christian ideas in abhorrence, and among them was this one, namely, that God would forgive the sinner for a violation of His laws. Lincoln maintained that God could not forgive; that punishment would follow the sin; that Christianity was wrong in teaching forgiveness; that it tended to make man sin, in the hope that God would excuse; and so forth. Lincoln contended that the minister should teach that God has affixed punishment to sin; and that no repentance could bribe him to remit it. In one sense of the word, Mr. Lincoln was a Universalist, and, in another sense, he was a Unitarian; but he was a Theist, as we now understand that word; he was so, fully, freely, unequivocally, boldly, and openly, when asked for his views. Mr. Lincoln was supposed, by many people in this city, to be an Atheist; and some still believe it. I can put that supposition at rest, forever. I hold a letter of Mr. Lincoln in my hand, addressed to his step-brother, John D. Johnson, and dated the twelfth of January, 1851. He had heard from Johnson, that his father, Thomas Lincoln, was sick; and that no hopes of his recovery were entertained. Mr. Lincoln wrote back to Mr. Johnson, these words:

"I sincerely hope that father may yet recover his health; but, at all events, tell him to remember to call upon and confide in One great, and good, and merciful, Maker, who will not turn away from him in any extremity. He notes the fall of the sparrow and numbers the hairs of our heads; and He will not forget the dying man who puts his trust in Him. Say to him that, if we could meet now, it is doubtful whether it would not be more painful than pleasant; but that if it be his lot to go now, he will soon have a joyous meeting with many loved ones, gone before, and where the rest of us, through the help of God, hope ere long to join them."

"A. LINCOLN."

So it seems that Mr. Lincoln believed in God and immortality, as well as heaven—a place. He believed in no hell and no punishment, in the future world. It has been said to me, that Mr. Lincoln wrote the above letter to an old man, simply to cheer him up in his last moments; and

that the writer did not believe what he said. The question is, Was Mr. Lincoln an honest and truthful man? If he was, he wrote that letter honestly—believing it; it has to me the sound, the ring of an honest utterance. I admit that Mr. Lincoln, in his moments of melancholy and terrible gloom, was living on the border land of Theism and Atheism—sometimes quite wholly dwelling in Atheism. In his happy moments, he would swing back to Theism, and dwell lovingly there. It is possible that Mr. Lincoln was not always responsible for what he said or thought, so deep, so intense, so terrible was his melancholy. I send you a lecture of mine, which will help you to see what I mean. I maintain that Mr. Lincoln was a deeply religious man, at all times and places, in spite of his *transient doubts*.

Soon after Mr. Lincoln was assassinated, Mr. Holland came into my office, and made some inquiries about him, stating to me his purpose of writing his life. I freely told him what he asked, and much more. He then asked me what I thought about Mr. Lincoln's religion, meaning his views of Christianity. I replied: "*The less said, the better.*" Mr. Holland has recorded my expression to him, (see Holland's *Life of Lincoln*, page 241). I cannot say what Mr. Holland said to me, as that was private. It appears that he then went and saw Mr. Newton Bateman, Superintendent of Public Instruction in this State. It appears that Mr. Bateman told Mr. Holland many things, if he is correctly represented in Holland's *Life of Lincoln*, pp. 236 to 241, inclusive. I doubt whether Mr. Bateman said, in full, what is recorded there. I doubt a great deal of it. I know the whole story is untrue—untrue in substance—untrue in fact and spirit. As soon as the *Life of Lincoln* was out, on reading that part, here referred to, I instantly sought Mr. Bateman, and found him in his office. I spoke to him, politely and kindly, and he spoke to me in the same manner.

I said substantially to him that Holland, in order to make Lincoln a technical Christian, made him a hypocrite; and so his *Life of Lincoln* quite plainly says. I loved Lincoln, and was mortified, if not angry, to see him made a hypocrite. I cannot now detail what Bateman said, as it was a private conversation, and I am forbidden to make use of it in public. If some good gentleman can only get the seal of secrecy removed, I can show what was said and done. On my word, the world may take it for granted that Holland is wrong—that he does not state Lincoln's views correctly. Bateman, if correctly represented in Holland's *Life of Lincoln*, is the only man, the sole and only man, who dare say that Lincoln believed in Jesus as the *Christ of God*, as the Christian world represents. This is not a pleasant situation for Bateman. I have

notes and dates of our conversation, and the world will sometime know who is truthful and who otherwise. I doubt whether Bateman is correctly represented by Holland. My notes bear date the third, twelfth, and twenty-eighth of December, 1866. Some of our conversations were in the Spring of 1864 and the Fall of 1865.

I do not remember ever seeing the words *Jesus* or *Christ*, in print, as uttered by Mr. Lincoln. If he has used these words, they can be found. He uses the word *God* but seldom. I never heard him use the name of Christ or Jesus but to confute the idea that He was the Christ, the only and truly begotten son of God, as the Christian world understands it. The idea that Mr. Lincoln carried the New Testament or Bible in his bosom or boots, to draw on his opponent in debate, is ridiculous. If Christianity cannot live without falsehood, the sooner it dies the better for mankind. Every great man that dies—infidel, pantheist, theist, or atheist—is instantly dragged into the folds of the Church, and transformed, through falsehood, into the great defender of the faith, unless his opinions are too well known to allow it. Is Christianity in dread or fear? What is the matter with it? Is it sick, and does it dream of its doom? Would that it would shake itself free from its follies, and still live till all mankind outgrow it!

My dear sir, I now have given you my knowledge, speaking from my own remembrance of my own experience, of Mr. Lincoln's religious views. I speak likewise from the evidences, carefully gathered, of his religious opinions. I likewise speak from the ears and mouths of many in this city; and, after all careful examination, I declare to your numerous readers, that Mr. Lincoln is correctly represented here, so far as I know what truth is and how it should be investigated.

Yours, truly,

W. H. HERNDON.

BATTLE OF BULL RUN.—Mr. Stephens's first volume, entitled *The War between the States*, is a contribution to history which has added more lustre to his name than all else he has accomplished. As an enquiry into the nature of the Government of the United States, or of the nature of the Union which was established by its original framers, it is invaluable. No amount of special pleading can overturn the historical truths he has cited and the deductions that logically follow them, and which place the entire responsibility of the rupture which occurred between the States upon the party in the Northern States which, having repeatedly violated fundamental conditions of the compact, finally succeeded in obtaining power by a strictly sectional vote for

the accomplishment of all their schemes against the minority section.

In the second volume, as we learn by a review of some advance sheets sketched in the *Augusta Constitutionalist*, this investigation is still further prosecuted, and the facts of history unfolded so as to constitute a complete vindication of the Southern States, for the part they have acted. This contribution is all the more valuable because it is from the pen of a statesman who was never classed as a "Southern extremist," but the reverse.

Judging from the glimpse the *Constitutionalist* has afforded the public of the contents of the second volume, it would have been well for the fame of Mr Stephens and his reliability as an impartial historian if he had stopped here. He has been less accurate in stating the details of the Confederate States Government and describing the conduct of the War, than in tracing the responsibility of the conflict to its true source. He has committed several errors of fact which are scarcely excusable in one occupying his position, and who has undertaken to write for posterity. One of these errors has rendered necessary the publication of the following correspondence. It is the statement that President Davis "was responsible for the failure of the Confederate troops to advance after the victory of Manassas." The original of this correspondence has been in the possession of the writer since it occurred, and would probably have remained among the secret, hidden things of the Confederacy, if the story, often repeated by ambitious penny-a-liners and venal scribblers, had not found an enduring place in so imposing a work as the history of the War, by the Confederate States Vice-president.

Upon the point raised by Mr. Stephens, the following correspondence is conclusive. On the testimony of General J. E. Johnston, it is established that if the victory at Manassas was succeeded by a fatal blunder, as the historian intimates his belief, it was not attributable to President Davis.

The historical value of the correspondence is enhanced by its revelation of the real cause that prevented an advance of the Confederates, after their success at Manassas:—

[CORRESPONDENCE.]

"RICHMOND, VA., Nov. 3, 1861.

"General J. E. JOHNSTON,
"Commanding Department of the Potomac.

"SIR: Reports have been, and are being, widely circulated to the effect that I prevented General Beauregard from pursuing the enemy after the Battle of Manassas, and had subsequently restrained him from advancing upon Washington City. Though such statements

"may have been made merely for my injury, and, in that view, their notice might be postponed to a more convenient season, they have acquired importance from the fact that they have served to create distrust, to excite disappointment, and must embarrass the administration, in its further efforts to reinforce the Armies of the Potomac and generally to provide for the public defence. For these public considerations, I call upon you, as the Commanding General and as a party to all the conferences held by me, on the twenty-first and twenty-second of July, to say whether I obstructed the pursuit of the enemy, after the victory at Manassas, or have ever objected to an advance or other active operation which it was feasible for the Army to undertake?

"Very respectfully, Yours, &c.,

"JEFFERSON DAVIS."

"HEADQUARTERS, CENTREVILLE,

"Nov. 10, 1861.

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY, THE PRESIDENT:

"SIR: I have had the honor to receive your letter of the third, in which you call upon me as the Commanding General and as a party to all the conferences held by you, on the twenty-first and twenty-second of July, to say:

"Whether you obstructed the pursuit, after the victory of Manassas?

"Or have ever objected to an advance or other active operations which it was feasible for the Army to undertake?"

"To the first question I reply: No. The pursuit was 'obstructed' by the enemy's troops at Centreville, as I have stated in my official Report. In that Report, I have also said why no advance was made upon the enemy's Capital (for reasons) as follows:

"The apparent freshness of the United States troops, at Centreville, which checked our pursuit; the strong forces occupying the works, near Georgetown, Arlington and Alexandria: the certainty, too, that General Patterson, if needed, would reach Washington, with his Army of more than thirty thousand, sooner than we could; and the condition and inadequate means of the Army, in ammunition, provisions, and transportation, prevented any serious thoughts of advancing against the Capital.

"To the second question, I reply that it has never been feasible for the Army to advance further than it has done—to the line of Fairfax Court-house, with its advanced posts at Upton's, Munson's and Mason's-hills. After a conference, at Fairfax Court-house, with the three senior general officers, you announced it to be impracticable to give this Army the strength which those officers considered neces-

"easy to enable it to assume the offensive; upon which I drew it back to its present position.

"Most respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"J. E. JOHNSTON.

"A true copy—G. W. C. LEE,

"Col. and A. D. C."

MR. WEBSTER'S LAST LETTER.—The last letter Mr. Webster wrote was to President Fillmore, and is as follows:

"MONDAY MORNING, October 18, 1852.

"TO THE PRESIDENT.

"MY DEAR SIR: By the blessing of Providence, I have had another comparatively good night, the afternoon attack coming later and not lasting so long, and then an excellent sleep. At this hour (ten o'clock), I feel easy and strong, as if I could go into the Senate and make a speech! At one, I shall sink away: be obliged to go to bed at three: and go thro' the evening spasms. What all this is to come to, God only knows! My dear sir, I should love to pass my last moments of your administration with you, and around your council board. Let not this embarrass you. Consider my resignation as always before you, to be accepted any moment you please. I hope God, in his mercy, may preserve me; but his will be done! I have every thing right about me, and the weather is glorious. I do not read the newspapers; but my wife sometimes reads to me the contents of some of them. I fear things do not look very well for our side.

"Yours always truly.

"DANIEL WEBSTER."

REVOLUTIONARY SCRAP, 1778.—The following interesting document explains itself and indicates the spirit of the times. It was sent to General Sullivan; but whether the offer was accepted, we cannot say. That the spirit of "Young America" was rampant, in those days, in Exeter, and indeed New Hampshire, is evident from the history of the times; and if the same warm blood courses in the veins of the present generation, we have little to dread from the power of the oppressor.

"HAMPTON FALLS, April 12th, 1778.

"We severally Ingage if call'd by the Hon'ble Maj'r Gen'l Sullivan before the Close of the Ensuing Campaign, we will Immediately Repair to the quarters properly Equip'd for Battle, as volunteers from Exeter in New Hampshire.

"SAM'L FOLSOM,

"JOSEPH PEARSON,

"JAMES HACKETT,

"CALEB SANBORN,

"PETER COFFIN,

"NATH'L GIDDINGS,

"THOS. ODIORNE,

"JAMES THURSTON,

"ELIP'T GIDDINGS,

"JAMES MCCLURE,

"BENJ. LAMPSON,

"I swear I will go or

"send a better man.

"Esq'r PARKER, goes

"himself, or send a

"hand.

"WARD C. DEAR,

"SAM'L GILMAN."

—*Oliver Branch*, Feb. 11, 1854.

NEWPORT IN 1765—HOW THE SONS OF LIBERTY TREATED THE STAMP-MASTER.—I send you herewith a historic relic, consisting of a letter published by W. Almy, Esq., to Dr. Elisha Story, of Boston, and the song therein referred to, for publication. Dr. Story was then twenty-two years of age, prominent among the "Sons of Liberty," and a member of the "Diamond Club," which, in secret conclave, instituted and carried into effect the political movements of those days, on the part of the Colonies, in favor of their rights and liberties. He was one of the band selected to take possession of the tea ships and destroy the tea.

"NEWPORT, Thursday, August 29, 1765.

"MY WORTHY FRIEND.

"In my last, I promised to give you the particulars of our transactions here, concerning the Stamp affair, which I shall now endeavor to do. In the first place, I'll just inform you concerning Mr. Martin Howard, Jr., and Dr. Moffatt, who was hung in effigy with the Stamp Master. Mr. Howard and the Doctor, you must know, have made themselves busy with their pen (by all accounts) in writing against the Colonies and in favor of the Stamp Act, etc.

"On the morning of the twenty-seventh instant, between five and six, a mob assembled and erected a gallows, near the Town House, and then dispersed, and about ten o'clock re-assembled and took the effigies of the above men and the Stamp Master, and carried them up Thames street, and then up King-street, to the said gallows, where they were hung up by the neck, and suspended near fifteen feet in the air—and on the breast of the Stamp Master was this inscription: 'The Stamp Man,' and holding in his right hand the Stamp Act; and upon the breast of the Doctor was wrote, 'That infamous, miscreated, leering Jacobite, Dr. Moffatt'—in his left hand, was a folded letter, with this direction: 'To that Magazine of Knowledge, Dr. Moffatt, in Rhode Island,' and on the arm was wrote: 'If I had but received this letter from the Earl of Bute but one week sooner;' and upon a strip of paper, hanging out of his mouth, was wrote: 'It is too late, Martinus, to retract, for we are all

"'aground.' And upon Dr. Howard's breast was wrote: 'That Fawning, Insidious, Infamous Miscreant and Parricide, Martinus Scriblerius'—and upon his right arm was wrote 'The Only Filial Pen'—upon his left arm was wrote: 'Cursed Ambition and your cursed clan has ruined me'—and on the same arm, a little below, was this: 'What tho' I boast of Independence, Posterity will curse my memory; and upon one of the posts of the gallows was wrote: 'We have an hereditary, indefeasible right to a halter, you know;' and underneath that was a new song (made upon the occasion) which I have here enclosed—and upon the other post was wrote: 'That person who shall deface this public mark of resentment will be deemed an enemy to Liberty, and accordingly meet with proper chastisement.' About five o'clock, in the afternoon, they made a fire under the gallows, which consumed the effigies, gallows, and all, to ashes. I forgot to tell you that a boot hung over the Doctor's shoulder, with the devil peeping out of it, etc. After the effigies were burnt, the mob dispersed, and we thought it was all over; but, last night, they all mustered again, and first they went to Martin Howard's house, and broke every window in his house and everything they could come across; they also sawed down two trees that stood before the door, and brought them and stuck them up in two great guns which have been fixed at the bottom of the Parade, some years, as posts. When they found they had entirely demolished all the furniture and done what damage they could, they left the house and proceeded to Dr. Moffatt's, where they behaved much in the same manner. I can't say which came off the worst, for all the furniture of both houses were destroyed, partitions of both houses taken down, fences leveled with the ground, and all the liquors which were in both houses entirely lost.

"I must let you know that the Stamp Master has resigned.

"Yours, forever.
"W. ALMY."

IX.—NOTES.

"MADE THEMSELVES SCARCE."—This slang phrase has generally been considered of recent origin; but it is found in a letter of John Thurman, Jr., of New York, of the third of September, 1760. See HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for December, 1868, New Series, volume iv., page 284.

BOSTON.

DELTA.

ROBERT HARLEY, EARL OF OXFORD.—Hutchinson, in his *History of Massachusetts*, in a

Note to the statement that Sir Richard Onslow and Mr. Harley were competitors, in 1701, for the office of Speaker of the English House of Commons, says: "We have a tradition that Mr. Harley had some New England blood in him, his mother being a grand-daughter of Sir Richard Saltonstall."

By a reference to Bond's *Watertown*, p. 921, it will be seen that it was Harley's uncle, Thomas, and not his father, Sir Richard, who married Abigail, daughter of Richard Saltonstall, and grand-daughter of Sir Richard Saltonstall.

BOSTON.

DELTA.

THE TENTH MUSE.—In the title-page of the first edition of the poems of Mrs. Anne Bradstreet, the New England poetess, published at London, in 1650, she is called "*The Tenth Muse*." This title had before been given to a contemporary of Mrs. Bradstreet, who bore the same Christian name. In Book xi, Letter xvi., of "*Epistola Ho-Eliana*, or Familiar Letters, Domestic and Foreign," by James Howell, will be found some lines with this caption: "For the Admitting of Mrs. Ann King to be the Tenth Muse." Ann King was a daughter of Doctor John King, Bishop of London, and a sister of Bishop Henry King, the poet, an extract from whose poems, remarkable for containing one of the most beautiful images in Longfellow's *Psalm of Life*, is printed in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, First Series, volume ii., p. 89.

BOSTON.

DELTA.

STATESVILLE, N. C., IN 1802.

In the Journal of Lorenzo Dow, we find that his horse got disabled in Cumberland-county, Virginia; he came on to Danville, and fell in with a man leading a lame horse, which he was permitted to ride sixty miles; and he says: "So I came to Statesville, Iredell-county, North Carolina. My money being nearly all gone, I wanted to sell my watch; I got the watch low, at eighteen dollars, and wanted to sell it for nine dollars, if I could get supper and lodging, and breakfast. A watchmaker came in, and said it was a good one; so the innkeeper offered me nine dollars for it, or eight dollars and fifty cents, with supper, etc. I took the latter, and while I was asleep, the mistress of the house was so good or bad as to send all round the neighborhood, as I was informed, to notify the people that a horse-thief was at her house; and if they did not lock up their horses, must expect one to be gone before morning. Next day * * * I got a few together in the Court-house, and spoke—likewise at a Methodist-house, where I was thought an

"impostor. Having a letter, I went to where it was directed, and the man of the house happened not to be at home, which was well for me; so I got a meeting, and the people were so well satisfied, that I got liberty and an invitation to speak again.

"About the same time, Philip Bruce, an old preacher and Presiding Elder, came home from Virginia— * * * he heard of me, and charged his friends to beware of me; but, on hearing of my having related some of my past experience, he recollected of having heard of me before, and retracted his first charge and wished them to receive me if I came to their house, which was a means of opening my way. A day or two after, I fell in with him, and he treated me as I would wish to be received. * Here lived some who were called Presbyterians, which I called Presbyterian Methodists, or Methodist Presbyterians. *They had the life and power of religion.* They gave me thirty-three dollars, of their own accord, and eleven more were subscribed. James Sharpe took the money, and let me have a horse, and trusted me for the remainder, though he had no written obligation, and some said he would lose it. An opportunity presenting by a traveller, I sent on a chain of appointments towards Georgia. After holding several other meetings, in Iredell, I set off, and had meeting at Major McClaray's, Spartanburg, Enore, Abbeville C. H.; so to Petersburg, in Georgia, where I arrived on the second of February, 1803."

This erratic man came through here again, from the East, by Raleigh, where he says he spoke twice in the State House, about the first of February, 1804, "and proceeded to Iredell county, to the house of the man of whom I bought a horse when on my way from New England to Georgia. Some people mocked him for giving me credit, saying, 'You have lost your horse;' but now their mouths were shut, as I paid him his demand, although he had only my word."

The family to which Philip Bruce belonged, was a family that came from Virginia, about 1790, and settled above Liberty Hill, on the Cove Gap-road to Wilkesboro, near where Thomas M. Hill lives: the Claywell family came about the same time. This Philip Bruce was the first Methodist Minister in this part of the country; and the first Circuit Preacher was a Mr. Fletcher. In 1802, Reverend L. F. Wilson was Pastor of the Presbyterian-church, in Statesville; there was a great revival that year; and, in February, a great Camp-meeting was held, about three miles from Statesville, near the present Railroad to Salisbury, at a place called the "Matthews' Camp Ground," at which five thousand people were present.

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James Sharpe, who trusted Mr. Dow for the horse, was the son of Lawyer William Sharpe, and uncle of the late Hon. J. P. Caldwell: he lived in the house afterwards owned by the late Theophilus Falls; and stood on a part of the ground now occupied by the Simonton House.

It appears from Mr. Dow's preaching at the Court-house and at a Methodist house, that that denomination had no Church here, at that time.

STATESVILLE, N. C.

E. F. R.

GEORGE EVANS.—The following letter, sent to us by Hon. J. W. Bradbury, was read at a recent meeting of the Maine Historical Society.

The writer is the venerable ex-Chief Justice Weston, who will be eighty-eight years old next July. We have examined the letter with interest apart from the facts it contains, respecting the early struggles for education of one of the ablest men New England has ever produced, the Hon. George Evans, for the letter is a beautiful specimen of chirography for any one, and more remarkable when we recall the fact that it was written by a gentleman at the age of eighty-seven, without the aid of glasses. To this day, Judge Weston's eyesight is perfectly unimpaired; and, though a constant reader, he has never called in the aid of glasses to help his perfect vision.

HON. JAMES W. BRADBURY,

"DEAR SIR: In a conversation with you, some time ago, but since the decease of the Hon. George Evans, I communicated to you some facts in relation to that gentleman, which you recently desired me to furnish to you in writing.

"In consequence of this request, I now state, that, in October, 1811, I was appointed Chief-justice of the Circuit Court of Common Pleas, for the Second Eastern Circuit of Massachusetts.

"It becoming known that it had devolved on me to appoint a Crier for that Court, for the County of Kennebec, and the compensation to that officer being understood to be liberal, for the time and labor required, many candidates solicited the appointment.

"Among others, was Daniel Evans, the father of George. He stated to me that his son had been made ready for college; that he could not command the means necessary for his education there, but if appointed Crier, he should be enabled to effect the object. I knew the father to be a competent man for the office; and I knew the son to be a promising and hopeful youth. This decided me, and I appointed the father. The son was at once sent to Bowdoin College, where he graduated in 1815.

"I noticed his course with interest. He became distinguished, professionally, as a lawyer,

"and politically, as a Senator of the United States. His brilliant career gratified me. My patronage, in his behalf, was thus abundantly rewarded."

"AUGUSTA, ME.

NATHAN WESTON."

X.—QUERIES.

GENERAL BRADSTREET'S EXPEDITION.—Where can a copy of the Official Report of the expedition to Detroit, under General Bradstreet, in 1764, be found, or any account of the expedition in the newspapers of that day? A portion of the expedition was wrecked on Lake Erie, but at what point is not well settled; a field-piece and other war material have been recovered from an old wreck, some ten miles West of this place, which is supposed to be a part of Bradstreet's expedition.

Any information touching the expedition, is solicited by *The Western Reserve Historical Society*.

CLEVELAND.

M. B. SCOTT, Vice-Pres't.

WATTS'S LYRIC POEMS.—I have an edition of *Horæ Lyricæ: Poems chiefly of the Lyric Kind*, by Isaac Watts, D.D., printed by James Parker, at New York, in 1750, which contains two poems of interest to Americans, namely: a poem by Doctor Watts, "To His Excellency Jonathan Belcher, Esq., in London, appointed by His Majesty King George II. to the Government of New England, and now returning Home," dated the thirty-first of March, 1730; and some complimentary lines by the Reverend Mather Byles, "To the Reverend Doctor Watts, on his Divine Poems," dated "New England, Boston, March 15, 1727." Are they in any other edition of his Poems? I have seen the following editions of *Horæ Lyricæ*, namely: London, 1748; Philadelphia, 1781; Boston, 1790; Haverhill, Massachusetts, 1792; Windham, Connecticut, 1798; Newburyport, Massachusetts, 1803; and some later ones; but do not find either poem in any of them.

BOSTON.

DELTA.

NATHANIEL MORS, ENGRAVER.—The *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, for Thursday, the twenty-third of June, 1748, contains the following item:

"Last Friday died here Mr. Nathaniel Mors, an ingenious Engraver of this town, whose corpse was decently inter'd last Lord's-Day."

The same newspaper, for the fourteenth of July, following, contains the advertisement of

Sarah Mors, the widow and administratrix of Nathaniel.

What is known about this engraver?

BOSTON.

DELTA.

WAS MRS. ROBINSON A RELATIVE OF DOCTOR FRANKLIN?—An edition of *The Poetical Works of the late Mrs. Mary Robinson*, was published at London, in 1806, in three volumes. On page vi. of the preface, the following statement is made, which is worthy of preservation in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

"Mrs. Robinson is descended from a respectable and ancient Irish family. Her father, Mr. Darby, was nephew of the celebrated American, Doctor Franklin, by the marriage of Miss Hester Franklin with the grandfather of Mrs. Robinson."

This is evidently a mistake. Mr. Sparks, in the pedigree of the Franklin Family, printed on page 346 of his *Life of Benjamin Franklin*, gives the names of all the sisters of Doctor Franklin, and these agree with the pedigree, from the Doctor's own manuscript, contributed by William Bache, Esq., of Bristol, Pennsylvania, to *The Historical and Genealogical Register* for January, 1857. None of the sisters is named Hester, and none married a Mr. Darby.

Was there any relationship between Mrs. Robinson and Doctor Franklin?

BOSTON.

S. A. G.

THE COMPROMISE ACT OF 1832.—What is known of the origin of this Act and its real author?

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

W. H. P.

STOBO.—IN THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, I., i., 158, it is stated, on the authority of Rev. J. B. Ferland of Quebec, that "the whole proceedings in Stobo's case, have been recently found in Canada, with the intercepted letters containing his plans of the French forts and details of their garrisons, etc., as well as the investigation into his escape, which he effected by winning the good graces of the jailor's daughter. Washington's capitulation at Fort Necessity was found at the same time. All these papers are to be published by the Canadian Government." Were these papers published either by the Canadian Government or any other? If so, when, where, by whom, and under what title?

BROOKSVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

XI.—REPLIES.

MINOR PUBLICATIONS OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. (*H. M. H.* vi., 251.) We have waited for replies from our correspondents concerning the issues of the Maryland Society, about which, especially, there seems to be a great interest among Collectors, at the present time. Several have assured us that their collections are *complete*, and Mr. Boone recently sold a set as *complete*, none of which seem to be as full as our own. In order, therefore, to draw out the facts, we submit a list of the Society's publications which we have in our own library; and invite those who can add any titles to the list to do so.

1.—Publications by the Society, itself, bearing its imprint or seal.

- 1844. *Constitution, By-Laws, Charter, etc.*
C. F. Mayer's *First Discourse*.
- 1845. Latrobe's *Memoir of Benjamin Bannaker*.
Journal of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.
- .. Kennedy's *Discourse on the Life and Character of George Calvert*.
- 1846. Harris's *Discourse on the Life and Character of Sir Walter Raleigh*.
- 1847. Wynne's *Memoir of Major Samuel Ringgold*.
.. *A Relation of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore, etc.* Translated by N. C. Brooks.
- 1848. B. Mayer's *Discourse on Commerce, Literature and Art*.
.. *Catalogue of Paintings, Engravings, etc.* First Annual Exhibition.
- 1849. Harris's *Paper upon California*.
.. Donaldson's *Address on American Colonial History*.
.. *Catalogue of Paintings, Engravings, etc., etc.* Second Annual Exhibition.
- 1850. Brown's *Discourse on the Origin and Growth of Civil Liberty in Maryland*.
.. *Catalogue of Paintings, Engravings, etc., etc.* Third Annual Exhibition.
.. *Annual Report of the President and Committee of Fine Arts*.
- 1851. Tiffany's *Sketch of the Life and Services of Gen. Otho Holland Williams*.
.. Dodge's *Memorials of Columbus*.
.. B. Mayer's *Tah-gah-jute or Logan and Captain Michael Cresap*.
- 1852. Streeter's *Maryland, two hundred years ago*.
- 1853. Burnap's *Origin and Causes of Democracy in America*.

- .. *Catalogue of Paintings, Engravings, etc.* Fourth Exhibition.
 - 1854. Norris's *Sketch of the Life of Benjamin Bannaker*.
.. *African Slave-trade in Jamaica*.
.. *Catalogue of the Manuscripts, Maps, Medals, Coins, etc.*
.. *Annual Report of the President*.
 - 1855. Morris's *Martin Behaim*.
 - 1856. *Catalogue of Paintings, Engravings, etc., etc.*
 - 1858. Smith's *Memoir of the Baron de Kalb*.
.. *Catalogue of Paintings, Engravings, etc., etc.* Sixth Annual Exhibition.
.. *Annual Report of the President*.
 - 1862. Norris's *Early Friends (or Quakers) in Maryland*.
 - 1866. *The Maryland Historical Society and the Peabody Institute Trustees. A Report*.
.. Giles's *Annual Address*.
 - 1867. Mayer's *Memoir of Jared Sparks, J.L.D.*
.. *Constitution and By-laws*.
.. Mayer's *History, Possessions, and Prospects of the Maryland Historical Society*.
FUND-PUBLICATION, No. 1. *
 - 1867. Pinkney's *Memoir of John H. Alexander, LL.D.*
 - 1868. *Catalogue of Paintings. Seventh Exhibition*.
.. Streeter's *First Commander of Kent Island*. FUND-PUBLICATION, No. 2.
 - 1870. *Peabody Memorial*. FUND-PUBLICATION, No. 3.
- 2.—Not bearing the Society's imprint or seal, and evidently not published by the Society.
- 1848. Varnum's *Paper on The Seat of Government of the United States*.
 - 1853. *Buchanan's *Poem on Baltimore: or long, long time ago*.
 - 1857. *Davis's *Paper upon the origin of the Japan Expedition*. Published in 1860.

* Published, jointly, by the Maryland Historical Society, the Library Company, and the Mercantile Library Association.

* This tract contains what purports to be a *List of Publications of the Maryland Historical Society, commencing 20th June, 1844, and ending 1st June, 1867*; but, notwithstanding the official form of the publication, we are disposed to doubt its accuracy. Thus, the *Relation of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore*, published in 1847, was copied from a manuscript in the Society's archives; translated by one of its members, as such; and printed with no other imprint than the Society's official vignette, yet Colonel Mayer has not included it in his published list of the Society's publications. Nor has he included in that list, Mr. Varnum's very able paper, read before the Society, on *The Seat of Government of the United States*; although he has included therein, as "publications of the Maryland Historical Society," Mr. Buchanan's poem, entitled *Baltimore, long, long ago*, Mr. Davis's *Paper upon the origin of the Japan Expedition*, and Doctor Allen's *Who were the Early Settlers of Maryland*, all of which, like Mr. Varnum's tract, severally bear on their face the evidence that they were not published by the Society nor under its direction, but as individual ventures, by the gentlemen who respectively wrote them.

1865. *Allen's Paper on *Who were the Early Settlers of Maryland?* Published in 1866.

As we have elsewhere stated, the three tracts which we have distinguished by asterisks appear to have been erroneously designated, by the President of the Society, as publications of the Society, while he has excluded from his list the first-named, which is quite as much so as the others. As none of them were printed either by the Society's order or with its imprint or vignette, we exclude all, in like manner as the first of them was excluded by the distinguished President.

We notice, too, that the paper of Mr. Streeter, on the Argentine Republic, which was published in *The North American Review*, is particularly noticed by the President: if it was not agreeable to him to mention the additional fact that *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* for March, 1857, contains Mr. Streeter's paper on *The Fall of the Susquehannocks*, and that for February, 1858, contains the same gentleman's *Sketch of the Early Currency of Maryland and Virginia*, both of them having been read before the Society, we will relieve him of that unpleasant duty by mentioning it ourselves. Those who desire to see them will find them, there.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

II. B. D.

RISE OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN MARYLAND. [H. M. II., iii, 82.]—I had an opportunity, to-day, of looking into some of the past numbers of your very interesting HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. Turning to the numbers relating to Maryland, the first that attracted my attention was that relating to the forming of the early Church there, in early times, in the February number of 1868 (p. 82), by E. D. N. It speaks of the Reverend John Yeo. Will you allow me to add that, after the accusation brought against him, in Delaware, in 1680, and his clearing himself, he removed to Baltimore-county, Maryland, as the papers in the State Archives show us, and settled near Joppa, the then County-seat of that County, having charge of three Congregations—at Back-river, at the Gunpowder, and at Bush-river? There he died, in 1686, leaving a son, who was sent to England, for his education; one daughter, who married a Gilson; and another, who married a Garretson—names very prominent in that neighborhood, and still are so.

Mr. N. states, apparently on the authority of Mrs. Taney, that there was neither Church nor regular Clergyman of the Church of England, in the Province, when Mr. Yeo left. How does this agree with Mr. Yeo's statement, in his letter, that there were three besides himself, and Lord Balti-

more's, that there were then four, well provided for? See Anderson's *Colonial History*.

BALTIMORE, MD.

E. A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, (H. M. II. vi, 251).—"DICK" asks to be favored "with a Bibliography of the Minor 'issues of the several Historical Societies.'"

As this information, in regard to *all the issues* of the different Historical Societies, will be of interest, if not of value, to collectors of books in this line, I propose to make a contribution to your pages, in reference to the Virginia Historical Society, the publications of which, though very meagre, yet possess an interest unsurpassed by any other similar publications.

The Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society was organized on the twenty-ninth of December, 1831. In consequence of the prevalence of Asiatic Cholera, in 1832, the efforts to effect a permanent organization were not very successful; and the first Anniversary Meeting was not held until the fourth of February, 1833, on which occasion an Address was delivered by Jonathan P. Cushing, A. M., President of Hampden Sydney College; and the first publication had for its title, *Collections of the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society, Volume I. Richmond: 1833*. This is an octavo pamphlet, containing a Preface; the Constitution of the Society; Mr. Cushing's Address; Memoir of Indian Names, by Colonel Stuart, of Greenbrier-county; Record of Grace Sherwood's Trial for Witchcraft, in 1705, in Princess Anne-county, Virginia; List of Donations; and Roll of Members. pp. 87.

Under its first organization, the Society did not achieve much success. It was granted a Charter by the Legislature of Virginia, in 1834; but we have no printed record of its proceedings for thirteen years. A reorganization was perfected in 1847; and arrangements were made for an annual meeting and the publication of a volume, to be the first of a series, to be called the *Annals of Virginia*.

In January, 1848, the first number of a quarterly journal, styled the *Virginia Historical Register and Literary Advertiser*, was published by William Maxwell, the "Secretary and General 'Agent of the Society.'" This was accepted as the organ of the Society; and the first number contains an account of the Annual Meeting of the Society, on the sixteenth of December, 1847.

The work was continued for six years. Each volume contains about two hundred and twenty-two pages, besides reprints of the proceedings of the Historical Society. There is a great deal of interesting information, invaluable to the historian and antiquarian, and not to be found

anywhere else. The first two volumes, for 1848 and '9, have on their title-pages, *The Virginia Historical Register and Literary Advertiser*, edited by William Maxwell; those for 1850 and '51 have the same title, save that the word "Advertiser" is omitted and "Note-Book" inserted; and those for 1852 and '53 have the word "Companion" instead of "Note Book."

These volumes, however, although containing full accounts of the Proceedings and Donations, and much of the Collections, do not represent all that was done by the Society. In August, 1848, the first volume of the *Annals* was published. The title reads: *An account of Discoveries in the West, until 1519, and of Voyages to and along the Atlantic Coast of North America, from 1520 to 1573, prepared for the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society, by Conway Robinson, Chairman of its Executive Committee, and Published by the Society. Richmond: Printed by Sheppard and Colin, 1848. Octavo, pp. xv and 491.* This volume was prepared with great care; and forms a valuable contribution to American history. In 1851, the Society published *An Address on the Life and Character of the late Benjamin Watkins Leigh*, by William H. Macfarland, pp. 12; and, in 1852, *The Virginia Constitution of 1776: A Discourse delivered before the Virginia Historical Society, by H. A. Washington.*

After the publication of the *Register* terminated, as above stated, with the year 1853, the Executive Committee of the Society issued a pamphlet called the *Virginia Historical Reporter*. Volume I., 1854, contains the proceedings of the Society, at its seventh annual meeting, with Reports of the Committee and an Address, by Hugh Blair Grigsy, Esq., on *The Virginia Convention of 1829-30*; and other matters. Pp. 116. The next issue was by the same title, Vol. I. Part II., 1855. It contained the proceedings of the eighth annual meeting and an Address by Honorable R. M. T. Hunter—*Observations on the History of Virginia*. 48. pp. Vol. I, Part III., 1856, of the same, contains proceedings of the ninth annual meeting, Constitution of the Society, and an Address by James P. Holcombe, sketches of the Writings issued and containing the Resolutions. Pp. 63. There is then an interval in the series for several years, the next issue being the *Reporter*, Vol. II., Part I, 1860, which contains the tenth, eleventh and twelfth Annual Meetings, 1857, '58 and '59, with an Address on *The Virginia Colony*, by George F. Holmes, and a paper on *The Date of the Marriage of Pocahontas*, which was read at a Called Meeting of the Society, on the nineteenth of January, 1860, by Wyndham Robertson. Pp. 87.

This is the last publication made by the So-

ciety; but by an arrangement made with Mr. Charles B. Richardson, of New York, he was allowed the use of the MS. Diaries of General Washington, for publication, upon condition of furnishing the Society with one hundred copies; and the work was issued, the copies for the Society having on their title-page, *The Diary of George Washington from 1789 to 1791, embracing the opening of the first Congress and his Tours through New England, Long Island, and the Southern States, together with his Journal of a Tour to the Ohio, in 1753. Edited by Benson J. Lossing. Richmond: Press of the Historical Society, 1861. Pp. 248.*

The symptoms of the approaching struggle between the North and South, monopolizing the thoughts of our people, to the exclusion of every thing else, the Society suffered the neglect which befell all similar institutions in the South; and nothing more was done until recently. Efforts are now being made to revive the Society; and we may hope soon to see a resumption of its publications.

The above includes a complete list of everything published by or under the auspices of the Virginia Historical Society. For some reason that cannot be ascertained now, but few numbers of the *Reporter* was issued in form above named. The Addresses of Messrs. Grigsy, Hunter, Holcomb and Holmes were published in separate pamphlets, without any other matter, or anything to indicate their connection with the *Reporter*. There is considerable uniformity in the size of the whole of these works, but not sufficient to gratify the fastidious book collector. The *Early Voyages and Washington Diary* are bound in cloth; and the former is a quarter of an inch taller than the latter. Some few copies of the *Register* are a little shorter than the *Diary*; but a majority were cut much smaller before being issued. The *Collections*, of 1833, Washington's Address, and *Reporter* Vol. I, Part I, and Vol. I, Part II, are full size; but the rest of them are much smaller, one more than an inch in height and half an inch in width—there are no exceptions to the last named. The members of the Society being scattered over the area of a large State, and the organization for the management of details not being very complete, the distribution of the *Register* and *Reporter* was not made to a great many members; and of the large number left in the hands of the Librarian, nearly the whole were destroyed by fire, at the evacuation of Richmond, and they are thus rendered quite scarce, and are not so well known as they should be. The readers of any historical works relating to Virginia, issued since 1853, will find constant reference to the pages of the *Register*;

and it would be an acceptable addition to the historical literature of the day, if some one would republish them.

RICHMOND, VA.

T. H. W.

XII.—BOOKS.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

(Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 651 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.)

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*Grammar of the Choctaw Language*, by the Rev. Cyrus Byington. Edited from the original MSS. in the Library of the American Philosophical Society. By D. G. Brinton, M.D. Philadelphia: 1876. Octavo, pp. 84.

The author of this Grammar was a native of Berkshire, in Massachusetts; a missionary, of nearly fifty years standing, among the Choctaws; and one of the most accomplished scholars in the limited literature of that Nation.

In 1834, after a careful survey and study of the subject, Mr. Byington wrote a Grammar of the language, which has remained unpublished to this day; and five times that Grammar has been carefully revised, and a sixth revision was in progress when, in 1868, death arrested his labors.

The difficulties which the author necessarily encountered, in breaking this new ground in aboriginal philology and in reducing it into a system, will be clearly understood by every one who has worked in a similar field and encountered the tangled and stubborn results of an hitherto undisturbed reign of nature, in that vicinity; and if there are some imperfections in the work, it will nevertheless be valued as "one of the most valuable, original, and instructive of any ever written of an American language."

The copy before us is taken from the MSS. in the Library of the American Philosophical Society; and it has been carried through the press by Doctor Brinton, whose qualifications for the discharge of such a duty are too well known and too widely recognized to need any description in this place.

To the philologist, the ethnologist, and the student of aboriginal literature, this tract will be very welcome; while its typographical beauty and its novelty will secure for it, every where, a curious interest, beyond that enjoyed by many others, of the same class of publications.

2.—*Biographical Notice of Peter Wraxall, Secretary of Indian Affairs for the Provinces of New York, and of the First Provincial Congress, held in Albany, in 1754; Aid-*

de-Camp to Sir William Johnson during the Crown Point Expedition of 1755; etc. [Communicated to the Albany Institute, April 16, 1894, and May 31, 1870.] By Daniel J. Pratt. *Sine loco, sine anno.* Octavo, pp. 7.

Peter Wraxall was one of those officers whom the King of Great Britain saddled on the Colonists in New York, and against whose intrusion those Colonists, through their chosen representatives, solemnly "declared," in their concurrence with the *Declaration* of the other twelve Colonies, on the ninth of July, 1776; and pretty much all that the diligence of the zealous author of this tract has discovered concerning him is, that, about 1746, he appeared in New York, as a retainer of the Government; that he obtained leave to return to England, in 1747, probably to seek promotion; that, five years after, he appeared a second time, with a Royal Mandamus, securing to him the office of Secretary of Indian Affairs in New York, and three other local offices in Albany; that he did not secure the latter; that he was the Secretary of the Provincial Congress of 1754—the result, it may be, of his peculiar ability to render "the very best service in that capacity," if not of his peculiar willingness to secure the advantages of that position, in securing the favor of the controlling men of the several Colonies—that, as an *attache* of Sir William Johnson, in the Indian Department, he naturally became an *attache* of that gentleman, when he became a soldier; that he married Miss Stillwell; and that he died, leaving the draft of an undated and unsigned Will, a widow, and a small property.

Mr. Wraxall was fortunate in having secured so energetic and so excellent a biographer, especially in view of the fact that so little is known concerning either him or his services.

There is nothing remarkable in the typography of the tract.

3.—*An Address delivered before the Worcester Lyceum and Natural History Association, May 17th, 1870.* By Nathaniel Palma, President of the Association. Worcester: 1870. Small octavo, pp. 23.

The City of Worcester is favored, as Boston and New Bedford are, with an excellent Public Library; and in this little volume we have the history of the separate beginnings which, when united, resulted in the establishment of that well-managed and useful institution and of this Lyceum.

We have read this narrative—which seems to be the Inaugural Address of our friend, the President of the Lyceum—with great pleasure; and, inasmuch as it traces the rise, and progress, and end of several of the institutions in that Town and County, which were successively organized for the intellectual improvement

of the inhabitants—the Public Library and the Lyceum alone remaining to afford evidence of their temporary existence and of their short-lived usefulness, each in its turn—we cannot regard this little volume otherwise than as a most important contribution to the local history of Worcester.

It is a "private-print," twenty-five copies only having been struck off, for the use of its author—the copy before us being "No. 14," of the edition.

4.—*Third Re-union of the Society of the Army of the Cumberland, held at Indianapolis, 1866.* Published by Order of the Society. Cincinnati: 1870. Octavo, pp. viii, unpagged, 188.

We have been favored by our excellent friends, Messrs. Robert Clarke & Co., of Cincinnati, with a copy of this elegant volume, which will most appropriately serve as a memorial of the third of the re-unions of the veterans of the noble Army of the Cumberland.

Such a volume, intended for such a purpose, must not be expected to afford much material for history; yet there is one little speech of General Rosecrans—"old Rosey"—which is packed with such material. There is no one, unless General Rosecrans himself, who can safely write of General Thomas, either as a soldier or a "white man," nor of the Army of the Cumberland and its exploits, without consulting that little speech; and we have pleasure, therefore, in calling attention to it.

It is always refreshing to see the beautiful specimens of the handiwork of Messrs. Clarke and Co's workmen and of that firm's liberality as employing printers, which are so often laid before us. Such books are an honor to those who make them; and if they cannot work an improvement in the taste of Western book-buyers, the West is past improvement.

This volume was "not printed for sale."

5.—*Historic and Antiquarian Scenes in Brooklyn and its Vicinity, with Illustrations of some of its antiquities.* By T. W. Field. Brooklyn: 1868. Quarto, pp. viii, 94.

In this handsome volume, the first of a promised series on the same general subject, Mr. Field has presented thirteen distinct historical papers, illustrated with eleven lithographic prints and a map. These papers, we believe, are entirely from the pen of Mr. Field; and he tells his readers, with commendable snap, that all except three of the illustrations were engraved from sketches made by himself; loaned by him to the Park Commissioners and Common Council, for the illustration of volumes issued by those bodies; evidently used by them without due credit; and now "reclaimed" by

their author and owner.

We are not prepared to admit *all* that our friend, Mr. Field, has said in all these papers—indeed, we are disposed to doubt their accuracy, in some instances—yet there is enough in them to entitle them to the respect of every antiquary and their author to the earnest thanks of his readers. We hope he will be mindful of his promise to continue his labors, in this field, in order that every fragment may be saved, and not a particle lost, of all that has come down to us, traditionally, from the Past. We have no fear of the evils of traditional annals, while the truth is left untrammelled, in the hands of honest and earnest men, to oppose them.

Mr. Field has very much to say, very confidently, concerning General Woodhull's last days and concerning the movements of the Royal troops, immediately preceding the Battle of Long Island; yet, we fancy it would require very little trouble to overthrow the greater part of it, by comparing those statements with the unquestionable authorities, in our adjoining room, which every student willingly honors. So, too, about the De Sille house, at New Utrecht, to which the first paper in this volume is devoted—how does Mr. Field know that De Sille ever built the house which is herein described, or even ever saw it? We have an original sketch of the Yellow Mill, drawn from the Mill itself, by one of New York's best-known artists of that period, which is as unlike Mr. Field's picture as it is unlike the City Mills, at the Ferry—shall we credit Mr. Field's or our own? So, too, if our memory serves us faithfully—and we write from memory only, without turning to our books—the Lefferts house has other chronicles than those which Mr. Field has presented. But we need go no further.

The volume is a very handsome one, except in size—it is too large—and was printed for private circulation only. The verso of the title-page indicates the edition as one of one hundred and ten copies; but Mr. Field informs us that only ninety-nine were really perfected.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

6.—*Franklin Society Publications. II. Early Newspapers in Illinois: Read before the Franklin Society of the City of Chicago.* By Henry R. Boss. January 30, 1870. Chicago: The Franklin Society. 1870. Quarto, pp. 48.

We have already referred to the first of the Society's publications; and the second is before us—as good-looking as the last, and not less valuable.

Our old time friend, Mr. Boss, has certainly discharged an important duty in the prepara-

tion of this work—a history of the early days of the Newspaper press of Illinois—and we trust he will live, many years, to enjoy the honor to which he is justly entitled, for having conceived and carried out so useful a work.

Commencing with a careful examination of the already vexed question of the establishment of the *first* newspaper within the limits of the present State of Illinois, he proceeds to notice, successively, the origin and history of the first three of the pioneer sheets which appeared there; and then, County by County, he glances at the subsequent crops of newspapers, each playing its little part in the great drama of "life in the West," which have risen, and flourished, and passed away, in that important member of the sisterhood of States. All this he does, too, without any parade of flashy rhetoric or questionable philosophy; dealing in facts and figures only; and indicating clearly, not only his sense of the high character of his undertaking, but his views concerning the way in which he should carry it out, within the limits assigned to him by the Society.

We do not see wherein, under the circumstances, the work could have been better done; and we earnestly congratulate our friend on having secured so great a success in so useful a service.

The typography of the work is very beautiful; but the size of the paper makes it inconvenient for preservation.

1.—*The Fire Lands Pioneer*: Published by the Fire Lands Historical Society, at their Rooms in Whitesey Building, Norwalk, Ohio. Vol. X. June, 1870. Sandusky, Ohio: Register Office. 1870. Octavo, pp. 119. Price 50 cents.

This is another excellent work of the same class as that, by Mr. Boss, which we have just noticed—a record of the early history of a portion of the mighty West—and as it has quietly taken its place on our book shelves, year after year, for ten years past, we have learned its importance, as material for future workmen in that ripening field of labor, and treasured it.

The West has been engaged, hitherto, in other occupations than writing history: it has not, until very recently, even cared about the preservation of its own records. It is to be considered, therefore, even to-day, in connection with historical literature, as a mere wilderness, with here and there an opening, where some hardy pioneer, such as, among others, Doctor Drake, and Lyman C. Draper, and I. H. Lapham, and Charles I. Cist, and Robert Clarke, and Henry R. Boss, and Isaac Smucker, and E. D. Mansfield, each in his own field of labor, has let in, through its dense overgrowth, the sun-shine and the shower; and, for this reason, such works as this may

reasonably be welcomed by every thoughtful man who can understand their importance to those who shall follow us. They preserve, indeed, the principal, very often the only, records of the details of the westward march of empire and the establishment of its power, beyond the mountains; and the preparation and publication of them are among the first-fruits of the progress of another civilization, differing in character from that which, in the persons and doings of the generation which is now rapidly disappearing from the homes which they reared and the Commonwealths which they constituted in that portion of our country, preceded and prepared the way for it.

The volume before us opens with the record of the Society's meetings at Norwalk, Groton, Sandusky, Monroeville, and New London, all in Ohio; and these are followed by biographical sketches of early settlers in that State, historical addresses, devoted to "pioneer history," personal reminiscences of those who led the way in western settlement, obituary notices of those who have recently deceased, etc.; and it closes with indices of the contents of the last three volumes of the work, which are intended to be bound together.

It makes no pretension to beauty of typography; but the importance of its contents will ensure it a welcome in many a library and household.

8.—*A discourse on the Life, Character, and Writings of Gulian Crommelin Verplanck*, delivered before the New-York Historical Society, May 17th, 1870, by William Cullen Bryant. New York: Printed for the Society. MDCCCLXX. Octavo, pp. 60.

In this beautiful pamphlet, Mr. Bryant has presented to the world his recollections of the venerable Gulian C. Verplanck—the friend of Paulding, Irving, Sands, and Kemble; the accomplished belles lettres scholar, acute lawyer, and genial gentleman; the earnest free-trader, the intelligent Democrat, the honest "Copper-head."

It is more than ordinarily historical in its character; and, scattered throughout its pages, are some very interesting statements, which, if true, are historically and politically important. These will cause the tract to be referred to, as an authority, more than is usual in such cases; and, while, in the absence of competent testimony, we are not prepared either to admit or deny much that Mr. Bryant has said therein, our own incredulity is strengthened, generally, by his unwarranted assertion that, in 1786, when Verplanck was born, "a little beyond Wall-street, a few rods only, lay the island of New York in all its original beauty, so that it was but a step from 'Wall-street to the country;' and if he had

specified just *where* and *when* that celebrated thoroughfare, during Verplanck's boyhood, could truly have been said to be "full of dwelling-houses, with *here* and *there* a church, which "has long since disappeared," we might have looked on some other statements, made therein, with more confidence than we can now look on them.

Mr. Bryant is said to an excellent poet, and he is said to edit *The Evening Post* with ability; but when he addresses a Historical Society, on matters of History, he should employ facts rather than rhetoric; and his editorial carelessness, too often employed in the *sanctum*, should never have thus disfigured such an address, on such a subject, before such an audience.

As we have said, the pamphlet is a handsome one.

9.—*Memorial Address on the Life and Services of Rev. Pious H. White*, pronounced before the Vermont Historical Society, in the Representatives' Hall, Montpelier, Tuesday Eve., Oct. 19, 1869, by Henry Clarke, Rutland. Montpelier: 1869. Octavo, pp. 15.

In our February number, we alluded to this Address, while we were noticing the published record of the Society's proceedings, of which it formed a part; and we have only, therefore, in this place, to allude to its publication in this form, in order that Collectors, who are interested in such matters, may be made aware of its appearance.

10.—*Review of Annual Report of the Shepherd's Fold, by the test of truth*. New York: 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 46.

One side of a quarrel, among some who profess to be Christians, concerning the management, by those who profess to be Christians, of an institution which seeks to be considered as Christian in its character.

From such Christians, "Good Lord deliver us."

11.—*Proceedings at the Installation of the Rev. John Murray Forbes, D.D., as Dean of the General Theological Seminary*, at the Church of the Transfiguration, on the Feast of St. Matthias, Thursday, February 24, 1870. Published by order of the Standing Committee. New York: 1870. Octavo, pp. 46.

We remember Mr. Forbes when he was the respected Rector of the *Episcopal* Church of St. Luke, in Hudson-street: we remember him when he was the Parish Priest, or its equivalent, in the *Roman Catholic* Church of St. Ann, opposite La Fayette Place, in Eighth-street: we meet him, in this pamphlet, as the Dean, controlling the destinies, of the *Protestant Episcopal* Seminary and giving tone to its teachings.

His Address indicates, very clearly, what Mr.

Forbes is, to-day: it indicates, too, what, without much change, he may be, to-morrow: it does not indicate what, with equal facility and as little regret, he may or may not be, next week. The call of such a man, to such a situation, with the control of such an influence, it seems to us, is a dangerous experiment; but it concerns others more than it concerns us.

The pamphlet is a handsome one!

12.—*Annual Register Massachusetts Commandery Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States*. Compiled by James H. Bell, Recorder. City of Boston: May, 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 36.

The latest publication of the Massachusetts branch of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States—a body which, if we understand its character correctly, is as much more anti-republican in its teachings and tendencies than was the Order of the Cincinnati, of which General Washington was the head, as that Society was more so than the great body of the inhabitants of the several States, in the day when its ribbons and badges were displayed in the streets, on the coats of its members. The Cincinnati was so far obnoxious, in the best days of the Republic, because of its anti-republican tendencies, that it was promptly abandoned by its best members; and, with a shadowy exception, here and there, it has ceased to exist: how much more obnoxious to the spirit of the Constitution and to the institutions of the Republic, is this body, with its extreme anti-republicanism and its ridiculous display of ignorance of the fundamental laws which demand obedience both to the Commonwealth and the Confederacy?

We beg to suggest, respectfully, to the honest and earnest men whose names are enrolled in this organization, to read the frame of Government of the venerable Commonwealth of which they are generally members,—a document which was written by John Adams—and to compare that instrument and its teachings with the little volume before us and its teachings, and to answer to their own consciences, as honest men, which of the two demands their first homage and to which of the two they will render it.

The tract is fairly printed.

C.—OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

13.—*Seventh Biennial Report of the Board of Curators of the Iowa State Historical Society for the biennial period ending December 1, 1869, to the Governor of Iowa*. Des Moines: F. M. Mills, State Printer. 1870. Octavo, pp. 14.

In several of the Western States, the Historical Societies are State Institutions, nearly, if not wholly, disregarding the Voluntary Principles.

ple, and levying a support on the productive energies of the Peoples among whom they rest, through the tax-gatherer. They are, therefore, dependents on legislative good-will; subject to legislative caprice; and, sometimes, held in check by legislative and executive caution or prejudices.

The Iowa Society is one of that class; and the Report before us is the biennial Report which, as a State Institution, it is required to make to the Executive.

The receipts of the Society, during the two years, were about seventy-three hundred dollars, of which seven thousand were from the State Treasurer; it has two thousand volumes and thirty-six hundred tracts on its shelves, exclusive of nearly eleven hundred volumes of newspapers—by far the most important part of its collection; and its exchanges of State Documents are far and wide—indeed, it does not seem to have expended a dollar for books, during the past two years; and so has done little for the encouragement of historical literature.

We have grave doubts concerning this line of polity. We recognize the usefulness of the Society's service as a collector of newspapers; and there our knowledge of its usefulness ends—indeed, we are not quite sure that even that service might not be done quite as well by the State Librarian, directly, as by a nominal Society which is, in fact, only a bureau of the Executive Department.

As a distributor of State publications and as a publisher of a quarterly periodical, it seems to be unnecessary, as a State Institution, supported by State tax, since its machinery is too costly for such a purpose; and we do not believe that among the legitimate purposes of taxation, even in Iowa, is the expense of editing and printing a quarterly magazine on any subject.

If the State of Iowa is desirous of making an effort to encourage *historical* enquiries, it is well; but she is not expending her money to the best advantage, for such a purpose, in the plan she is now pursuing.

14.—*Preliminary Field Report of the United States Geological Survey of Colorado and New Mexico*, conducted under the authority of Hon. J. D. Cox, Secretary of the Interior, by F. V. Hayden, U. S. Geologist. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1880. Octavo, pp. 155.

We refer to this document in order to bring it to the notice of such of our readers as collect works of this class.

It is a well-written Report of a careful survey of various portions of Colorado and New Mexico; and it will amply repay those who shall devote time to a perusal of it.

D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

15.—*History of Rome*, by Theodor Mommsen. Translated, with the Author's sanction and additions, by Rev. William F. Dickson, D.D. With a preface by Dr. Leonhard Schmitt. New Edition, in four volumes. Volume III. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Crown octavo, pp. 571. Price \$ 2.00.

The high character of this work and the range of enquiry which it embraces, are so well known to our readers, that nothing remains for us to do but to announce this appearance of a new volume—the last but one of the series—in the same neat style which distinguishes the preceding volumes.

16.—*A particular history of the Five Years French and Indian War in New England and Parts Adjacent, from its Declaration by the King of France, March 15, 1744, to the treaty with the Eastern Indians, Oct. 16, 1749, sometimes called Governor Shirley's War*. With a Memoir of Major-general Shirley, accompanied by his portrait and other engravings. By Samuel G. Drake. Albany: Joel Munsell, 1870. Small quarto, pp. 312.

The venerable author of this work is so well known, as one of the best-informed and most pains-taking of American historians, that a new volume from his pen will be widely welcomed; and whatever he sets his hand to and becomes personally responsible for, may be relied on as good.

The character of the handsome work now before us will be seen on its title-page, copied above; and it only remains for us to say of it, in this place, that it is exceedingly minute in its descriptions and very complete, in all its parts. It is, besides, very handsome, as a specimen of book-making.

17.—*History of the Virginia Company of London*, with Letters to and from the First Colony never before printed. By Edward D. Neill. Albany, N. Y.; Joel Munsell. 1869. Small Quarto, pp. xvi, 482.

The manuscript *Transactions of the Virginia Company of London* are in the Library of the Congress, unpublished, notwithstanding the efforts which were made to secure their publication, many years ago, by J. Wingate Thornton, Esqr. of Boston, and, more recently, by Rev. E. D. Neill, of Washington.

The want of success, in these attempts, have led to a publication, by Mr. Neill, of a history of that Company, based on the manuscript referred to; and, in the handsome volume before us, we have that history, as the learned author has presented it to the world.

A *Preface* narrates the history of the venerable manuscript, the process by which it has been preserved, and its character. It refers to the excitement which Gosnold's voyage produced in England; and contains a good *Bibliotheca Virginiana*, which will be very convenient for reference. The text of the *History* begins with the first

Charter, obtained in 1606, and ends with the dissolution of the Company, in 1624.

The great importance of the subjects introduced into this narrative will be apparent to every one; but to the student of the history of Colonization in America, this volume, in the absence of the *Transactions of the Virginia Company*, will be indispensable. Mr. Neill has, therefore, done good service in thus placing the facts within reach of those who need them; and we have pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to the work.

The volume is a very handsome one.

18.—*A History of the City of Brooklyn. Including the old town and village of Brooklyn, the town of Bushwick, and the village and city of Williamsburgh.* By Henry R. Stiles. Vol. III. Brooklyn, N. Y.: Published by Subscription. 1870. Octavo, pp. viii, 501—563.

We have already noticed the first and second volumes of this work; and we have pleasure in congratulating our respected friend on the appearance of the third, which completes it.

In this volume, the industrious author gives, first, the history of what he calls the history of "the consolidated city of Brooklyn," from 1860 until now; and, as a matter of course, it has nothing to do with antiquities, in any form, in that portion of it. Next, the Ferries, Railroads, Docks and Commerce, Manufactures, Water and Drainage, Fire Department, Boards of Health, Public Parks and Cemeteries, Churches and Mission Schools, Hospitals and Asylums, Schools, Libraries, Public Amusements, Newspaper Press, Public Institutions, Navy Yard, Post-offices, and Militia, successively receive careful notice; and two elaborate Indices close the work.

As a local work, required great labor in its preparation and depending largely on local support, it is not to be expected that it is, in every respect, dispassionate or strictly accurate; yet it is as nearly so as, under the circumstances, may reasonably be hoped for. The chapter on the Ferries, for instance, is tinged with Brooklyn's prejudices, and reflects too little credit on the author's independence as a reliable historian; while that on the Militia, and some others, seem to indicate a forgetfulness in the author that any other place exists in this State, except Brooklyn.

The volume is very beautifully printed, by Munsell of Albany.

19.—*The American Printer: A Manual of Typography: containing complete instructions for beginners, as well as Practical Directions for Managing all Departments of a Printing Office. With several useful Tables, Schemes for imposing forms in every variety, Hints to Authors and Publishers, etc.* By Thomas Macrellar. Philadelphia: Macrellar, Smith, & Jordan. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. x, 5—326.

We have received from our respected friend the author—the head of the well-known firm which publishes it—a copy of the last edition of

this work, so widely and so favorably known among printers; and we refer to it with the greater pleasure, since it is at once so complete, as a manual of the art, and so beautiful, as a mere specimen of book-making.

But there are others than occupants of printing-offices unto whom this volume may render good service; and for the benefit of these we would call attention to it.

It is, as we have said, a beautiful specimen of book-making; and may honorably find a place on any book-shelf.

20.—*A Primary History of the United States. For Schools and Families.* By Benson J. Lossing. Illustrated with numerous engravings. A New Edition, including a history of the Great Rebellion. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 323.

A Grammar School History of the United States, from the discovery of America to the present time. By Benson J. Lossing. Illustrated by Maps and Engravings. [New York:] Mason Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 336.

A Common-School History of the United States; from the earliest period to the present time. By Benson J. Lossing. Illustrated by Maps, and over 300 other engravings. [New York:] Mason Bros. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 333.

Those who undertake to instruct the rising generation undertake a duty of the utmost importance; and the utmost caution should be exercised, therefore, in the selection of both the teacher and the text-books employed. The reason for this will be obvious; and we honor those parents and guardians, no matter who they are, who sedulously guard the avenues which lead to the minds of their children and faithfully exclude therefrom even the creeping-things of what they conceive to be error. There can be no compromise on this subject, without criminality. There can be no dalliance with Falsehood, without danger—

"We first endure, then *pity*, then EMBRACE"—

and that creature is a philanthropist who shall give a serpent, as a plaything, to a laughing infant, in its cradle, when compared with that other creature—we can give it no specific name—who, while knowing what the Truth is, shall disregard it and poison the minds of the inquiring young people of any country, with what it knows to be Falsehood. The youth of to-day will very soon be the controlling authority of the world and the parents, guardians, and instructors of generations yet unborn—of generations, too, which, if improperly taught, will revel, unwittingly, in error and crime.

We have been led to make these remarks by the result of a pretty close examination of the series of School Histories which are named at the head of this notice. Mr. Lossing is an old personal friend of ourself; and when we say that, in these volumes, he has written what he must know is wholly and unequivocally untrue, positively pernicious, and tending only to evil.

we speak understandingly and without fear of successful contradiction.

Mr. Lossing possesses the means to write truthfully, but he has failed to employ them or to regard their teachings. He was a writer of History when we only read it; and his zeal served, not a little, in our young manhood, to turn our attention to, and enlist our sympathies in, the great subject of his then earnest investigations. While he rode, triumphantly, to honor and affluence, as a successful writer of American History, we looked on, admiringly and joyfully, and plodded after him, as best we could, and gleaned from the harvest-field in which he had reaped and garnered his sheaves. As in the days of the Apostle, however, time has rolled on; and Mr. Lossing has become a veteran, while we, now, sometimes not only read but write History. He has reached that position where, if ever, he can afford to defy all cavers who are in the service of falsehood; and where he can, if he will, gallantly and honorably make battle for the Truth of History, against all comers: we do something more, now-a-days, than look on Mr. Lossing's writings—we look into them; we ask, as was once before asked, elsewhere, "if these things ARE so;" and if we find that they are NOT so, we condemn both the "things" and their author.

With Mr. Lossing's original plan we have no quarrel. His system of grading his successive volumes, so that each succeeding volume was an extension of the last, was an excellent idea, and well calculated to be useful, either in schools or elsewhere. But we dispute his right, we dispute the right of any one, to lay before either the young or the old of our country, as History, what is, and is known to be, a falsehood.

There is no careful student of American History, of fair abilities and respectable standing, who will not say that, in these volumes, Mr. Lossing has systematically disregarded the truth; that he has not insidiously inculcated erroneous sentiments, founded on falsehoods; and that, for this reason, his volumes are unfit to be placed in the hands of young people, as means of instruction in the history of the United States.

We dismiss them, therefore—as we understand they have been dismissed by others—as wholly unworthy of our approval, for the purposes for which they are intended.

21.—*A brief sketch of the early history of the Catholic Church on the Island of New York.* By the Rev. J. R. Bayley, Secretary to the Archbishop of New York. Second edition, revised and enlarged. New York: The Catholic Publication Society. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 242.

The original edition of Bishop Bayley's *History*

having been exhausted, a new one was called for; and, mainly under the direction of our respected friend, Doctor Shea, it has appeared in the beautiful volume now before us.

Of the peculiar merits of this work, which is a re-production of the former well-known *History*, with here and there a revision or a slight addition, there can be no doubt. It is a plain, unvarnished tale, in plain but honest prose, of the rise and progress of the Roman Catholic Church in the City of New York, from its origin until 1850, when it was so far improved, in extent and influence, that Bishop Hughes was created its Archbishop, with the Sees of Boston, Hartford, Albany, and Buffalo, as his Suffragan Sees; and, whether considered as a New York "local" or an Ecclesiastical History, this work, therefore, is a very important addition to our stock of Histories.

It is illustrated with portraits of Bishops Concanen, Du Bois, and Hughes; and the typography is very beautiful.

22.—*Hand book of the Sulphur-cure, as applicable to the Vine Diseases in America, and diseases of Apple and other Fruit Trees.* By William J. Flagg. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 96.

Sadly have many of our neighbors suffered, both in patience and pocket, from the diseases which are the scourge of the grape-vine; and we, ourselves, have been a witness of the evil, in other premises than our own, which has disheartened many of the most zealous, and painstaking, and liberal, of vine-growers; filled them with disgust; and sent them into other occupations. Mr. Flagg has evidently witnessed the same sad spectacle; and in the little tract before us he has presented the result of a treatment of the Vines, with Sulphur—plain, unadulterated Sulphur—which has proved so successful, both in France and at the West.

In this, Mr. Flagg has done a substantial service to his country; and as there are other fungi than those which torment our grape-vines—some of them destroying our Roses, as well—it may be useful to test this anti-fungal tendency of Sulphur, on the pests of other portions of our garden than on the vines on the trellis. We shall try it; and if we can save our magnificent "Queen of the Prairies"—a feat which we have not recently accomplished—Mr. Flagg shall have all the honors of our house.

23.—*The Wonders of Pompeii.* By Marc Monnier. Translated from the original French. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 250.

Wonders of Architecture. Translated from the French of M. Lefevre; to which is added a Chapter on English Architecture. By R. Donald. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 264.

Wonders of the Human Body. From the French of A. Le Pileur, M.D. Illustrated by forty-five engravings by

Léveillé. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 256.

Wonders of Italian Art. By Louis Viardot. Illustrated with twenty-eight engravings. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 343.

Wonders of Glass-making in all ages. By A. Sansay. Illustrated with sixty-three engravings on wood. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 253.

Ramesses the Great; or Egypt 3300 years ago. Translated from the French of F. De Lanoye. With thirty-nine wood cuts by Lancelot, Sellier, and Bayard. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. xii, 226.

The Sublime in Nature; compiled from the descriptions of travellers and celebrated writers. By Ferdinand De Lanoye. With large additions. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 344.

Adventures on the Great Hunting Grounds of the World. By Victor Mennier. Illustrated with twenty-two woodcuts. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. ix, 297.

The Sun. By Amédée Guillemin. From the French by A. L. Plumpson, Ph.D. With fifty-eight illustrations. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 297.

The above volumes are portions of the series of *The Illustrated Library of Wonders*, which their publishers are presenting to the American public—a series which surpasses all others in the good judgment exercised in the selection of subjects, in the admirable manner in which those subjects are handled, in the profusion and general good quality of the illustrations, and in the neatness of the style in which the volumes are successively presented to the world.

For the family book-shelf, especially for the use of the young people of the country, this work is peculiarly adapted; and if merit is to be used as a measure of success, it will enjoy a very extended circulation.

24.—*Christ and The Church: Lectures delivered in St. Ann's Church, Elmhurst Street, during the Season of Advent, 1869.* By Rev. Thomas S. Preston. New York: Catholic Publication Society. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 344.

In this beautiful volume, we find lectures on "The plan of Redemption," "The Office of 'Jesus Christ,'" "The Office and Nature of the 'Christian Church,'" "The Catholic Church," "the Church of Jesus Christ," and "Protestantism a False Gospel."

As may be readily supposed, these lectures present the extreme views of the most decided school of Roman Catholicism; and there is no compromise nor concession, in any part of the arguments. All this is well. We like fearless men. We believe in radicalism. We would not give a copper for a cart-load of shilly-shally mortals who have no fixed opinions, or who, having such opinions, dare not express them. We admire the courage of the man, although we may detest his teachings and condemn him for promulgating them, who boldly and manfully follows out, to their legitimate results, the honest convictions of his own mind; and we admire him the more if he dare main-

tain his opinions in the face of a multitude of opponents, without flinching and without compromise.

Mr. Preston does not, in many cases, present our views. We do not agree with him in his belief that the great fundamental principles of the Protestant faith are false, although we might say, and do say, that more than one of them, held also by Mr. Preston, have no warrant either in the teachings of the Scriptures or the practice of the early churches. We have pleasure in saying, however, that Mr. Preston has presented his subjects in an admirable manner; that he has skilfully sustained his arguments with an abundance of what he considers to be undoubted authorities, whose authority, in such cases, we deny; and that, through his Publishers, he has also enjoyed the advantages afforded by a beautiful dress for his lectures, which will not fail to secure for them, as such an advantage does to men and women, access to good society and a cordial greeting where, in a less comely apparel, they would find no welcome.

25.—*Warwick; or, the lost nationalities of America.* By Mansfield Tracy Walworth. New York: G. W. Carleton. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 470. Price \$1.75.

Our excellent friend and contributor, the author of this volume, has sent a copy of it to us; and we have pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to it.

It has commanded the attention of those who enjoy this class of literature, to an unusual degree; and we can readily understand, after reading a few chapters, the secret of its success.

It is very fairly printed.

26.—*Self-help; with illustrations of character, conduct, and perseverance.* By Samuel Smiles. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 447. Price \$1.

This is "the author's revised and enlarged edition" of one of very best books for the young which the press has ever thrown off.

It originated in a series of "talks" to a party of young working-men who had associated for mutual assistance in acquiring knowledge; and, without pretending to teach any *new* theory or any *new* fact, it presents the necessity of *self*-culture, *self*-discipline, *self*-control, and that honest and earnest discharge of *individual* duty which is the glory of manly character; and it enforces its teachings by citations from the examples presented by the *self*-help of many who have gone before, doing honor to themselves and honor to their country.

It has been re-produced and widely circulated in Holland, France, Denmark, and Germany; and, in this revised and improved form, it is to

be hoped that it may be widely circulated among our own young-folks, which, in such a case, will be done with undoubted advantage to themselves and benefit to the State.

The volume is very neatly printed; and may be usefully added to any school-library or family book-shelf which does not already possess it.

27.—*The Unkind Word, and other Stories.* By the author of *John Halifax, Gentleman*, etc., etc. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 418. Price \$1.50.

The title-page of this volume is not a fair one, inasmuch as it fails to convey to the reader a strictly accurate description of the work which it introduces.

It is true, there are "stories" in the collection of papers which are here re-produced; but it would be improper to consider such papers as mere stories, which relate to "Elizabeth and "Victoria," "A Woman's Book," "Sermons," "The House of Commons," "A hedge-side Poet," "The last great Exhibition," "Bodies and Souls," "Children of Israel," etc. It would be improper to consider, too, as mere fiction, created for a passing market, the greater portion of even the less important contents of this volume.

In fact, this is a collection of short papers, grave and gay, on a multitude of subjects, admirably adapted for railway or country-stopping-place reading, and not at all inappropriate for the home-reading of sensible people, old as well as young, in town as well as country.

It is a very neat affair, both in its typography and its binding.

28.—*Memoir of the Rev. John Scudder, M.D., thirty-six years Missionary in India.* By Rev. J. B. Waterbury, D.D. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 303. Price \$1.75.

An appropriate memorial, by his brother-in-law, of the life and services of one of the most successful Missionaries of the American churches. It is mainly taken from his own Journals and Correspondence; and, as its author enjoyed the friendship of his subject and fully sympathized with him, in his labors and his trials, it undoubtedly presents both Doctor Scudder and his work in their most accurate form.

The volume is a very neat one; and will be welcomed in thousands of families throughout the country.

29.—*Elocution: the sources and elements of its power.* A text-book for schools and colleges, and a book for every public speaker and student of the English language. By J. H. McIlvaine. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. vi, 406.

This volume, the work of the Professor of

Belles Lettres, at Princeton, treats of a subject which has been too much neglected in this age of superficial education; and, as far as we can judge of its merits, the work has been done thoroughly—that it has cost a vast amount of labor will be evident to every one who shall examine its contents.

30.—*Minnesota as it is in 1870.* Its general resources and attractions for Immigrants, Invalids, Tourists, Capitalists, and Business-men, (principally from official authorities) with special descriptions of all its Counties and Towns; their topography, population, nationalities, products, business, wealth, social advantages, and inducements to those in quest of homes, health, or pleasure. By J. W. McClung, St. Paul. Containing a township map of the State, made expressly to accompany the book (four colors) and showing the Government lands in every County, with official descriptions of every part of the State, by Government Surveyors, Topographical Engineers, Geologists, and Travelers. Published by the author. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 300. Price \$2.25.

The very elaborate title-page, which we have copied entire, will convey to our readers some idea of the extent and character of the author's researches; and little remains for us to say of them, beyond the opinion, which we freely give, that it is by far the best work, on the subject, which we have yet seen. Whether considered in the range of subjects selected for notice, or the mere mode of handling them, or the precision of statement, or the exhaustive treatment of them, it is a model volume of its class: and we do not hesitate to commend it to the attention of our readers, generally.

31.—*Old Horse Gray and the Parish of Grumbleton.* By Edward Hopper. Respectfully dedicated to the merciful philologist, Henry Bergh. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 85.

An admirable satire, exceedingly well handled, illustrative of the prevailing fashion in churches of getting rid of their old Pastors and old surroundings, in exchange for those which are more fashionable and less Christian-like. We do not know who Mr. Hopper is, but he evidently keeps his eyes and ears open, both in and out of church; and his skill in the construction of sentences is very evident.

The little affair is elegantly printed, at the Riverside Press.

32.—*The Annals of Albany.* By Joel Munsell. Vol. I. Second Edition. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. viii, 484.

In 1849, Joel Munsell commenced what he called *The Albany Annual Register*; and, in 1850, he discovered that the further prosecution of the work "would not pay." He transferred some portion of its contents, however; and, by making some additions thereto, he inaugurated his well-known *Annals of Albany*,

which has extended to ten volumes, and become famous.

The first volume of this work has latterly become very scarce, and sets could be perfected only with great difficulty; so the tireless author has re-modelled the concern, striking out and inserting, and we have before us the second generation of the first volume of Munsell's *Annals*, different from the first, but not less valuable.

We need not describe to our readers the importance to the *working* historian of these *Annals*; nor need we remind collectors that this volume is absolutely necessary to make complete those sets of the *Annals* which, before it was published, contained the entire work. Although entitled "Vol. I," it is not the same "Vol. I." which was on our shelf before it appeared; and *both*, therefore, will be necessary to those who desire to possess *perfect* sets of the work.

In every respect, except its thickness, it is a *fac-simile*, in its general appearance, of the ten volumes which preceded it.

23.—1 *Battle of the Books*, recorded by an unknown writer, for the use of Authors and Publishers: to the first for doctrine, to the second for reproof, to both for correction and for instruction in righteousness. Edited and published by Gail Hamilton. Cambridge: Printed at the Riverside Press. 1870. Crown octavo, pp. iv., 238.

"Gail Hamilton" seems to have become dissatisfied with her Publishers—Ticknor, Field, & Co.—and she has also become vengeful. She "writes a book" about it; and, under assumed names, she tells the supposed wrongs which she has endured, after a fashion of her own selection—a fashion which is redolent of hyssop, of wormwood, and of gall.

We are not insensible of the wrongs to which Authors are sometimes subjected; nor are we entirely unacquainted with the wrongs to which authors sometimes subject their Publishers. "Man's inhumanity to man" makes others mourn besides politicians and soldiers' wives and orphans; yet we fail to see wherein the supposed victim, in this case, has any reason for attempting to redress her supposed wrongs in this manner; nor do we see, exactly, in what way she can really redress any wrong, by such a questionable process as this.

The law of copyright is ample for the protection of authors, in the enjoyment of all their rights of property in their own productions; and the statutory law of Massachusetts undoubtedly affords ample relief to those who suffer from another's breach of contract, within her borders. Why then did "Gail Hamilton" avoid the Courts and seek the press-room?

If either her copyrights or her contracts were violated, why did not she appeal to the Judiciary, instead of to the Riverside Press? We suspect that her case is not entirely a sound one; and that she preferred to throw dirt, even at the risk of soiling her own fingers, rather than to submit the question at issue, for adjudication, to those who would necessarily decide the case against her.

The volume is a very handsome one—much too handsome for the subject to which it is devoted.

34.—*Bundling; its Origin, Progress, and Decline in America*. By Henry Reed Stiles, M. D. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1869. Very small quarto, pp. 159.

We are at a loss to understand how the "origin" of Bundling can have been "in America," with the evidence before us, which Doctor Stiles has presented, that it was practised in ancient Britain, in modern Scotland, Wales, Holland, Switzerland, etc., long before it was practised here; and we are puzzled the more on this subject when we turn to his Index and find there, (page 135) that "America inherits bundling from Holland."

But, whether it *originated* here or was "*inherited* from Holland," Bundling was practised here until within a very few years—we heard of it, as an existing practise, in our boyhood—and our worthy predecessor in the editorial chair of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has displayed great diligence in the prosecution of his enquiries concerning the rise, progress, and decline of the custom. The result of his enquiries is before us; and a most interesting little volume he has made on the subject.

It is a very neat affair, from the Munsell Press.

35.—*Some Recollections of the Anti-Slavery Conflict*. By Samuel J. May. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. viii, 403.

Mr. May was a travelling agent and lecturer of anti-slavery—that is abolitionism—between 1832 and 1836; and since that time, as far as he has been able to do so, he has aided in promoting the same work. In the volume before us, he gives *some* of his recollections; but he begins with the beginning of Mr. Garrison's movements—without even alluding to any earlier movement—and he entirely disregards those "anti-slavery" movements, based on the Wilmot Proviso and the Buffalo Convention of 1848, which finally led to the overthrow of slavery, many years afterwards. In short, Mr. May's book is a record of the doings and sayings of only "some" of the "anti-slavery" men of former days, but not of the great body of

them. It is a memorial of the "abolitionists," as such; and it does not even mention those who, without being abolitionists, were, nevertheless, "anti-slavery" men of the most decided class.

As far as it goes, therefore, this volume is important as a record of the progress of events in America; and, as such, it cannot be disregarded by those whose duty it shall hereafter become to write the political history of our country.

The volume is a neat one, from the University Press.

36.—*Dialogues from Dickens for School and Home Amusement.* Arranged by W. Elliot Fette, A.M. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 360.

A selection from the writings of Dickens, arranged for representation, "in character," in schools and families, will not fail to be very acceptable to both those teachers and heads of families who have experienced the labor of hunting through whole volumes, for suitable selections, and of putting them in order for use.

In the volume before us, are forty-five such dialogues, of various lengths—but all within the ability of school-children to perform—carefully arranged, with stage-directions and suggestions as to costumes, sufficiently minute for the purposes referred to; and the good judgment which has been exercised, both in making the selections and in arranging them for presentation, is worthy of all praise.

The typography of the work is excellent.

37.—*The Life, Passion, Death, and Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ.* Being an abridged harmony of the four Gospels in the words of the sacred text. Edited by Rev. Henry Formby. New York: Catholic Publication Society. 1870. 16mo. pp. viii, 184.

A very neat little volume, elaborately illustrated, and well calculated for the purpose for which it was evidently intended.

38.—*The "B. O. W. C."* A book for boys. By the author of *The Dodge Club*, etc. Illustrated. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1870. 16mo. pp. 232.

A handsome book for boys, which possesses just enough of mystery in its contents to excite their curiosity and keep up their interest in the plot.

A number of Book Notices which we had prepared for this number are necessarily laid over for the next.

XIII.—MISCELLANY.

ANOTHER INVALID.—It is the fortune of some editors, possibly of all, to find some whom they cannot please; some whose systems are too delicate for anything but childrens' food, and who, therefore, reject that which *men* subsist on; some whose ideas of paying for what they enjoy differ from those which are entertained by even ordinarily honest men.

It has been our fortune to hear from such an invalid—one "J. D. GURNEE, *Madison, Wisconsin*"—whose defective memory, some time since, needed and enjoyed a pretty sharp restorative from this office. *He should have PAID what he owed, without such a restorative, long before, BUT HE DID NOT*; and the depletion of his pocket-book, under our direction, seems to have served not only to secure the payment of his just debt, long past due, but to put him out of temper and make him uncivil.

He paid us to the close of Volume VII., and we have sent him four out of six of the numbers which he has thus paid for; but the strong meat which those numbers have contained seems to have produced nausea on our western patient, and we have received the fourth, which he has returned to us, by mail, thus labelled:

"To The Postmasters of the United States

"If the *Brainless*

"Ass. who claims to be the Editor of the
"within published under the name of the Histor-
"ical Magazine, should attempt to send any more
"of the numbers to me. You will please re-
"turn them to the vile source from which they
"emanate as I have done in this case.

"Henry B. Dawson,
"Morrisania,
"New York."

We are sorry for Mr. Gurnee's family, if he has one: we have nothing but contempt for him, as we have for all who, *like him*, evidently desire to deprive us of our hard-earned money; make the attempt to do so; lack pluck in the conduct of their bad undertaking; are caught at it; and, mainly because they are cowards, fail in their feeble attempts thus to act as dishonest men too often act.

THE

Historical Advertiser.

OCTOBER, 1870.

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We do NOT pretend, nor do we desire our readers to imagine, that we are not selfish in this matter; that we are not disposed to increase our income, by means which are as unobjectionable as this; or that we do not expect, and shall not demand, an equivalent for our services, as an advertiser of other people's wares. We do pretend, however, and we desire our readers to believe, that the high character and large number of our regular subscribers, at this time, and the preservation of our numbers, for binding, by the greater number of our subscribers, not only present unusual *present* inducements to advertisers, but they secure thereto a *permanency of advertising*, month after month and year after year, which cannot possibly be offered by any merely newspaper or transient periodical, which is glanced at and thrown away or lost sight of, seldom to be re-opened and rarely to be bound

for preservation.

We make no such pretenses as are made by some of our young contemporaries, either concerning our "*bona fide* circulation," our scale of prices for advertising, or the stability of our patronage. It is enough to say, as we do, that THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is now enjoying the honors of its fourteenth year and closing its seventeenth volume; that its *regular* subscribers, *from its first number until now*, include those, in the political, professional, and mercantile world, of whom our country is honestly proud; that it never before enjoyed as extended nor as influential a patronage, North, East, and West, as it now enjoys; and that its influence, among those whom it regularly visits, is not less, nor is it less frequently referred to, as an authority, than *any* of its contemporaries. We trust, therefore, that our readers will remember us, when they make up their advertising lists.

PIANOS. Our readers' attention is directed to the advertisements, on our second and third pages, of THE ARION PIANO-FORTE Co.; and especially to that concerning the test applied to the instruments manufactured by it, by Messrs. Mollenhauer, Fradel, Brandies, and Besemann, the Judges appointed by the American Institute for that purpose.

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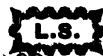
Signed:

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 G. C. MANNER, Inventor and Patentee of the Arion Piano Forte.

Sworn before me this 22d day of July, 1869.

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- BLISS, PHILIP.** Microcosmography. Albany, 1867.
- HARRISON, GABRIEL.** Stratford Bust of William Shakespeare. *Two Photographs, mounted by Trent.* Brooklyn, 1865.
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- CATALOGUES.** John Ward Dean's, 1868; Dr. Moorhead's, 1867; Dr. Stiles's, 1866; Rev. Dr. Cone's, 1860; Woodward's 6th, 7th and 8th, Coin Sales, 1865; G. P. Parker's, 1859; Rev. Dr. Choules, 185; Hon. Rufus Choate's, 1859; E. A. Crowninshield's, 1859; J. W. Simpson's, 1866; R. W. Griswold, D.D., 1859; Henry Whitmore's, 1865; W. H. Corner's, 1866; T. H. Morrell's, 1866; C. B. Norton's, 1862; S. G. Deeth's; I. K. Tefft's, 1867; James McBride, 1860; various (names forgotten); W. F. Fowle, 1864; Do. *large paper*; Rev. Dr. Campbell's, 1864; Dr. J. R. Cox, 1865; Theo. Sedgewick, 1864; J. B. Clopton, 1861; J. R. Chilton's Coins and Medals, 1865; Charles Carroll of Carrollton, 1864; Andrew Wight, 1864; Col. G. W. Pratt, 1868; R. W. Roche, 1867; A. W. Bridford, —; J. W. Bouton, 1868; Geo. A. Elliot, 1867; Charles Edwards, —; Rev. Dr. Taylor, J. R. Simms, Fort Plain, (Cabinet) 1869; Rev. Dr. Jenks, 1867; Joel Munsell, 1865; G. W. Newell, —; Prof. G. W. Bush, 1859; Bishop Onderdonk's, 1863; Dr. J. W. Francis, 1862; S. G. Hubbard, Cinc., 1868; H. E. Ludewig, —; C. Has-
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- NEW HAMPSHIRE.** Reports of Board of Education of. 1856, 1857, 1861-1865. Concord, 1856-65.
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- BELL, WM.** On the Lord's Supper. I. Thomas, Worcester, 1793.
- Cambridge,
- SEAMAN, E. C.** Essays on Progress of Nations. 2 vols. N. Y.: 1868.
- PROVIDENCE.** John Howland's Address, Apl. 9. 1810.
- Rev. Dr. Stone's Oration, July 4. 1865.
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- Calamities of Authors. 2 vols. N. Y.:
- DU VEIL, C. M.** A literal Explanation of the Acts of the Apostles. Original edition, very rare. London: 1685.
- WHIPPLE, E. P.** Literature of the Age of Elizabeth. Boston: 1869.
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- OVIDIUS.** *Metamorphosean. Libri Qvindecim.* Aldus. Venice : 1503.
 *. An elegant little Aldine edition, from the Duke of Sussex Library, with his book-plate.
MACOY, ROBT. *General History, Cyclopedic, and Dictionary of Free Masonry.* N. Y.: 1869.
 *. *Oliver's Dictionary of Symbolic Masonry* is appended to this work, in the same volume.
SKEY, F. C. *Hysteria.* N. Y.: 1867.
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WOTHERSPOON, REV. DR. *Sermon on Religious Education of Children, May 2, 1789.* S. Kolloch, Elizabethtown: 1789.
DAVIES, PREST. *Sermon, at Princeton, Jan. 14, 1761, on the death of George H. J. Parker & Co, N. Y.: 1761.*
PEMBERTON, E. *Sermon, at New York, Oct. 2, 1743, on the death of Dr. John Nicoll.* James Parker, N. Y.: 1743.
 *Report of Committee of Common Council on the Statute of Washington, by Houdon.* N. Y.: 1860.
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Jan. 13 m*

THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE;

AND

Notes and Queries concerning the Antiquities, History and Biography of America.

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New Series, Vol. VII.

No. VI.

THE
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AND
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CONCERNING
The Antiquities, History, and Biography
OF
AMERICA.

June, 1870.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.:
HENRY B. DAWSON.

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TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

I.—For the first six articles in this number, we are indebted to the active and gentlemanly Captain WILLIAM F. BOSTWICK, U. S. A., of Concord, N. H. The excellent judgment, gentleness, and the remarkable supply of important material which he contributes are much to our readers, and the importance of the articles now contributed and their varied character will bring from credit to that zealous worker in the historic quarries of New England.

II.—The title-page, prefatory note, list of contributors, and index of the volume now, which this number concludes, will be sent with the July number; and, as was at the May number, we may be obliged to send that number and that for August under a cover, in order to give Doctor Gillett's article on American Unitarianism, entire.

III.—Volume VIII. will contain, among other articles, Doctor Gillett's article on Unitarianism; the conclusion of Mr. Bartlett's *Naval History of Rhode Island*, and that of Doctor Gillett's *Bibliography of Maryland*; a series of unpublished correspondence, during the War of Independence, of the Executive of Rhode Island; biographical sketches of several of "Our Writers;" etc.; and it will be issued at the earliest possible moment—as soon, indeed, as workmen can perform the work, unless those who are indebted to us shall present the desired result, BY SUBMITTING WITHIN THE TIME WHAT IS DUE TO US.

THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. VII. SECOND SERIES.]

JUNE, 1870.

[No. 6.

I.—EARLY NOTICES OF THE HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

TAKEN FROM THE ABSTRACTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.*

COMMUNICATED BY CAPTAIN W. F. GOODWIN, U. S. A., CONCORD, N. H.

The first notice of any person being sent by this Society, is taken from the following *List of Missionaries, Catechists, and Schoolmasters, with their yearly Salaries, on the 28th of January, 1736.*

"Mr. Brown, Missionary at Portsmouth in New Hampshire.....60.

" — Ditto for officiating at Kittery... 15."

This person had formerly been settled at Providence, as appears from the following extract, taken from *An Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society*, for the year ending on "the 15th of February, 1733:" "The Reverend Mr. Arthur Brown, Missionary at Providence in New England, in his letter dated the 20th, of September, 1733, acquaints, That upon his first coming to the Mission of Providence, he found the number of Persons attending Divine Service was small, and the Communicants only 27; but that now there is a great alteration, for the Communicants amount to 46. and his Congregation is seldom less than 100 in number; and he hath baptized 14 Adults, and 54 Infants." And in the *List &c.*: "Mr. Browne, Missionary at Providence.....60

" — Ditto for officiating at Warwick 15"

The next extract relates to his settlement at Portsmouth, and the reason therefor: "The Reverend Mr. Arthur Brown, Minister at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, writes Octob. 27. 1733, That his Parish is in a flourishing condition—the Number of Communicants is fifty-two, and since his last he had baptized seventeen Infants in the preceding half year. The

"Society removed Mr Brown from the town of Providence, because the Inhabitants of Providence did not pay their promised contributions towards a Missionary's Support:"—The remainder of this part of the Report refers to the subsequent proceedings of the people whom Mr. Brown had left, and the settlement of Mr. Checkley over them. Also, the Report alluded to is not found in the proceedings of the Society.

From the *Proceedings of the year ending 1741-2*: "The Reverend Mr Browne, the Society's Missionary at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, by a letter dated September 28, 1741, writes, that the Town and District of Portsmouth contains between 600, and 700 Families, whereof between 50, and 60 are of the Church of England, and all the rest Independents, there being neither Quaker, Baptist, Papist, Heathen, or Infidel, that he knows of, among them; he reads prayers every morning at Seven o'clock from May to September; and Preaches a weekly Lecture to strengthen his Flock; and guard them against the pernicious Doctrine of Enthusiasts, besides his constant Duty on Sundays. During five years Residence at Portsmouth, Mr. Browne had baptized 93 children, and two adults; and the number of his communicants is 58."

In 1741-42, the Reverend Mr. Cutler writes from Boston, giving an account of "the strange effects produced by the Doctrines of Mr. Whitefield and his followers." He says "That many illiterate Tradesmen, pretending a call to the publick Exercise of their Gifts of praying and preaching, were helping forward the strange work began, while, through the divine goodness, our churches, though not free from Trouble, are comparatively in a good degree of Quiet, insomuch that Many Dissenters have observed our Happiness in it, and we hope will see reason to come in to us."

The *Abstract of the Proceedings* then stated that "The contagion of Enthusiasm has spread itself likewise into the Government of New Hampshire, but by Letters from thence, we are informed, that it decreases apace there, through the steady and wise conduct of their

* This interesting paper is in possession of Mr. Horace A. Brown, of Concord, New Hampshire.—W. F. G.

"Governor, Benning Wentworth, Esq: a worthy member of the Society: and that the little flock of our fold there (blessed be God) hath almost intirely escaped the infection, only three or four having been touched by it, while thirty-six persons have been added to our communion, and there is a great demand for Common-Prayer Books, and Tracts against this new Phrenzy, with which therefore, the Society hath given the proper orders, that they should be supplied."*

In relation to certain Indians, who were visited by Mr. Roe, while residing at Boston, and lived "in the North East Parts of the Province," (*probably Maine*), "and who had been baptised by Roman Catholic Missionaries, most of them wearing brazen crucifixes about their necks," it is said that "The Society hath ordered him † a parcel of Bibles and Common-Prayer Books, and other pious Tracts to be distributed among them, and directed likewise that the Reverend Mr. Brown their Missionary at Portsmouth in New Hampshire bordering on those parts, should make them likewise an annual visit"

1743-44. "Likewise the Society hath the pleasure to be informed, from Benning Wentworth, Esq: the worthy Governour of New Hampshire, that the congregation of the church under the care of the Reverend Mr. Brown, hath made a noble stand against that flood of Error and Enthusiasm brought lately into that Province; and that he had received and distributed, in the most publick manner thro' his government, the hundred Copies of the Lord Bishop of Man's *Essay towards an Instruction for the INDIANS*, sent to him from the Society, and is in great hopes of their answering the good end for which they were designed. Mr. Wentworth is pleased to promise his best Endeavours towards becoming an useful Member of the Society, into which he hath been elected unanimously."

"The Reverend Mr. Brown, Missionary at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, writes July 15, 1744, that the Infatuation, which has so violently seized both Minister and People among the Dissenters, is much abated, and he hath a large Congregation, which behave well, and show an uncommon regard to the Rubrick of the Church, and 112 of them are regular communicants."

1745. "The Reverend Mr. Brown, the Society's Missionary in New Hampshire, besides officiating to and taking care of his more immediate flocks at Portsmouth and Kittery, of which 118 are regular communicants, has visited some of the Frontier Towns, at the earnest request

"of the inhabitants, many of whom had never seen any Episcopal Minister before, but seem now to *hunger and thirst after righteousness*, and he will take all opportunities of feeding them with the sincere Milk of the word."

1746. "*New England*.—The letters from this Province continue to bring very satisfactory accounts of the Progress of true Christianity therein: That the Tempest of Enthusiasm being blown over, great numbers of well meaning Persons who had been affected with it, upon their return to sober thinking, repair to our Communion, as the best Refuge from those wild principles and practices, which had raised such great confusions among them; and that the church gains Ground and Reputation throughout these very populous Colonies."

1750. "The Reverend Mr. Browne, the Society's Missionary at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, having obtained the Society's Leave to come to England for a short Time, on his private affairs, Benning Wentworth, Esq: the worthy Governour of that Province, acquaints the Society, by his letter dated August 17. 1750, that he should not do Mr. Browne Justice without letting the Society know, that Mr. Browne's Conduct in his station hath been without exception; and that besides his constant attendance on his Duty in his Parish, he had for several years past preached at Nottingham and Barrington, and to the people in the neighbourhood of those towns, which are twenty miles distant from his own Church, and made several Journeys to officiate at Dracut, Dunstable, and Lichfield, where two or three churches might be settled to very good Purposes, and, in Truth, in a great many other Places in New England, which are continually soliciting the Society for Missionaries, whom the low Circumstances of the Society will not allow to be sent. Mr. Browne, after a short stay in England, is now on his voyage for New England"

1755. "Mr. Brown, jun, Itinerant Missionary in New Hampshire. Annual Salary 50"

"The Inhabitants of the Province of New Hampshire professing themselves Members of the Church of England, setting forth, in their Petition to the Society, that being dispersed thro' the Several Towns thereof, they cannot afford to maintain Missionaries in them, and are deprived of the benefit of God's word and ordinances in the way that they desire, the Rev. Mr. Browne, the Society's Missionary, the only Clergyman of the Church of England in the Province residing at Portsmouth the chief Town of the Province; where it is impracticable for very many of them to attend on the

* 1742-43.—W. F. G.

† Mr. Roe.—W. F. G.

* Probably "Dracut."—W. F. G.

"public Worship of Almighty God ; and therefore humbly praying, that an Itinerant Missionary might be added to officiate alternately in their several Towns, and they promising to contribute accordingly to the best of their abilities to his better support, the Society thought themselves obliged, out of regard to the populousness of the Province, to consent to this request ; and they have appointed the Rev. Mr. Browne, Son of the Rev. Mr. Browne before mentioned, to be Assistant Minister to his Father in the Province of New Hampshire, and to officiate alternately to these poor People, young Mr. Browne having been educated by his Father for this purpose, and for four years preceding having resided at the University of Dublin, where he followed his studies with diligence, and behaved well, and was admitted to the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, on the 16th day of February 1754, as appears from a Testimonial in his favour, under the Seal of that University : and Mr. Browne, after receiving Deacon's and Priest's Orders in our Church, is now on his return to New Hampshire, where there are well grounded hopes he will be to good Purpose and very usefully employed, as well as all the other Missionaries in New England, under the good Providence of God, and his kind assisting grace thro' our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

1759. "The Rev. Mr. Browne the Society's Missionary at Portsmouth in the Colony of New Hampshire, acquaints the Society in his letter of November 2, 1758, That his Parish increases and that he had lately visited some of the other towns, and particularly Salem and Plaston* between forty and fifty miles distant from Portsmouth, and had preached and baptized some children among them, and that he intended very soon to visit Barrington, Nottingham, Epsom and Canterbury, whence he had received very marked invitations ; he adds, that the People in those new Towns are altogether destitute of Common Prayer Books, and other religious Tracts, which the Society therefore has ordered to be sent to him by the first opportunity to be distributed according to his best discretion."

1761. "And the church at Newport intreat the Society by a petition, dated Sept 28, 1760, to grant them another Missionary in the room of Mr. Pollen, then about to leave them ; and they take the liberty to mention the Rev. Marmaduke Browne, the Societys Itinerant Missionary in New-Hampshire, as a Clergyman of a very good character, who had lately officiated to them, to the great satisfaction of the congregation, and they hoped to be quite happy

"under his pastoral care, would the Society be so good as to appoint him to that Mission. "This the Society have granted, Mr. Marmaduke Browne joining in the request, together with his Father the Society's Missionary at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, who writes in his Letter of December 10th 1760 that his congregation at Portsmouth increases, and they talk of enlarging the church, and that he took upon him sometimes the office of an Itinerant in his Son's Stead, who then supplied his place in the church at Portsmouth, and in those Travels had visited Nottingham, Barrington, and Canterbury several times with good success, and the adjacent Towns of Rumford* Bow and Contotock : † and they discover a very favourable Disposition towards our Church, by attending its services, and presenting their children to Baptism : the Inhabitants of Nottingham and Barrington have agreed to join together in building a Church in a convenient Place to accommodate both towns, and they are making the necessary preparations to qualify themselves for a settled Minister, agreeable to the Terms of the Society ; and Mr. Browne desires to know whether he may be permitted to send to England a proper person for Holy Orders, if such an one can be procured in those parts, to succeed his Son in the itinerant Mission of New Hampshire, should the Society be pleased to grant him the mission of the Church of Newport. To this likewise the Society hath readily consented, they finding it very difficult at present to provide good and able Missionaries to supply the vacancies which occasionally occur in their missions."

1763. "This request ‡ seconded by the joint recommendation of the Rev. Arthur Browne, Missionary at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, and the Rev. Mr. Bass, Missionary at Newbury, the Society not finding themselves able at present to comply with, have agreed to desire Mr. Brown and Mr. Bass and other neighbouring Clergy to officiate at Amesbury as often as they can, consistently with their own duty."

"This request§ the Society have complied with, having received from Benning Wentworth Esq, Governour of New Hampshire, the Rev. Mr. Arthur Browne, and many others, the fullest Information concerning the character and Qualifications of Mr. Weeks."

* Rumford, now Concord.—B

† Contotock, perhaps Contocook. I think this was the name of Boscawen.—B.

‡ "This request" was "the desire to have a minister among them." They had "built themselves a convenient church; engaged to build a Parsonage-house; provided a Glebe; & pay 20*l.* sterling pr. Annum, and hope to do more."—B.

§ This was a request from the people of Marblehead in relation to the settlement of Mr. Weeks.—B.

* Probably Plaistow.—W. F. G.

"The Rev. Mr. Arthur Browne, the Society's Missionary at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, in a Letter dated March 3. 1762, observes, that about 11 years ago, when he was in London, he informed the Society, that the Governor of New Hampshire, Benning Wentworth, Esq; directed him to acquaint them that there were several large Tracts of Land to be granted away in that Province by His Majesty's Authority, which in Process of Time would be very valuable; and that it was his opinion, that, upon the Society's Application to His Majesty, Orders would be issued to him to grant to that Body such Tracts of Land in that Province as should seem good to His Sacred Majesty; and that, upon the issuing such orders, he would faithfully discharge his part in granting and laying out such Lands for their use, as would be most capable of Improvement. He now informs the Society, that the Governor has interested them in 108 Towns, and as there are still more to be granted, intends to interest them in every one he shall hereafter grant. This, Mr. Browne observes, will be an improving Estate; and attended with no Expence, unless the Society should be disposed to cultivate and improve immediately. The interest in each of these Towns will amount to 300 acres or more. He adds, that the Governor has not only made this generous Provision, but has set apart glebes in each of the Towns for the support of the Ministry of the Church of England; and has also granted an equal portion or right to the first settled Minister of the Church of England, and his heirs, with the rest of the Proprietors of every town forever: Thus laying a lasting Foundation for the Growth of the Church in those parts. Upon receiving this Information, the Society directed their Thanks to be returned to Governor Wentworth, for his Zeal and attention to the Interests of the Church of England, desiring a more particular Direction what his Excellency thinks it may be proper for them to do, in order to forward his pious designs. In another Letter, dated July 10: 1762, Mr. Browne acquaints the Board that his Excellency has interested the Society in 12 Towns more, making in all 120.* As to his own Parish, he observes, that it is in a flourishing way, and the church has been lengthened 25 Feet, and finished in a decent manner. He thanks the Society for settling his Son at Newport: but complains, that since his Son's removal from the Itinerant Mission, the care of the Professors of the Church of England throughout New Hampshire devolves upon him; a

duty he can but poorly discharge, as his particular Flock is too great consequence to be neglected. He has in vain attempted to procure a Gentleman to come home for Orders to succeed his son in the Itinerancy; The Fatality of the Small Pox, and the danger of the Sea, are insurmountable difficulties, and shew the Necessity of an American Bishop. The Society have agreed to appoint an Itinerant Missionary in New Hampshire, as soon as a proper person can be found to undertake that Mission in the Room of Mr. Marmaduke Browne, removed to Newport in Rhode Island."

1764. "The Rev. Mr. Arthur Browne, the Society's Missionary at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, in his Letter dated Oct. 10, 1763, continues to write on the subject of the Lands granted to the Society in New Hampshire, by his Excellency Benning Wentworth the Governor, of which a large account was given in the Abstract published in the year 1763; and recommends the appointment of an Agent duly qualified, to see Justice done in laying out the Rights, and ascertaining the Limits and Bounds of the several Towns, and preserving the Timber in the Towns where settlements are already made. The Society have had this Matter under their consideration, and are taking the necessary steps to put Things upon a proper Footing.

"As the Society have not been able to procure a proper person to undertake the Itinerant Mission of New Hampshire, they are well pleased to learn, that Mr. Browne has given the People throughout the Province all the assistance in his power, and have given him a gratuity for his extraordinary Services. Since the Conclusion of the year 1754, he has baptized in the whole Province 246 Infants, and 6 adults, among whom were 2 negroes; and has 53 Communicants."

1765. "The Rev. Mr. Arthur Browne, the Society's Missionary at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, in his Letter dated Sept. 28, 1764, acquaints the Society, that since his last he has had an opportunity of visiting several Towns in this Province, and among the rest of preaching and Baptizing in Londonderry, a Town of consequence, chiefly settled by Dissenters from the North of Ireland, where he was received in a friendly manner, and some proposals were made for erecting a church. From Oct. 20. 1763, he baptized 42 Infants."

The Wardens and Vestry of a church in Falmouth, Casco Bay, requested the care of the Society, and the settlement of a Clergyman with them, to which the following refers, "The Society taking into consideration the above petition, together with the recommendation of his Excellency Benning Wentworth Esq, Governor

* For a list of the names of these Towns, Vide, "Power of Attorney to Rev. Ranna Cossitt," which follows this article.—W. F. G.

"of New Hampshire have agreed to appoint Mr. Wiswall Missionary at Falmouth in Casco Bay, provided the People of Falmouth execute and send over a bond to the Society to pay him a certain sum annually, and provide him a house and glebe."

1767. "The Rev. Mr. Arthur Browne, the Society's Missionary at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, in his Letter dated May 24, 1766, recommends Mr. Moses Badger, a native of New England, educated at Harvard College, as a suitable Person for the Itinerant Mission in New Hampshire, being well acquainted with the Manners and Customs of the People he is designed to officiate among, and very acceptable to them. The establishment of this mission, it is hoped, will prove a happy Event to great numbers of people scattered up and down in the newly settled Townships in this Government, and be a means of securing some of those many valuable Grants made to the Society by Governor Wentworth. Mr. Browne's own Parishioners are at peace among themselves; but the quiet of the Town, he says, is greatly interrupted by one *Sandeman*, whose scheme is to explode the usefulness of Prayer and Preaching, and to damn all opposers. Of this Gentleman another missionary writes, that he seems filled with Bitterness against all established Churches, and is generally suspected to be no Friend to the Protestant Interest. And another complaining of the pernicious tendency of Mr. Sandeman's preaching, says, that it seems designed to propagate Infidelity and Libertinism under a notion of free grace, and that the sum of his doctrine is, that Christ has done all and everything for our salvation which God requires of us: that the mere Belief or assent to this report is saving Faith, and to have the least Solicitude about anything, which we have in order to obtain Salvation, is the damning sin of Unbelief, in which all the christian world, except his sect, is involved."

1768. "The Rev. Mr. Arthur Browne, Missionary at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, by a letter of the 6th, of November 1767, informs the Society of the arrival of Mr. Badger, whom he describes to be well calculated for the office of an *Itinerant*, being hardy, strong, resolute, active and diligent, and that he gives universal satisfaction wherever he goes. Mr. Browne's Parishioners live in harmony and peace and increase in numbers: but the communicants are comparatively few.

"There are two letters from Mr. Badger, the *Itinerant* Missionary in New Hampshire, both dated from Portsmouth; the one of December 17, 1767, the other of August 5, 1768. In the former he writes, that since his arrival in the end of September he had visited every

"town in the province, where there are any number who belong to the Church of England: that they appear well pleased with his administrations, and promise to do all in their power to render his life agreeable, and that the Governor and Mr. Browne give him all the Assistance they can. In the second, he mentions a variety of places where he has preached, both on Sundays and week-days: that the distance of the Towns is so great, that scarcely any two can attend the public worship together, which increases the labour of his mission, and, as he expresses it, keeps him continually on horseback. The number of souls under his care amount to 1182—at present, which at his first coming did not exceed 740. In less than 11 months he has baptised 107 children, 1 female adult, and 1 negro. Hitherto he has been obliged to perform divine service, and to administer the sacrament in private houses for want of more convenient places."

1769-70. "Mr. Samuel Cole, Schoolmaster at Claremont—£ 15—"

"By a letter from the Rev. Mr. Badger, Itinerant Missionary in New Hampshire, of Jan. 5, 1769, the very agreeable information is made to the Society, that the Governor's attention to the interests of religion and the good of the people, is so strong and conspicuous, that Several small churches are about to be erected in different parts of the province, which seem to be very much wanted, as Mr. Badger complains of not having a proper place for the administration of the Lords Supper.

"A representation has been made to the Society from the people of Claremont, in the province of New Hampshire, which is 140 miles distant from Portsmouth,* a wild uncultivated place, in which they began to settle about 2 years ago.—That having already some portion of land allotted for the use of a schoolmaster, but not sufficient for his encouragement, and having agreed to build a school-house and being under great want of somebody to teach their children, they are induced to solicit the help of the Society, who, having considered their case, and having had the strongest recommendation from the people themselves, and from the Clergy in Connecticut, of Mr. Samuel Cole, Esq: they have appointed him to be school-master there."

1770-71. "The Rev. Mr. Badger, Itinerant Missionary in New Hampshire, in a letter dated Portsmouth, July 2, 1770, acquaints the Society, That the people discover more inclination towards religion, are more constant in their attendance, and imbrace all opportunities of instruction. In the preceeding year he has baptized

* Then by the way of Keene.—B.

"84, and had 62 communicants."

1771-72. "Favourable accounts have been received from the Missionaries in New Hampshire and Massachusetts."

"Mr. Cole's School, lately established by the Society, at Claremont, answers their expectation. He has near 30 constant Scholars, besides some children of Dissenters."

"Advice has been received of the death of the Rev. Mr. Marmaduke Browne, the Society's worthy Missionary at Newport in Rhode Island."

1772-73... "and Mr. Cole Schoolmaster at Claremont, writes, that he hath made considerable additions to his School, to which many Dissenters Send their Children, and that his scholars are now 40 in number."

1773-74. "Mr. Rauna Cossit, Missionary at Haverhill £ 25."

"The Society have been favoured with a letter from his Excellency, John Wentworth: Esq. Governor of New Hampshire informing them of the death of Mr. Arthur Browne, their late Missionary at Portsmouth: expressing his wishes for the speedy appointment of a successor to that very worthy person, who appears to have been very deservedly high in the esteem of his parishioners; and representing the present candid spirit of the Dissenters as a happy opportunity of promoting the interests of the Society in the interior parts of his Province. And the Society have assured his excellency that they will readily concur with him in every good design to the uttermost of their abilities."

"By a letter from the Rev. Mr. Cossit, whom the Society have appointed their Missionary at Haverhill, &c. with a Salary of 25 £. a year, it appears, that by the assistance and influence of Governor Wentworth, the people of Claremont, have erected a church fifty feet in length and thirty-eight feet wide. He expresses much satisfaction in the good disposition of his people; since his entrance upon his mission he hath baptized 31 infants, and administered the sacrament in several places. The number of Communicants at Claremont are 24."

1774-75. "The Society have been favoured with a letter from his Excellency Governor Wentworth, assuring them of the inability of the people of Portsmouth to support a minister without the assistance of the Society, and of the bad consequences to religion that will ensue from their withdrawing it. They therefore think it expedient to profess their intention of paying all due regard to his Excellency's representation. With that view the mission hath been long ago offered to a person of distinguished character, but from the miscarriage of letters that person's resolution hath not yet been notified to the Society. As soon as that hath been

"done, the Society will appoint that worthy person or some other, to that important mission, with as large an allowance as the circumstances of the Society will justify."

"A letter from Mr. Badger, dated October 10, 1774, brings the Society the first authentic information of his having, through inability to perform so laborious a duty, quitted the itinerant mission of New Hampshire, and engaged himself as an assistant to Dr. Cauer at Boston. His former notice given in the preceding April never reached the Society, whom he now thanks very respectfully for their assistance, and assures them of the increasing state of the mission at the time of his leaving it."

"The Rev. Mr. Cossit acquaints the Society that he hath preached in thirteen different towns in the province, in each of which he found some members of the Church, who had formerly been under the care of the Connecticut clergy. He hath buried 3, and baptized 44 children, and 2 adults, in his own mission."

"The Society have received one letter from Mr. Cole, their Schoolmaster at Claremont, of a distant date, in which he hath omitted to give any account of the State of his School."

"The Rev. Mr. Bass * in the last year hath baptized .11 in the province of New Hampshire."

1775-76. "Dr. Mather Byles Missionary at Portsmouth [£] 50"

"The Rev. Dr. Byles acquaints the Society that on Easter Tuesday last himself and the proprietors of Christ Church had parted by mutual consent; and that he had closed with the unanimous request of the Portsmouth congregation, by accepting of that mission kindly offered to him by the Society. When he was on the point of removing to Portsmouth, such distractions took place in New Hampshire, as rendered his removal unsafe and in a manner impracticable. He therefore still continues at Boston, and performs the duty of a Chaplain to some of the Regiments.†"

"The last and only letter received from Mr. Cossit, dated December 26, 1774, contains an account of his providential escape from a party of 800 men, who threatened his life...."

"The Rev. Mr. Bass, writes that he hath baptized .3 children and one adult in New Hampshire, where at present there is one Missionary only, who is in one of the extremities of the province; the Rev. Mr. Addington, ordained last June as the intended successor of Mr. Badger, having hitherto been prevented from entering upon his charge by the distracted state of New Hampshire."

1776-77. "Two letters have reached the

* Of Newbury Port.—B.

† Salary at Boston was 40 £.

"Society from the Rev. Mr. Byles, now at Halifax, with five motherless children, for a time, deprived of all the means of support: But in his second letter dated September 30, 1776, he writes that he hath been appointed Chaplain to the garrison.

"Very few letters have been received from the Society's Missionaries in New England, and those few, that have found their way, contain little or no account of their missions."

1777-78. "Two letters have been received from the Rev. Dr. Byles, dated at Halifax, and informing the Society that he still officiates there as Chaplain to the garrison, and endeavours to be as useful as he possibly can."

1778-79. "The Rev. Dr. Byles, Missionary at Portsmouth, still continues at Halifax.

"The Rev. Mr. Cossit, Missionary at Claremont, from whom the Society had not heard since December 1774, writes from New York, January 6. 1779, that he was 'just arrived there, to procure a few necessaries for his family, by a flag of truce—and was to return in a few days. And he gives this account of the treatment he has received, which has also been confirmed by several respectable persons, who are now in New England. That he had received frequent insults, and had been confined a prisoner to the town of Claremont, since the 12th of April, 1775. Notwithstanding which, he had constantly used the public service, without any omissions in the liturgy, and had administered the Sacrament of the Lords Supper on every first Sunday in the month, except twice, when no wine could be procured. That his parishioners and communicants in Claremont have encreased; though cruelly distressed and harassed with fines, for refusing to fight against the King. In sundry places, where he used to officiate, the church people are all dwindled away: some having fled to the Kings army for protection, some been banished, and others dead. Particularly, that Mr. Cole, the Society's schoolmaster at Claremont, died about a year ago, and he has taken what care he could of the school since his death."

1779-80. "Few have been the advices to the Society concerning the Situation of their Missionaries in this province." *

1781-82. "New England. The situation of affairs in these Colonies hath cut off almost all correspondence with the Missionaries, who still reside upon their respective cures. Some general informations however have come to the Society from other hands, by which it should seem that the church rather increases than diminishes, and the condition of the Ministers

"not so distressing as it has been. In particular, that the Episcopal congregations in the Massachusetts and New Hampshire have greatly encreased, even where they have had no ministry.

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"The church of Portsmouth, which had been much damaged in the beginning of the troubles, hath lately been repaired, and a Mr. Adams, a young man bred at Dartmouth College, officiates there to a very decent congregation.

"One letter dated January 10. 1781, hath been received from Mr. Ranna Cossit, Missionary at Haverhill in New Hampshire, in which he acquaints the Society, that after his return from New York in the winter of 1779, he was beyond measure harrassed and insulted, and put to great expence, equal to the money he had obtained from his bills on the Society. That ever since he had been confined to his parish, and not permitted to go beyond the limits of the town in which he resides, without leave of a Committee. He continues however to read as much of the church service as the times will admit."

1782-83. "New England. More Letters have been received from Missionaries of New England, in the course of the last year, than in any preceding since the commencement of the troubles in America, and very large draughts have been upon the Society for Salaries of former years.

"In the general, it is to be collected from the Missionaries letters, that the times were grown more mild, and happier prospects seemed to be breaking forth, the church people being suffered to live more quietly, the churches again opened, and divine service performed, wherever there are Clergymen to officiate, and the Clergy themselves increasing in esteem for their steady conduct, in diligently attending to the duties of their calling, and preaching the gospel, unmixed with the politics of the day."

1783-84 In A List of those Missionaries who remain officiating in the Independent States, to whom the Society at present pay salaries, is the name of "Mr. Ranna Cossit, Missionary at Claremont in New Hampshire. £ 25."

The above extracts contain all the notices of the early history of the Church in New Hampshire, which are to be found in the *Abstracts of the Proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*.

EDW. BALLARD.

March 1829—

Genl. Theol. Seminary of the Prot. Epis^c Church in the United States

"Prior to 1638, an Episcopal church or chapel

* New England.—B.

"was erected at Portsmouth, and Rev. Richard Gibson was the first minister, who remained 'till 1642"—FARMER'S *Gazetteer of N. H.*

See Farmer's Edition of Belknap's *History of New Hampshire*, i., 234.

Ranna Cossit. See the same, 324 note.

II.—POWER OF ATTORNEY TO REV. RANNA COSSIT.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE POSSESSION OF HORACE A. BROWN, Esq., OF CONCORD, N. H.

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS shall come The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts send Greeting **WHEREAS** the Governor and Council of the Province of New Hampshire in New England in America did several Years ago make Grants to the said Society of, or interest the said Society in, divers considerable Quantities of Land lying near to or within the several Towns of Chesterfield, Westmoreland, Walpole, Richmond, Westminster, Rockingham, Boyle, Stamford, Woodford, Keene, Townsend, Charles Town, Swansey, Winchester, Hinsdale, Brattleborough, Fullum, Putney, Flamstead, Guilford, Thomlinson, Pownall, Lebanon, Enfield, Hartford, Hanover, Norwich, Windsor, Reading, Saltash, Killington, Lime, Dorchester, Cockermouth, Pomfrett, Cansan, Woodstock, Hertford, Bridgewater, Grant-ham, Bernard, Stockbridge, Arlington, Sunderland, Stratton, Sandgare, Manchester, Thetford, Strafford, Grafton, Plainfield, Sharon, Shaftesbury, Glassenbury, Rupert, Springfield, Dorsett, Weatherfield, Pawlett, Danby, Harwick, Tunbridge, Shrewsbury, Clarendon, Rutland, Somerset, Fairtree, Bath, Winhall, Wells, Tinnmouth, Ludlow, Poultney, Castleton, Orford, Romney, Leinster, Newport, Marlow, Shoreham, Campton, Bridport, Guildhall, Granby, Pittsford, Caven-dish, Maidstone, Ferdinand, Brunswick, Wenlock, Brumleys, Andover, Addison, Neshobe, Leicester, Stonington, New Holderness, New Haven, Middlebury, Salisbury, Weybridge, Corn-wall, Panton, New Fane, New Flampstead, Lyman, New Burnet, Wallingford, Ferrisburg, Monkton, Charlotta, Hinesbourg, Woodsbury, Preston, Dryden, Pocock, Minehead, Limington, Lewis, and Averhill in the said Province of New Hampshire for the several Charitable purposes in the said Grants mentioned—

NOW THESE PRESENTS WITNESS that the said Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts Have made Ordained Constituted and appointed and by these presents (Sealed with the Common Seal of the said Society) Do make Ordain Constitute and appoint and in their place and Stead put His Excellency John

Wentworth Esquire Governor of New Hampshire Peter Livius Esquire Chief Justice of New Hampshire and the Reverend Mr. Ranna Cossit Missionary at Haverhill in the Province of New Hampshire and the Survivors or Survivor or any one or more of them the said Society's true and Lawful attorneys and Attorney for and on behalf and in the Name of the said Society to Execute Do and perform all such Acts Matters and things whatsoever as shall or may be needful necessary or expedient for the allotting locating Surveying bounding and Dividing the several Lands in the severall Towns aforesaid or elsewhere within the said Province which have been or shall hereafter be granted to the said Society or any Person or Persons *IN TRUST* for them or wherein the said Society have been or shall hereafter be Interested in or Intitled to as aforesaid (Save and Except such Lands and Heraditaments as have been Claimed to be any way Subject to or under the Jurisdiction of New York) and in or about the Issuing out Patents or Grants for the said Lands or any of them or otherwise in or about the making obtaining or perfecting good and sufficient Estates or Titles to the said Society therein or thereto and also all such other acts matters and things whatsoever as shall or may be requisite or expedient for Maintaining Supporting and preserving the Rights Title and Interest of the said Society in or to the said Lands or any of them not Claimed as aforesaid as fully and effectually to all Intents and purposes as if the same was done by the said Society So as the said Society shall not in the making doing and Executing all or any of the Acts Matters or things before mentioned by their said Attorneys or any of them be put to or be Obligated to pay any Sum or Sums of Money Costs Charges or Expences exceeding the Sum of twenty pounds Sterling unless with the Consent and approbation of the said Society first had and obtained in Writing under the Seal of the said Society And the said Society in all other respects doth hereby ratify and confirm all and whatsoever their said Attorneys or any of them shal Lawfully do or cause to be done in the premises pursuant to these presents *IN WITNESS* whereof the said Society have caused their Common Seal to be affixed to these presents this Twenty fifth day of April in the fourteenth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the faith &c and in the year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Seventy four./

Seal

III.—“ASSOCIATION TEST,” IN 1776, IN CLAREMONT.

FROM THE NEW HAMPSHIRE ARCHIVES, NOW FIRST PRINTED.

TO THE SELECT MEN OF CLAREMONT.

COLONY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

IN COMMITTEE OF SAFETY.

April 12th, 1776.

IN Order to carry the under written RESOLVE of the Hon^{ble} Continental Congress into Execution, You are requested to desire all Males above Twenty One Years of Age (Lunatics, Idiots, and Negroes excepted) to sign to the DECLARATION on this Paper; and when so done, to make Return hereof, together with the Name or Names of all who shall refuse to sign the same, to the GENERAL ASSEMBLY, or Committee of Safety of this Colony.

M. WEARE, Chairman.

IN CONGRESS. March 14th 1776.

RESOLVED,

THAT it be recommended to the several Assemblies, Conventions, and Councils, or Committees of Safety of the United Colonies, *immediately* to cause all Persons to be *disarmed*, within their Respective Colonies, who are *notoriously* disaffected to the Cause of AMERICA, Or who have not associated, and refuse to associate, to defend by ARMS, the United Colonies, against the Hostile Attempts of the British Fleets and Armies.

Extract from the Minutes.

CHARLES THOMSON, Sec'y.

IN consequence of the above Resolution, of the Hon. Continental CONGRESS, and to shew our Determination in joining our American Brethren, in defending the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of the Inhabitants of the UNITED COLONIES:

We the *Subscribers*, do hereby solemnly engage, and promise, that we will, to the utmost of our Power, at the Risque of our Lives and Fortunes, with ARMS, oppose the Hostile Proceedings of the British Fleets, and Armies, *against the United American COLONIES*.

CLAREMONT May 30th 1776.

In Compliance to the above Declaration, we have Shone the Declaration to All the Inhabitants of this Town and the Associate are those who have Signed to this paper.

MATTHIAS STONE } Select-
ASA JONES } men.

The following Names of those Who are twenty Years of Age and upward

THOMAS GOODWIN EBENEZER DUDLEY

JOSEPH YORK
MATTHIAS STONE
JACOB RICE
WILLIAM OSGOOD
ASA JONES
JOHN SPENCER
LEMUEL HUBBARD
CHRISTOPHER YORK
DAVID BATES
T. STERNE
BARNABAS ELLIS
JOEL ROYS
JOSEPH HUBBARD
AMASA FULLER
JEREM^{as} SPENCER
PATRICK FIELDS
GIDEON LEWIS
SETH LEWIS
JOSIAH STEVENS
JOHN KILBORN
JOHN PRAKE
JOHN WEST
SAMUEL TUTTLE
STEPHEN HIGGE
CHARLES HIGBE
EDWARD GOODWIN
EPHRAINE FRENCH
JOSEPH IVES
ELIHU STEVENS JR^s
ICHABOD HITCHCOCK
SAMUEL LEWS
ABNER MATTHEWS
ELIHU STEPHENS
JONAS STUARD
BERIAH MURRY
THOMAS DASTON
TIMOTHY DASTON

DANIEL CURTIS
JOSIAH RICH
OLEVER ELLSWORTH
JONATHAN PARKER
DAVID RICH
EBENEZER WASHBURN
BILL BARNS
JOHN ADKINS
AMAZIAH KNIGHTS
JOHN GOSS
EZRA JONES
WILLIAM SIMS
DAVID ADKINS
TIMOTHY ADKINS
EDWARD AINSWORTH
NATHANIEL GOSS
JOEL MATTHEWS
OLIVER TUTTLE
AMOS CONANT
SAM^l ASHLEY
JOHN SPRAGUE
ADAM ALDEN
DAVID LYND
OLIVER ASHLEY
ELEAZER CLARK
ELEAZER CLARK JUN^s
MOSES SPAFORD
BENJAMIN TOWNER

N. B. These are the Names of those Who have Actually taken up arms and are Now in the Continental army
Leu^t Cor^l JOSEPH WAIT
Leu^t JOSEPH TAYLOR
En^t THOMAS JONES
S. ABNER MATTHEWS JR^s
JAMES GOODEN
JONATHAN FULLER
PETER FULLER
REUBEN SPENCER
GORSHAM YORK
BENJ^m TOWNER JR^s
DAVID LOYNDS JR^s
CHARLES LOYNDS
HENRY STEPHENS
JONATHAN YORK
JOSEPH YORK JR^s
The Rev^d
AUGUSTEN HIBBARD
Chaplain &c.

The Names of those Who Refuse to Sign the Declaration

JOHN THOMAS DANIEL WORNER JR^s
Cap^t BENJAMIN BROOKS Doc^t WILLIAM SUMNER
BARNABAS BROOKS EBENEZER ROYS
Cap^t BENJAMIN SUMNER JOSEPH NORTON

REV^r RANNA COSSET *
 CORNELIUS BROOK
 SAM^l COLE ESQ^s
 DANIEL WORNER
 LEVI WORNER
 WILLIAM COY
 ENOCH JUDD
 EBENEZER JUDD JU^s
 Leu^t BENJAMIN TAYLER
 TIMOTHY GRANIS
 HEZAKIAH ROYS
 ASA LEAT
 BENJ^m LEAT
 EBENEZER JUDD
 JAMES STEAL
 AMOS SNOW
 JOHN HICCOCK
 DAVID DODGE
 SAMUEL THOMAS
 AMOS COLE
 EBENEZER EDSON
 BENJAMIN PETERSON
 BENJAMIN BROOKS, JU^s

CLAREMONT

CLAREMONT May 30th 1776

The Declaration having been Shone to the
 within Named persons they Refuis to Sign

Attest—MATTHIAS STONE } Select
 ASA JONES } Men

IV.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST CON- VENTION OF THE PROTESTANT EPIS- COPAL CHURCHES IN NEW HAMP- SHIRE.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.†

At a Convention of the Clergy and Delegates
 of the Protestant Episcopal Churches in New-
 hampshire held at Concord the twenty fifth day
 of August in the year of our Lord one thousand
 eight hundred and two.

PRESENT

Reverend Joseph Willard Rector of St John's
 Church in Portsmouth
 Honorable James Sheafe and Nathaniel Adams
 Esq^r Delegates from St Johns Church Ports-
 mouth

* Rev. Mr. Cosset went to England, in 1772, for Holy Or-
 ders, and was ordained by the Bishop of London; returned
 in 1773; and took charge of the Church in Claremont. The
 Bishop recalled him in 1785, and sent him to the Island of
 Cape Breton. He died at Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, in 1815,
 aged seventy-five years. The Rev. Daniel Barber succeeded
 him, at Claremont, in 1785, and remained there till 1818.—
 W. F. G.

† This Journal, in possession of Mr. Horace A. Brown,
 of Concord, Secretary of the Convention, extends from
 1809 to 1844. The *Proceedings* were first printed in 1829,
 and annually since. Those of the first twenty-seven years
 should be printed; and we hope the subject may be care-
 fully considered at the next Convention. The loss of them
 would be greatly lamented by future generations.—W. F. G.

Reverend Robert Fowle Rector of the Church in
 Holderness

Honorable Arthur Livermore and Richard Shep-
 ard Esq^r Delegates from the Church in Holder-
 ness.

Reverend Daniel Barber Rector of the Church in
 Claremont

Dudley Chase Esq^r and Mr Nathaniel Hall Dele-
 gates from the Church in Cornish

Hon^{ble} Arthur Livermore was appointed Chairman
 of this Convention

Nathaniel Adams Esq^r was appointed Secretary
 to the Convention

Rev^d Joseph Willard Rev^d Daniel Barber & Nath^l
 Adams Esq^r were appointed a Committee to draw
 up rules of order, who reported the following

- 1 The yeas and Nays taken on any question be-
 fore this convention shall be by Churches and
 each congregation represented shall have one vote
2. The yeas and nays shall be taken on any
 question when three members shall request it
- 3 The concurrence of both Clerical and Lay
 deputies shall be necessary to the validity of
 every measure
- 4 all questions of order shall be decided by the
 chairman

Which being read, were adopted by the Con-
 vention

The Rev^d Mr Barber and Dudley Chase Esq^r pro-
 duced a Vote from the Convention of the
 Churches in the western part of Newhampshire
 and eastern part of Vermont authorizing them to
 confer with this convention on such measures as
 may probably tend to unite all the Protestant
 Episcopal Churches within the two States in one
 diocese—Which being duly considered

RESOLVED That it is the opinion of this con-
 vention that they are not authorized by their re-
 spective Churches to act upon the above business

Rev^d Mr Fowle, Rev^d Mr Barber and Rev^d Mr
 Willard were appointed a committee to draw up
 a Constitution for the protestant Episcopal
 Churches in Newhampshire who made report and
 after due consideration the Convention have
 unanimously agreed upon the following

ECCLESIASTICAL CONSTITUTION* FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE STATE OF NEWHAMPSHIRE

ARTICLE I.

A Convention of the Protestant Episcopal^l
 Churches in this State who shall succeed to this
 constitution consisting of the Clergymen of said
 Churches and one or more deputies not exceeding
 three being laymen to be annually chosen by their
 respective congregations shall be holden at Con-

* This Constitution was revised June 24, 1839.—W. F. G.

cord on the third wednesday of august annually
But the convention may alter the time and place
of holding the annual meeting

ARTICLE 2.

The Convention shall have full power and authority to make canons or Regulations for the government of the Churches in this State provided such Canons or Regulations are not inconsistent with the constitution or canons of the protestant episcopal church in these united States, which constitution and canons are hereby most solemnly and formally adopted and shall ever hereafter be considered binding in all cases whatever upon the members of the Convention and upon every congregation represented by them And the convention is hereby authorized either by their standing committee or in such other way as in their judgment will most effectually promote the interest of the Church in this State, immediately to take into possession all and every right and parcel of land formerly granted and reserved for this Church and to apply the income of the same from time to time in such a manner as they conceive will best promote the growth and prosperity of the Episcopal churches in this State

ARTICLE 3d

In every Convention holden under this Constitution the members present at ten o Clock A M on the day aforesaid or any other time which may hereafter be appointed shall be fully competent to proceed on business and may adjourn from day to day till the whole be completed

ARTICLE 4th

The Clergy and Lay Deputies shall deliberate in one body but shall vote as two distinct orders and the concurrence of both orders shall be necessary to the validity of every measure

ARTICLE 5th

Every Lay Deputy shall previously to his admission to a seat in the Convention produce a certificate of his being chosen signed by the wardens or by the Clerk of the Congregation he represents

ARTICLE 6th

No Deputy shall represent more than one Congregation and each congregation shall have one vote.

ARTICLE 7th

In Convention a person shall be chosen to preside with the title of President, until a Bishop shall be duly consecrated and settled in this Church, who shall by virtue of his office be a member of the Convention and when present shall preside therein

ARTICLE 8th

No Bishop shall ever be elected for this Church but at the annual Convention, and three months notice shall be given of the same by the standing committee, & every such election shall be by ballot

ARTICLE 9th

A standing Committee shall be chosen annually to consist of Five persons two of whom shall be Clergymen who shall have power to act during the recess of the Convention, upon all such matters as the good of the Church may require, to call special meetings of the Convention if they think it necessary and to provide a suitable place for the assembling thereof—But no business shall be transacted at any special meeting of the Convention other than such as shall be mentioned in the notification for such meeting. And the said Committee shall at the annual convention make a true and faithful report in writing of all their doings which shall be recorded by the Secretary with the sence of the Convention thereupon

ARTICLE 10th

A Secretary shall be appointed by the Convention removable at pleasure who shall keep a fair record of the resolves and proceedings of the Convention and of the Standing Committee and have the same in his custody so long as he shall continue in office

ARTICLE 11th

A Treasurer shall be annually appointed by the Convention as soon as the Finances of the Church require it, who shall receive all monies that may become due either from the leases of the Church land or in any other way: but no monies shall be paid out by him, except in consequence of appropriations made by the Convention at their annual meeting

ARTICLE 12th

The Trustees of the lands granted to the Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts shall be entitled to a seat in Convention and to have one vote

ARTICLE 13th

Standing rules for the orderly conducting of business shall be established by the Convention

ARTICLE 14th

No alteration of this constitution shall take place without the concurrence of four fifths of the members of the convention nor unless such alterations be proposed at a preceeding convention

DONE IN CONVENTION by the unanimous consent of the Subscribers Clerical and Lay Deputies of the Episcopal Churches in the State of

Newhamphshire at Concord on the 25th day of August in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and two

JOSEPH WILLARD Rect^r St Johns church

JAMES SHEAFE } Delegates from St Johns
NATH^l ADAMS } church Portsmo^r

ROB^t FOWLE Rector of the Church Newhol-
derness

ARTHUR LIVERMORE } Delegates from the
RICHARD SHEPARD } Church in Holderness

DUDLEY CHASE } Delegates from the Church
NATH^l HALL } in Cornish

VOTED That the Secretary transmit Copies of the foregoing constitution to the several churches in this State requesting them after taking the same into Consideration to signify their approbation of or objection to same

The Convention adjourned without day ;

Signed by order of the Convention

ARTHUR LIVERMORE

V.—ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, CONCORD, N. H.

FROM THE JOURNALS OF THE CONVENTIONS OF THE CLERGY AND DELEGATES OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCHES, IN NEW HAMPSHIRE, FROM 1803 TO 1844.

[JUNE 1818.] The Society in Concord reported that they had associated and formed an Episcopal Church by the name of St Thomas' Chapel and had elected the Rev^d Charles Burroughs their Rector, who had accepted the appointment

St Thomas' Chapel in Concord of which the Rev^d Mr Burroughs has been chosen Rector was organized in March 1818. It meets in the court house where the services are read on Sundays by a Lay reader. It has about 13 families and 10 communicants.

[JUNE 1819.] By Albe Cady Esquire Clerk of St Thomas Chapel Concord—Since the formation of this Society in January 1817 there have been 12 baptisms and 7 confirmations—Religious services have been regularly performed on Sundays, generally by a Lay reader. For a short time past the Society has been favored with the ministrations of the Rev^d Mr. Marshall.

[AUGUST 1821.] That Christ church at Hopkinton and Saint Thomas's Church at Concord have the last year been favored with the stated services of a clergyman, the Rev. John L. Blake who removed into the State in November last : That the members of the church in Hopkinton are eminently distinguished for their commendable zeal and attention to the rubrics ; that the parish in Concord is now furished with a convenient chapel fitted up with pews, &c, especially for the purpose ; that the congregation is increasing, and that arrangements are making for the

permanency of this church.

[Aug. 22, 1822.] No sensible alteration has taken place at Saint Thomas's Chapel in Concord ; but it is mentioned with gratitude from that Church, that an elegant service of plate for the use of the altar has been presented it by the pious munificence of individuals in Portsmouth.

The following letter addressed to the President of the Convention was received, and ordered to be entered on the Journal ; to wit :—

AUG. 21. 1822.

REV. and DEAR SIR,

Since the last annual convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this State, I have received a Service of Plate for the use of the altar in Saint Thomas's Chapel at Concord, consisting of one Flagon, one Christening Bason, two Cups and two Patens of silver plated ware, to be held by the Hon. Samuel Green and Mr Sampson Bullard, wardens of said chapel, and by their successors in office, in trust for the use of said altar ; but should the parish of said chapel at any time hereafter become extinct, or should the worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church cease to be duly and statedly celebrated in Concord, the Bishop of the Diocese of New Hampshire may claim said Service of Plate to be held by him and his Successor in office for such other Episcopal Church in New Hampshire as he may think deserving of such a charity :—it being the pious munificence of members belonging to Saint John's Church in Portsmouth. And I have to request that this condition be entered upon the Records of the Church in New Hampshire for the benefit of all concerned ; and that a copy of the same be forwarded to the Rt. Rev. A. V. Griswold.

Very respectfully,

J. L. BLAKE,

Rector of St. Thoma's Chapel

[JUNE 10, 1835.] The Rector * also reports that he officiated at Concord on the last Sunday in May and that the prospect of gathering a church in that flourishing town is thought to be very encouraging.

[MAY 25, 1836.] The Rector * further reports, that he has officiated in Concord one Sunday in each month from May 1835 to March 1836. He has also held an evening service in that place from the first Sunday in July to the second Sunday in September, on those days in which he did not perform the regular service there. Respectable congregations have attended on those occasions. He has also baptised one adult and attended one funeral in Concord.

* Rev. Moses Bailey Chase, Rector of St. Andrew's Church, Hopkinton, New Hampshire.—W. F. G.

[JUNE 28, 1837.] On motion of Dr. Burroughs, it was Resolved, that a Committee to inquire and ascertain the facts in relation to the organization of Saint Pauls Church and Society in Concord, and to report on the expediency of admitting the said Church into union with the other churches in the State; And thereupon, the Rev. Messrs. Burroughs and Chase and Messrs. Harris and Rice were appointed to constitute said Committee.

The business of the Convention being resumed, the Committee to whom had been referred the subject of admitting Saint Paul's Church recently organized in Concord, into a union with the others churches in the State reported as follows:

"WHEREAS it appears from the Records of the Convention of 1803, 1805, and 1830, that 'any number of Episcopalians who may be desirous to form a church, and be received into union with the other churches of this State, shall, for one year preceding their admission, regularly assemble on Sundays and attend divine worship, and the administration of the ordinances, according to the Liturgy and practice of the Protestant Episcopal Church.'—AND WHEREAS it appears, to the Satisfaction of this Convention, that a number of Episcopalians at Concord have formed themselves into a society, or parish, by the name of the Wardens and Vestry of Saint Pauls church, and have in conformity to a law of the State, enacted July 3, 1827. 'empowering religious associations to assume and exercise corporate powers,' given public notice of the formation of said Society: and also have organized, by the choice of parish officers and a rector, and for more than one year have regularly assembled on Sundays, attended divine service and the administration of the ordinances, and have acceded to the constitution—the Committee therefore recommend that the said Church be admitted into union with the other churches in the State, and to a participation in the proceedings of their conventions."

And the said Report being read and considered; was received and accepted—and therefore it was

RESOLVED that Saint Paul's Church, in Concord, having conformed to the usual requirements, and acceded to the constitution, be received into a union with the other Episcopal churches in the State, and to a representation in their conventions.

From Saint Paul's Church, in Concord, P. S. Ten Broeck, Rector.* This Parish is in an en-

* Rev. Mr. Ten Broeck was a native of New York. He was the first regularly instituted Rector over the Society in Portland, Maine; and remained there from 1819 till 1861.—W. F. G.

couraging condition. It has been made a Missionary station by, and receives valuable aid from the Foreign and Domestic Missionary Society. It is also under obligations to the Trustees of Donations for pecuniary assistance. The Sunday School connected with it is interesting and useful, though small, The Governor of the State and other gentlemen of the first respectability are among the teachers. There are two liturgy classes in it. The ladies of the parish have formed a Society for the Church, called the Sewing Circle of Saint Pauls Church, Concord. They are doing well. The want of a Church in which to assemble for worship is more and more felt, but the pressure of the times has prevented any measures to erect one to be taken by the Vestry. This Parish has sustained a severe loss in the loss of Mr John West,* who was one of the most efficient and devoted friends of our Zion. Communicants 17—marriage 1—Sunday scholars 80—teachers 7—Collected for Domestic Missions \$14.57.—

[JUNE 27, 1838.] *Saint Paul's Church at Concord.* Rev. P. S. Ten Broeck, Rector.—Communicants, 21—added 6—removed 2—Baptisms—8 adults, 7 children—Marriage 1—Funerals 8—Collected at monthly missionary Services \$51.48.

[JUNE 20, 1839.] *From Saint Paul's Church, Concord, Petrus S. Ten Broeck, Rector.* Since the last Convention, measures have been taken to build a church in this parish. They have been prudently and zealously arranged and carried into operation. A house of prayer is now being erected by the friends of our Zion, upon a lot of land eligibly and centrally situated on Park street, fronting the State-house yard. The anticipated completion of this building has brightened the prospects of the church in Concord and much do her members and friends desire the prayers of the church at large, that they may be favored with spiritual prosperity. It is hoped that this edifice will be ready for consecration some time in the autumn.

Added 5 communicants, present number, 26, Baptisms, 1 adult, 2 infants, total, 3; marriage, one couple; females, 2; Sunday school, 7 teachers, 30 scholars.—

[JUNE 24, 1840.] *St. Paul's church, Concord, the Rev. Petrus Stuyvesant Ten Broeck, Rector,* Since the last convention, a neat and commodious Church has been erected in Concord for the parish of St. Paul's. It was consecrated to the service of Almighty God by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Griswold, on the first of January last; and on the day following the Rev. P. S. Ten Broeck was instituted Rector. The attendance has been gradually increasing. For some months past the rector has preached thrice on Sunday in the

* He died the seventeenth of October, 1836, aged forty-eight years.—W. F. G.

church, and held service one evening in the week at a private house. He has also attended to catechetical instruction. The Sunday school numbers more than fifty scholars and seven teachers. There has been but one baptism, one marriage and one funeral. In addition to other missionary collections, \$13.12 was collected on Easter day. The parish feel grateful for the important assistance they have received by subscription and donation, towards the building of their church. They are indebted to the Sewing Circle for furnishing the church with decorations, lamps, carpets, &c, at a cost of not less than three hundred dollars

[JUNE 30, 1841.] *From Saint Paul's Church, Concord, Petrus S. Ten Broeck, Rector.* There has been no material change in this Parish since the last Convention. There has been a gradual increase in attendance although some families which were connected with it last year, have removed from this town. Sunday-school and catechetical instruction have not been neglected. There have as formerly been a monthly missionary service and collection for missionary purposes. The ladies of the Sewing Circle continue their self-denying labors. They merit praise for what they have done and are doing. While he regrets the death of one of their number, Miss Sarah Wiggins, it affords the Rector much satisfaction to state that out of the very small means of which she possessed, she left a bequest of ten dollars to their "Circle," and of five dollars to the Episcopal Missionary Society of this State. Her example is worthy of imitation. Communicants, 26; baptism, 1 infant; marriages, 2; funerals, 3; Sunday scholars, 40; teachers, 8.

[JUNE 20, 1842.] *St Paul's, Concord, Rev P. S. Ten Broeck, Rector.* The attendance upon public worship in St. Paul's church, Concord, has been by no means discouraging during the past year, considering the fact, that the congregations & places of worship in this town are far more numerous than in most other places of equal population. There are from ten to twelve places in wh Services are held on the Lord's day, in this place, although its population does not much exceed 5000 inhabitants.

Besides: there are more than 20 Settled or resident ministers of other persuasions, ready & able to advance the interests of the denominations to which they are attached. Great or rapid increase cannot, therefore, be rationally expected in the Epis^l Church in Concord.

The number of Communicants is 28. There has been but one funeral in the parish the last year that of a boy connected with the Sunday School, who was drowned.* The Sunday school

numbers about the same it did at the last return: It greatly needs a devoted & energetic Superintendent.

A Bible Class & Catechetical Class have been instructed during a part of the year. Forty dollars have been appropriated (out of Collections for missionary purposes) to the benefit of St Michaels Church, Manchester. The Services of the Protestant Epis^l Church were introduced, for the first time, into that prosperous Village, the 11 day of last July (1841) by the Rector of this parish.

An organ has recently been purchased & placed in the church in Concord.

The Rector attended the funeral of a child in Pembroke in this State. The deceas^d having died while on a visit to that place, & the Parents being Episcopalians, their attachments to the Church prompted them to Seek the Services of one of her clergy; & great appear^d to be their Satisfaction in engaging in the Consoling office of the burial for the dead.

[JUNE 28, 1843.] *St Paul's Church, Concord, Rev. P. S. Ten Broeck, Rector,* Communicants 45, Baptisms & adults 7, infants 1, marriages 4. Bp Griswold * confirmed 17 persons in this Church on 8th of Nov^r last. Several in this Parish are now desirous of being confirmed. We feel the loss of our excellent & venerable diocesan more & more. Out of respect to his memory, the Church in this village was clad in mourning soon after his lamented death, until Easter.

Bible class, catechetical & Sunday School instruction has been attended to, & monthly Missionary Services & collections have been continued; Thirty Seven dollars have been appropriated, being part of the Sums collected, to the funds of the Domestic & Foreign Missⁿ Society.

[JUNE 26, 1844.] *St Paul's Church, Concord, Rev. Petrus Ten Broeck, Rector.* Communicants 45. Baptisms 1 infant marriages 5 females 2.

Since the last annual Convention this Church has been provided with a valuable organ, by the generous donation of E. B. Little, Esq. of N. York. The members & friends of the Church, have occasion to lament the death of Albe Cady, † Esq, late senior warden of St Pauls for many years secretary of this convention & Treasurer of the Board of Missions, & one of the oldest & firmest friends of our Zion in N. Hampshire. The Rector has rec^d from the administrator of Mr. Cady's Estate \$5 which has been paid as Treasurer of the Board of Missions by Mr. Ten Broeck, July 6th 1841, being the Bequest of Miss Sarah Wiggins, late member of this Parish.

Out of our monthly missionary collections

* James M. Abbot, aged eleven years, son of David Abbot, was drowned in Horse-shoe-pond, the eleventh of May, 1841.—W. F. G.

* Died the fifteenth of February, 1843.—W. F. G.

† He died July sixth, 1843, aged seventy-three years.—W. F. G.

\$34.25 has been paid To the General Missionary Society & appropaided as follows—\$20 to the Rev. W^m H. Moore.—Missionary at Manchester in addition to his present Salary—& \$14.25 to foreign missions, The sum collected at Easter, in compliance with a Vote of the Convention amounted to \$11.51 X In addition to this & other customary contributions \$17.56 has been collected towards building St Michaels church, Manchester.

The Ladies sewing Circle of St Pauls continue to merit praise for their Industry & Zeal. They realized about \$70 at a recent sale held by them for the benefit of the Church at the House of the Rector.*

VI.—DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF EXETER, N. H.

FROM THE NEW HAMPSHIRE ARCHIVES, NOW FIRST PRINTED.

I.

EXETER Sept^r 26th 1738—

To the Gentlemen Selectmen of Exeter, We the Subscribers pray you wou'd forthwith call a town meeting and we pray you Insert the following in your S^d Warrant for a town meeting. To the town of Exeter—The Petition of us the Subscribers Inhabitants of the western part of the first parish in Exeter, Humbly Sheweth—That we your Petitioners, have for diverse years Labour'd under inexpressible Disadvantages & Difficulties on many accounts, more particularly by reason of our Great Distance from the Publick Meeting House, So that Even in the Summer Season we and our Families cannot attend Regularly & Constantly on the publick worship of God as we would doe, and in the winter Season for Diverse years past have thought it Best to be at the Expence of Supporting preaching amongst us without any abatement of our Rates to the Support of the ministry in this Parish, and Having made Some Provision & Been at Some Cost toward Building a meeting House among us— Being now Desirous of Being a Parish by ourselves, and as Soon as may be Conveniently to Settle an

* The Reverend D. R. Brown succeeded Reverend Mr. Ten Broeck, on the twenty-first of November, 1844; resigned in 1848, and was succeeded by Reverend Thomas Leaver, who died in 1847, aged thirty-three years. Reverend N. E. Marble was Rector from February twenty-seventh, 1848, till April first, 1867, when he was succeeded by the present popular Rector, the Reverend Doctor Eames. This Parish is the wealthiest in Concord. The Church is, in every way, in the ascendancy. There are one hundred and seventy-two communicants. About two and one half miles from Concord, is St. Paul's School, one of the most successful in this country. A few months since, one of the teachers in MADAM HOFFMAN'S celebrated KRISOPOFAL School for young Ladies, in New York City, said to me as we were passing the former: "this is a lovely spot: and 'this school is to boys, what ours is to girls.'"—W. F. G.

Orthodox Gospel ministry among us—we therefore pray that you wou'd Consider our Circumstances and pass a vote to Set us by ourselves, to be in all respects a Distinct parish as the Parish of Newmarket is now Set of from the first parish in Exeter and we pray if you See Good to vote the Bounds of our Parish as follows, Beginning at old Pickpocket upper Saw-mill, and from Thence running South to Kingston Line, thence west and by north by Kingston Line four miles, thence north four miles, thence Easterly to Newmarket South-west Corner Bounds, and So Bounding by New-market South Bounds So far till a South Line will Strike Pickpocket Mill, and then to run from New-Market Line. South to S^d mill the Bounds first mentioned. — — —

ANDREW GILMAN
EDWARD CALCORD
NICHOLAS DUDLEY
STEPHEN LEAVIT
BENJAMIN VEASEY
JONATHAN ROBINSON
JEREMIAH BEAN
JAMES ROBINSON
SOLOMON SMITH
JONATHAN CRAM
ANTIPAS GILMAN
DANIEL RUNDLET
JOSHUA BEAN
JOHN MUDGET
HUMPHRY WILSON
JOSIAH MOODEY
SAMUEL ROBERDS
JAMES DUDLEY
JOSEPH ATKINSON
BENJAMIN SCRIBNER
MOSES FIFIELD

EPHRAIM ROBINSON
JOHN MORGAN
JOHN HOLLAND
MARVERICK GILMAN
BENJAMIN FIFIELD
DANIEL SANBORN
NICHOLAS DOLLOFE
NICHOLAS GORDON
AMOS DOLLOFE
ELISHA SANBURN
JONATHAN SMITH
JOHN MARSH
CHARLES YOUNG
JOHN ROBERTS JUN^r
EZEKIEL SMITH
THOMAS GORDON
JOHN BEAN
JAMES DUDLEY JUN^r
NATHANIEL FOULSHAM
WILLIAM GRAVES

A true Copy

Attes^t ELISHA ODLIN town Clerk —

II.

S^d EXETER MAY 1th 1789
according To y^r Desire By M^r Russell, I have hear Sent A List of all The military officers In Exeter with The Date of There Comissions, under Gou^r Belcher. my one Comission bares Date May 7th 1781: Cap^t Peter Gilman Cap^t Sam Gilman Cap^t Thomas Dean Cap^t Edw^d Hall Leu^t Daniell Gilman Leu^t Isreall Gilman Ens^o Rich^d Mattoon all There Comissions bares Date July 12th 1781 — — —

Leu^t Dudley Odlin Cor^l Ezek^l Gilman Quartermast^r Jon^a Connor Leu^t Theophilus Smith Ens^o John Gilman Ens^g James Leuit There Comissions Bares Date octob^r 21th 1737:

I am with Respect S^r you^r

Very Humb^le Saru^t JOHN GILMAN

To The Hon^{ble} RICH^d WALDRON Esq^r &c

III.

The names of those Persons in Exeter N. H. who petitioned to be annexed to Massachusetts, in 1789.

DANIEL GILMAN	JON ^A NORRES	NICHOLIS GORDEN	HENRY STEEL
JOHN BURGIN	ROBERT LIGHT	his	THOMAS ROBINSON
TRUEWORTHY GILMAN	PET ^A GILLMAN	DAN ^L O GILES JUN ^R	NATH ^L FOLSON
BENJ ^A THING	NATH ^L WEBSTER	mark	JN ^O SMITH
DANIEL GAEL	JON ^A GILMAN	his	DAVID DUDLEY
SIMON GILMAN	JOSIAH GILMAN	EBENEZER X MARTIN	FRANCIS BRACKET
JAMES LEAVIT JUN ^R	JOHN LIGHT	mark	JOHN ROBERTS
JACOB TILTON	SAM ^L GILMAN	his	JONATHAN YOUNG
NICHOLIS GILMAN	JOHN GILMAN	ALEX ^A A ROBERTS	MICHAEL BOWDEN
JOHN LORD	JOHN ODLIN	mark	JOHN FOULSON JUN ^R
THOMAS DEANE	EDWARD HALL	JETHRO	SAM ^L STEVENS JUN ^R
MOSES GILMAN	NATH ^L BARTLETT	JAMES LEAVIT	JOHN GORDEN JUN ^R
THOMAS LORD	JOHN GILMAN	EBENEZER LIGHT	MOSES SWETT
DANIEL THING	PHILIP CONNOR	JON ^A WADLEIGH	SAM ^L ELKINS JUN ^R
his	his	DUDLEY LEAVIT	BENJ ^A SMITH
JON ^A JO GLIDEN	JN ^O I F FOULSON	JEREMIAH CALFE	JEREM ^A CALF JUN ^R
mark	mark	SAM EDGERLY	DANIEL CALFE
JON ^A FOULSON	ABRAHAM FOULSON	JAMES CALFE	BENJAMIN MEAD
JAMES GORDEN	his	THOMAS WILSON	JAMES BEAN
his	EPH ^M ZR FOULSON	JOSHUA WILSON	NATH ^L LADD
THO ^S X GORDING	mark	DANIEL LAREY	JAMES YOUNG
mark	BENJAMIN FIFIELD	BENJ ^A SCRIBNER	JOSEPH GORDEN
SAM ^L THING	ISRAEL GILMAN	DANIEL HOMAN	JEREMIAH CONNER
JOHN KIMBAL	ANDREW GILMAN	JOHN LOOGEE	JOHN GILMAN
ABNER COFFIN	JOB JUDKINS	JOHN GILMAN	HUMPHRY WILSON
his	his	JOHN RILEY	THOMAS LYFORD
BENJ ^A X FOULSON	NICHOLIS X GORDON JUN ^R	CRONELIUS CONNER	SAMUEL DOLLOF
mark	mark	SAM STEVENS	AMOS DOLLOF
JOHN QUINBY	JAMES GILMAN	his	THEOPHILUS HARDY JUN ^R
DUDLEY ODLIN	EZEK ^L GILMAN	EDWARD O STEVENS	EPH ^M PHILBROK
JOSEPH SCRIBNER	NATH ^L BARTLETT JUN ^R	mark	his
JOSHUA GILMAN	ABNER THIRSTIN	HENRY MARSHALL	JON ^A X DOLLOF
PETER FOULSON	JOHN HAINES	BILEY HARDY	mark
SAM ^L CONNER	DANIEL THUSTIN	KINSLEY JAMES	FRANCIS JAMES
BENJ ^A CONNER	NATHANIEL GORDEN OF	ISAAC THING	CARTEE GILMAN
BENJ ^A ROLLINS JUN ^R	HARDY	his	JOHN FARRAR
STEPHEN GILMAN	NATH ^L THING	JOSEPH X TAYLOR	NICH ^O GILMAN JUN ^R
JOHN LEAVIT	JOSEPH THING	mark	NEHEMIAH GILMAN
JOHN MARSH	JOBEZ SANBORN	JOHN STEEL	JOSEPH GRAVES
THOMAS EDGERLY	DANIEL FOLSON	his	EDWARD SCRIBNER
JOHN BOWDEN	JOHN HUTCHINSON	EDWARD X WEST	JOHN SCRIBNER
EPHRAIM ROBINSON	JOHN DUDLY	mark	WILLIAM GRAVES
EDW ^D COLCORD	RICHARD PRESTON	GEO : ROBERTS	STEPH ^N TOAL
DANIEL ELKINS	JEREMIAH VEASEY	TIMOTHY GORDEN	JOB KENNISON
JON ^A GILMAN JUN ^R	JAMES FOLSON	JOSEPH LOUVERN	JOHN LOVERIN
WILLIAM DORAN	ELIAS LADD	JOSEPH GILES	EBENEZER COLCORD
COFFIN THING	ABRAHAM FOLSON	ELIJAH VICKERY	NATHAN TAYLER
EDWARD THING	JONATHAN THING	JAMES DUDLY JUN ^R	JONATHAN SMITH JUN ^R
WILLIAM LAMSON	SAM ^L LAMSON	JOHN LEAVIT JUN ^R	RICHARD DOLLOF JUN
DANIEL YOUNG	JEREMIAH GILMAN JUN ^R	CURTIS BEAN	DAVID DOLLOF
EDWARD GILMAN	DERBY KELLY	DANIEL GILES	SAMUEL DUDLEY JUN ^R
CHARLES RUNDLET	PETER FOLSON	ISRAEL SMITH	JOHN GILES
BEN SWAIN	JOHN BAIRD	SAM ^L YOUNG	JAMES DUDLEY
JOHN GEORGE	THOMAS WEBSTER JUN ^R	JOHN BROWN	JOSIAH MOODY
THOMAS KIMMING	JAMES WHIDDEN	WILLIAM SMITH	ZECHARIAH JUDKINS
		ISRAEL SMITH	DANIEL GORDON
		NICHOLIS DOLLOF	JOHN ROBERTS JUN ^R
		his	JOSEPH THING JUN ^R
		BENJ ^A B JUDKINS	PETER THING
		mark	JAMES ROBINSON

NICHOLIS DUDLEY	his
TIMOTHY LEAVIT	JOSEPH X ADKINSON
STEPHEN LEAVIT	mark
SAM ^{LL} SMITH COOPER	SAMUEL ROBERTS
SEALEY LEAVIT	BENJA GILMAN
DANIEL WORMALL	NICHOLIS DUDLEY JUN ^R
HALEY STEVENS	JONATHAN DUDLEY
SAMUEL DUDLEY	JOHN ODLIN JUN ^R
PHILIP WADLEIGH	GEORGE CRESTON
ROBERT YOUNG	SAMUEL MAGOON
BENONY GORDEN	WILLIAM GRAVES JUN ^R
EDWARD LADD	JOHN LUFKIN
JAMES GORDEN JUN ^R	ISRAEL YOUNG
SAM ^{LL} DUDLEY JUN ^R	CLEMENT MOODY
JEREMIAH BEEAN	SAM ^{LL} RICHARDSON
JONATHAN GORDEN	JOSEPH LEAVIT
DAVID SMITH	AMBROSS HINDS
JAMES NORRIS	DAVID LAD
JOSIAH LAD	CALEB GILMAN JUN ^R
DANIEL LARY	ELISHA ODLIN
PETER COFFIN	JOHN GORDEN
NICHOLIS PERRYMAN	THEOPHILUS HARDY
JONATHAN CONNER	JOHN CANBY
STEPHEN LYFORD	BENJAMIN DOLLOF
JON ^A GILMAN TER ^S	MOSES CONNOR
NATH ^{LL} GILMAN	TRUEWORTHY DUDLEY
JEREMIAH BEAN	JOHN FOULSON TER ^S
ROBERT PATTEN	JACOB SMITH
JON ^A SMITH JUN ^R	SAM ^{LL} SMITH
SAMUEL LARY	JOHN NORRIS
DUDLEY JAMES	FRANCIS JAMES

IV.

A.—*Petition of residents of North-western part of the Town, for formation of a Parish.*

TO HIS EXCELLENCY Benning Wentworth Esq^r Governor & Commander in Chief in & Over His Majestys Province of New Hampshire in New England The Hon^{ble} His Majesty's Council & House of Representatives in General Court Convened —

THE HUMBLE Petition of Sundry Inhabitants of the North Westerly Part of the Town of Exeter in said Province SHEWS —

THAT Your Petitioners being Settled in the aforesaid part the Said Town Labour under Great Difficulties in attending the Public Worship of God by Reason of the Distance & badness of the Ways to the meeting House most of 'em living more than Seven miles from it, & Some above nine—So that many Persons in their Families can attend the Public Worship but Seldom.

THAT being most of them new Settlers (tho' upon good Land) are not able to maintain a Minister among them Selves while they are Subjected to & actually pay their proportion to the Maintenance of the Gospel & other Charges in the Town.

THAT a Considerable Parish might be Set off from the said Town by the Following metes & Bounds viz. Beginning at the North West Corner

of Exeter & from thence running South 29 Deg W. partly by Nottingham & partly by Chester line four Miles & an half & from thence to Extend Carrying that breadth of four miles & an half East & by South till it comes to the head Line of Newmarket Parish being bounded Northly partly by Nottingham & partly by Dover Line and Easterly partly by Newmarket & partly by Exeter the said four miles & an half being Something Broader than Newmarket & So extending a little beyond it upon Exeter which would Comprehend your Petitioners Estates & yet leave a Large and able Parish at the Town below 'em (which would hardly miss 'em) and tho' they are but few & poor in Comparison of the rest of the Town yet they would Gladly bear the Charge of Supporting the Gospel among them Selves were they Exonerated from that & other Town Charges & duties in the other part of the Town—But as the aforesaid Bounds Comprehends a Tract of very Good Land they have reason to think from that as well as by experience that they shall Increase in number every Year & Especially when accommodated better with respect to the Public worship—

THAT a Parish Incorporated by the aforesaid Boundaries with the usual Privileges & Immunities would be a Considerable means of Cultivating & Improving a large Tract of Land which is now unsubdued, inasmuch as People will be thereby Encouraged to go out & Settle there, & the Public in General as well as the Said Town in Particular Benefited thereby—

WHEREFORE your Petitioners Pray This Hon^{ble} Court would Please to take the Premises under Consideration and Grant that they may be Incorporated into a Parish with the usual Parish powers & Privileges By the metes & bounds aforesaid & Exonerated from paying to the Support of the Minister of the Town & other Town Charges & duties that so they may Support & maintain the Gospel a School &c, among themselves with more Conveniency for themselves & Families—Or in Such other manner as this Hon^{ble} Court in their Great Wisdom & Goodness Shall think proper & your Petitioners as in Duty Bound Shall ever pray &c

JACOB SMITH	DAVID LAURUS
JAMES NORRIS JUNER	SAMUEL ELKINS IUNER
ELIAS SMITH	JOHN ELKINS
DANIEL ELKINS	JONATHAN NORRIS JUNER
JAMES RUNDLET	JOHN ROWELL
JOSEPH AURY	JOSEPH NORRIS
JONATHAN RUNDLET	JOEL JUDKINS
NATHAN SAINBORN	SAMUEL SMITH
JONATHAN SMITH	ITHIEAL CLIFFORD
JOSEPH GORDEN	JOSEPH CARNY
TIMOTHY MOODEY	JEREMIAH PRESAUT
RICHARD SANBON	JONATHAN GIDDEN
JOHN HALL	THEOPHILUS WODLEY

JERADIAH BLACKE	BENIAMAN ROLINGS
GEORGE BEEN	NATHAN HEIGHT
SAMUEL NORRIS	SAMUEL ELKINS
ELEZAR ELKINS	JEREMIAH ELKINS
CALEB GILLMAN	ISABEL GILLMAN
JACOB SANBON	JOHN SEAR
ISABEL SHAPERD	HEZAKIAH SWAIN
JAMES CHASE	DANIEL LAD
JOSEPH MALEM	BNIAMIN POTER
JONATHAN FOULSHAM	SIMON GARLON
JOB ROWELL	JAMES NORRIS
EBENEZER MARDEN	JOHN NORRIS
JEREMIAH PRASCUT IUNER	JONATHAN NORRIS
JOHN FOLINTOWN	JOSEPH EDGLEY
MOSES ROLINGS	

In the House of Representatives, Jan, 15th 1741

The within Petition Read and Voted That the Petitioners forthwith Serve the Select men of Exeter with a Copy of the Petition and the Votes—thereon: That the Town of Exeter may appeare at the Gen^l Court or assembly next Tuesday fortnight to Shew Cause (if any they have) why the prayer of the Petition may not be granted: and if the General Court or ass^m Shall not be then Sitting: Then to appeare the Third day of the Sitting of the next Session of Gen^l assembly

JAMES JEFFERY Cle Ass^m

In Coun Jan 21 1741½

Read and Concurred RICH^d WALDRON Sec^y
Jan. 21. 1741-2 Assented to

B, WENTWORTH

B.—*Warrant for Town meeting to consider preceding Petition.*

WHEREAS there is a Petition preferr'd to the General Court by the Northwesterly part of this town to be incorporated into a Parish & S^d Court have Ordered S^d Petitioners to Serve the Selectmen with a Copy of S^d Petition that the town of Exeter may appear at the General Court on Tuesday the Second of Feb^y next to Shew Cause if any they have why the Prayer of S^d Petition may not be Granted. These are therefore to notify all The Freeholders and other Inhabitants belonging to the town of Exeter to assemble themselves together at the Townhouse in Exeter monday the first day of February next at one of the Clock afternoon then and there to Choose two or more fit persons to represent this town in General assembly if they See fit to make answer to the above mentioned Pitition in Behalfe of this town of Exeter Dated at Exeter Jan^y y^e 23^d 1741½—

THOMAS DEAN.

NATH^l WEBSTER.

JOSIAH GILMAN.

} Selectmen.

a true Copy. Attes^s ELISHA ODLIN town Clerk.

C.—*Proceedings at the Town Meeting, thereon.*

At a meeting of the Freeholders and other In-

habitants of the town of Exeter holden at the townhouse in S^d Exeter Feb^y 1st 1741½.

VOTED. Samuel Gilman Esq^r Moderator of S^d Meeting.

VOTED. That two men be Chosen to make answer to the Petition preferr'd to the General Court or assembly by the Northwesterly part of the town with power to act before S^d Court on behalf of the town as they Shall think Proper.

VOTED. That Samuel Gilman Esq^r & Lien^t Theophilus Smith be the two men for the End afores^d.

a true Copy attes^s ELISHA ODLIN town Clerk.

D.—*Action of the General Court, thereon.*

In the House of Representatives fe^b 2^d: 1741—

The within Petitioners were heard, and the delegates from the Town of Exeter and they agree^d that the Bounds Shall be as followeth viz^t to begin at Durham line at the North West Corner of the Fish of new-market and from thence Bounding on the head Line of Said newmarket to the Southwest Corner of the Sames, and from thence to run South ab^t twenty nine degrees West paralele with the head Line of the Town of the Town of Exeter Extending to half the breadth of the Township of Exeter from Durham Line aforesaid and from thence to Run Westerly North to the middle of the head Line of the Town of Exe^r and from thence to bound upon Chester and Nottingham to the North West Corner of Exeter and from thence bounding East & by South on Nottingham & Durham to the first bounds. Therefore Voted that the Prayer of the Petition be granted & that they be Set off by the Bounds aforesaid and have all powers within themselves as any Town within this Province Keeping & Supporting an Orthodox Minister to preach among them (excepting the Choice of Represent^t and untill they Shall have liberty to have one among themselves) they have Liberty to Joyn with the Town of Exeter in the Choice of men to Represent the Town as usuall and that they pay their Proportion of the Charge of Such Representative and that they be not Exempted from paying any charge of the Town of Exeter that has already been assest upon them and that they have Liberty to bring in a Bill accordingly

JAMES JEFFERY Cle Ass^m

IN COUN Feb: 3. 1741, 2

Read and Concurred RICH^d WALDRON Sec^y
Feb: 3^d 1741-2 Assented to

B WENTWORTH

V.

A.—*Proceedings at Town Meeting, on application to set the Southern and Southwestern parts of the Town, for a new Parish.*

At a meeting of the Freeholdres and other Inhabitants of the town of Exeter held at the

townhouse in S^d Exeter Febr^y 8th 1743.

VOTED. Lieut Daniel Gilman Moderator for S^d Meeting.

VOTED. That the meeting be Adjourn'd to this day fortnight on of the Clock in the afternoon, to meet again at the townhouse.

The meeting being again met according to adjournment this 22^d day of Febr^y 1743.

Voted. Thomas Dean Clerk for S^d meeting.

VOTED. That the Petition of the Inhabitants of the Southerly & Southwesterly part of the town of Exeter be Granted, and that they hav set off to them and their Successors the one Halfe of the Breadth of the Land in S^d town Lying at the westerly End thereof for a Parish, and that it be Bounded as followeth; Viz^t Beginning at the head of New-market Line then running on a South Line to Exeter great fresh river, and then halfe a mile up S^d river. & then South to Kingston Line and So to the head of the township. Provided that the above S^d Parish doe Settle an Orthodox minister of Christ and maintain & Support the Same, and all other Parish Charges within the Same of themselves.....

A true Copy, Examin'd this 23^d day of Febr^y 1743.

p^r me ELISHA ODLIN town Clerk.

B.—Remonstrance to the General Court, thereon.

To his Excellency Benning Wentworth Esq^r: Governour and Commander in Chief in and over his Majesties Province of New Hampshire and to the Hon^{ble} his Majesties Council & Representatives now in General Court assembled.

HUMBLY SHEWETH your Petitioners (Subscribers hereto) Freeholders and Inhabitants of the South westerly part of the Town of Exeter that Your Petitioners for Several Years past have with Some of our Neighbours erected a house for the Publick worship of God in the most Convenient place as we then, and now think for the ease and now think for the ease and benefit of the Inhabitants of that part of the Town in General and have in the Winter time Carry'd on the Publick worship in it but Several persons of that part of the Town haveing of late without our Privy or Consent Petition'd the Town to be Set off as a Parish within Particular boundaries as mention'd in their Petition and the Town having met to Consider their Petition adjourn'd the Consideration of the Said Meeting to a further day and untill newmarket & Eppin Parish lines were run but the Time of the meeting on the adjournment happening before the runing of Newmarket and Eppin lines your Petitioners and also Sundry of the Inhabitants of the Town Expected that the Said Meeting would have been further adjourn'd till the Said lines had been run and that Nothing would have been acted at Said Meeting

but being press'd on by the Said Petitioners who themselves then unjustly voted for the Petition's being Consider'd and Granted by which means it was then Consider'd & granted as afores^d by which means if Your Excellency with this hon^{ble} Court Should Confirm the afores^d vote then pass'd it would Greatly Injue Your Petitioners and therefore Your Petitioners humbly move your Excellency and this hon^{ble} Court that the Consideration of any petition that is or may be prefer'd to Your Excellency and this hon^{ble} Court for Confirming the afores^d vote may not be heard and pass'd upon untill Some Convenient time be given your Petitioners to appear and Shew Cause wherefore the Said Vote ought not to be Confirmed And Your Petitioners as in Duty bound Shall ever humbly pray &c^t.

Dated at EXETER March 11th 1741.

ANDREW GILMAN	TIMOTHY LEAUIT
DANIEL JELS	JOSEPH LEAUIT
DANIEL SMITH	JOSIAH THING
BANIAMAN GILMAN	EDWORD COLCORD
EBENEZER COLCORD	NICHLOS DUDLEY
JOHN DUDLEY	SAMUEL DUDLEY
JONATHAN THING	JOHN HOLOND
MOSES JUITT	NICKLAS SMITH
SAMUELL EDGLEY	JOB JUDKINGS
NATINEL THING	EDWARD COLCORD
JOHN DUDLEY JUNER	JOHN GORGE
JEARIMIAH GILMAN JUNER	HALEY STEPHENS
JONATHAN GILMAN JUNER	JOHN ODLIN JR ^s
NICKLIS GORDON	JOHN GILS
JONATHAN WADLEIGH	JOHN ROBERTS
WILL ^m BEAN	HUMPHRY WILSON
JEREMIAH BEAN	DANIEL WORMALL
NICOLAS DUDLEY	EDWARD STEVENS
STEPHEN LEAUIT	SARAH GORDEN wid
SAMUEL SMITH COPPER	JOHN EUNELY

C.—Petition to the General Court, therefor.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY Benning Wentworth Esq^r Governor & Commander in Chief in & over His Majesty's Province of New Hampshire the Hon^{ble} His Majesty's Council & House of Representatives for Said Province in General Court Convened.

THE HUMBLE PETITION of Sundry Persons Inhabitants of the Southerly & Southwesterly part of the Town of Exeter in Said Province SHEWETH

That their Estates & habitations are so far from the meeting House where they usually attend the Public Worship as makes it very Inconvenient for them, most of them living above five miles distant therefrom, Considering of which, & the Large Congregation that belongs to the Meeting-house aforesaid, & their ability, the Town at a Public meeting on the 22^d Day of Febr^y last, have Voted a New Parish should be Erected by the Bounds Set

forth in the Vote (if the General Court Saw Meet) which will Comprehend your Petitioners Estates & habitations & if a Parish was Erected there, will have a tendency to promote the Settlements of the Lands in that part of the Town, & of the Town adjoining which Vote is herewith Presented—

That your Petitioners find a number of Persons of the Said Town have already Petition'd this Court, that this Petition may not be Granted until they are heard against it, but have not Set forth any Reason they have against it but propose to do it (as it Seems by their Petition) Oretenus upon the hearing, whereby Your Petitioners will under this disadvantage that they can not inform their Council of those which will be necessary in answer to what shall be alledged WHEREFORE Your Petitioners most Humbly Pray that they may be Erected & Incorporated into a Parish by the Boundaries in the Said Vote and that if this Hon^{ble} Court think proper that the aforesaid Petitioners should be first heard that they would order that they file their objections in Some Public Office in Writing some Reasonable time before the Day of hearing that so Your Petitioners may have a fair opportunity of answering them & Your Petitioners as in Duty Bound Shall ever pray &c—

JAMES DUDLEY
DARBEY KELLY
ELISHA SAMBORN
JAMES ROBINSON
ROBT BROWN
NATHANAEL FOULSAM
SHOBLE SAMBORNE
THOMAS MUDGET
AUTIPAS GILMAN
JOHN LEVIT JUN^r
BENJ^a FIFIELD
JNO ROBERTS JUN^r
JNO MORGIN
MARVERICK GILMAN
JEREMIAH ROW
ZACHERIAH JUDKINS
ITHIEL SMITH
BENJ^a SCRIBNER
DAVID BEAN
SAMUEL ROBERTS
THOMAS GORDIN
CHARLES YOUNG
JNO SMITH
JOSIAH MOODEY
EBENEAZER HUTCHINSON
JNO MIDGET
JONATHAN ROBINSON

ROBERT YOUNG
BENJ^a VEASEY
JEREMIAH BEAN
JNO BROWN
SAMUEL JONES
WILLIAM SMITH
JONATHAN CRAM
JOSEPH THING
JOHN FOULSHAM
GEORGE ROBERTS
JAMES DUDLEY JUN^r
MOSES FIFIELD
JOSHUA BEAN
JONATHAN SMITH
JONATHAN TALER
JOHN LEAVITT
ALEXANDER ROBERTS
SAMUEL DUDLEY
JOSEPH ATKINSON
EZEKIEL SMITH
DANIEL SAMBORN
NICHOLAS GORDIN
JNO BEAN
JACOB SMITH
DANIEL TILTON
WILLIAM GRAVES
NICHOLAS DOLLOF

D.—Action of the General Court, thereon.

In the House of Representatives Ma^r 17th 1744 the within Petition Read; and also another Petition of Andrew Gillman of Exeter

and others who desire to be heard before the Prayer of the within Petition be granted

VOTED that some or one of the above or with in Petitioners Serve the Said Andrew Gillman with a Copy of the Petition and Court order thereon, forthwith: and that the Parties appear the third day of the Sitting of the General assembly next Session to be heard: and that the Contrary party may Slew Cause (if any they have) why the Prayer of this Petition may not be granted & that Andrew Gillman & others file their objections in the Secretaries Office 10th dayes before the next Sitting of the Gen^l assembly
JAMES JEFFERY Cler^{ks} Ass^{ts}

In Council March 22^d 1741

The above Vote read & Concurr'd

THEODORE ATKINSON Sec^{ry}

Eodem Die Assented to B WENTWORTH

E.—Warrant for a second Town Meeting, thereon.

WHEREAS upwards of thirty of the Freeholders & Inhabitants of the town of Exeter have Desired us the Subscribers Selectmen of the S^d town forth with to Issue a warrant to warn a meeting of the Freeholders & Inhabitants of the Said town to take into Consideration the vote that was on the 22^d day of Feb^r Last by adjournment as they think illegally obtained by the Petitioners of the Southerly & Southwesterly part of the town of Exeter for being Set off as a Parish within particular Boundaries as Set forth in their Petition which vote the S^d Petitioners have Since preferr'd a Petition to the General assembly of this Province to get a Confirmation of—and forasmuch as the Said thirty Inhabitants & freeholders aforesd^d think Said vote was Illegally Obtained and that themselves as well as the town in General Shall be Greatly injured in Case Said vote is Confirmed These are therefore to Notify the freeholders and Inhabitants of this town of Exeter to meet at the town house in S^d town on monday the 17th day of May Current at two of the Clock in the afternoon to Consider of a vote if they think fit, first if they think the Said vote was Legally Obtained or not. 2^{dly} if the Confirmation of Said Vote will not be of a manifest Inquiry to the town in General. 3^{dly} if the town will then Choose Some person to represent the Same at the next Sitting of the General Court in June next and to doe what Else they Shall then think proper to be done about the Premises. Dated at Exeter afores^d the third day of May anno Domini 1742 —

JONATHAN CONNOR

NATH^l WEBSTER

JOSIAH GILMAN

JOHN ODLIN JUN^r

ROBERT LIGHT —

Selectmen

A true Copy Attes^d ELISHA ODLIN town Clerk

F.—Proceedings at the Town Meeting, thereon.

At a meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the town of Exeter held at the townhouse in S^d Exeter may 17th 1742—

VOTED. M^r Daniel Thing moderator for S^d meeting—at the Same meeting it was put to vote whether the town would act anything on the warrant and it pass'd in the negative.

a true Copy Attes^d ELISHA ODLIN town Clerk

*G.—Objections to the Confirmation.**

WHEREAS a Number of the Inhabitants of y^e Southerly or Southwesterly part of the town of Exeter By a vote pass'd at a Meeting held by adjournment At the townhouse in Exeter Febr'y 22^d 1741 w^{re} Set off to be a parrish by meets and Bounds Express'd in Said Vote, which they have Since Petitioned the Court to Confirm, we think ought not to be Confirmed for y^e following reasons—

1. Because as we apprehend the S^d vote was illegally obtained—the meeting Being before adjourn'd, to have the Line run which was not done, and y^efore many inhabitants not present thinking the meeting would be further adjourn'd and the S^d Petitioners Being the Maj^r Part of the Voters, forc't it on and voted it and it Being a particular favour to themselves we Esteem it illegal & y^efore not to be Confirmed . .

2. Because, we with Some of our neighbors, a number of the Inhabitants of the S^d Southerly &c, Part of the town have Been at Considerable Charge in Erecting and Building a house for the worship of God, and the meets and Bounds by which they are Set of, is Contrary to what was Ever Proposed by S^d Inhabitants on y^e part of the town and was done without our Knowledge or Consent, and has a manifest tendency to destroy our Labours, and to ouerthrow or at least Greatly Disturb the the worship of God amongst us,

3. Bec: The Line of S^d Parrish includes or takes in many of us & Great part or all of our Estates altho we timely Entred our Protests against any Such thing—under present Circumstances &c, & y^efore &c — — —

4 Bec: of our inability we Being not yet ripe for a Parrish, under our present Divided Circumstances having got nothing in any forwardness therefor, & most of y^e Petition & Exceeding poor, and Scarcely able to live, now. Even as we may Say y^e Biggest part of them and having a meeting house to Build, a minister to maintain & Settle, and a School to maintain, to gether with y^e Largeness of Province taxes, and we Being also much Divided amongst ourselves,

* It does not appear by whom, nor when, these Objections were made.

it would as we apprehend if Confirmed be to the utter ruin of many families, an impoverishing of the place; a Damage to themselves & families, a Laying a Yoke upon us which we Shall not be able to Bear

5. Bec: The Confirming of the Same under our Present Circumstances would as we apperehend be but Confirming of Confusion and disorder amongst us, and instead of advancing an Enlarging y^e Kingdom and Interest of X^t would tend to increase intestine Jars and animositys, amongst us, Even as we fear to our Entire overthrow at Last, & y^efore not to be confirmed. —

6. we would further Give as a reason the ap- presidency of the thing to be Set of to be a Parrish Before agreed w^t to Set a House & Even whilst quarreling * about the Same y^e Like Instance not to be Given we Believe in New England, y^e fore pray y^e it may not be Confirmed—

H.—Petition of the Remonstrants to be allowed to remain with the old Town.

To His Excellency Benning Wentworth Esq^r Governour & Commander in Chief in and over his Maj^{ties} Province of New Hampshire in New England, and to the Hon^{ble} His Majesties Council for Said Province & House of Representatives, when Conven'd in Gen^l Assembly

Whereas Sundry of the Inhabitants of the Southerly & Southwesterly part of Exeter in Newhampshire at the Last Sessions preferred a Petition to this Hon^{ble} Court to be Set off a Parrish (from the old meeting House in Exeter aforesaid where they usually attended the Publick Worship) by meet and Bounds as Set forth in the Said Petition,

And whereas, after the Intent of the above Petitioners was known, by us the Subscribers who never Consented to the Said Petition we did also Preferr a Petition to this Hon^{ble} Court Dated at Exeter March 11 . 1741 : Praying that the above Petition might not be granted until we were Heard, upon which this Court on Considering both Petitions Ordered that we Should

* Quarrelling was the natural element of the Puritans. They commenced fighting in the settlements of the Piscataqua, in New Hampshire, in 1681. Walter Neal and Thomas Wiggln, the inventor of the "Squamscot Patent," alias "Bloody-point Patent," agents of the two Plantations, came near shedding each others blood, that year. The latter threatened the former with the sword, because, as he said, he had encroached upon his land. The place where the quarrel took place is, to this day, called "Bloody-Point," on this account. Last year, some gentlemen, who had erected some "cottages by the sea-side," in Hampton, New Hampshire, were notified by the Town that their presence was not wanted. These "cottages by the sea-side," are near the dividing line of Neal and Wiggln, which was just above "Boar's Head Hotel," at Hampton Beach, a famous Summer resort, kept by Colonel S. H. Dumas.—W. F. G.

file our answers in the Sec^{ry} office ten days before the Sitting of the assembly in their next Sessions— In obedience to which order—for answer, why we may not be included within the Said Petition, and Set off from the old Town with them Petitioners. Is that we do not nor never desired it, and that our Estates are parted by the Line proposed, none of us Living within the Boddy of the New Precinct Proposed, but on the Lines on the East and South Sides, and that the S^d lines propos'd will be very Injurious to us & therefore we Humbly Pray that our Poles and Estates may Still be Continued to the old Town of Exeter: and we are humbly of opinion that it would be a verry great hardship to Set off So great a number of us the Subscribers from the Place we now belong to against our Wills and Intrest and which would prove So Great Damage to us on all accounts and that if this Hon^e Court think Proper to Sett off that new District; we humbly pray y^t we may be polled of to the old Town with our Estates within the S^d boundaries, and as in Duty Bound we Shall ever Pray &c

May 24th 1742

ANDREW GILMAN
JOHN ROBERTS
BENJAMIN GILMAN
EDWARD COLCORD
BILEY LYFORD
JEREMIAH BEAN JR
WILLIAM BEAN
NICOLAS SMITH
MOSES JURT
JONATHAN THING
EDWARD STEUENS
DANIEL QUINBY
ABRAHAM SMITH
JOSIAH THING
JOHN GORGE
NATH'L WEBSTER
JOHN DUDLY

TIMOTHY LEAUITT
NICHOLAS DUDLEY
DANIEL WORMALL
HUMPHRY WILSON
HALEY STEUENS
JOSEPH LEAUITT
EDWARD THING
DANIEL GILIS
SAMUEL DUDLEY JR
ELENER COLCORD
JONATHAN WADLEIGH
ANDREW DONNER
SAMUEL SMITH COPPER
NICKELAS DUDLEY JUNE
SARAH GORDEN WIDOW
JOHN EVINLY
STEPHEN LEAUITT

I.—Further objections of the Remonstrants.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY Benning Wentworth Esq^r Governour & Comander in Chief in and over his Majesties Province of newhampshire in New England & to the Hon^{ble} His Maj^{ties} Council for Said Province & House of Representatives w^{ch} Conven'd in Gen^l Assembly

WHEREAS Sundry of the Inhabitants of the Southerly & Southeasterly part of the Town of Exeter in newhampshire aforesaid at the last Sessions Preferred a Petition to this Hon^{ble} Court to Set off a Parish (from the old Town of Exeter where they usually attend the Publick Worship) Setting forth therein that the Town at a meeting held the 22^d day of february last past had voted a new Parish Should be

Errected by the bounds Set forth in the Vote of the 22^d of fe^r (which would Comprehend the Petitioners and there Estates) &c^a as th their Petition,

And By a Petition dated a Exeter the 11th day of March last past by Sundry Persons also Signed the Petition So dated & Andrew Gillman & others Presented the Same to the Gen^l Court, praying that the Petition first above referred to might not be granted till they were heard: the Hon^{ble} Court Ordered that the Said Petitioners Should Serve the Said Andrew Gillman wth a Copy of the Said Petition and Court Order thereon and a day of appearance at the Sitting of the next Gen^l assembly, & also to file answers 10 days before the Sitting of the next Gen^l ass^m in the Secretaries office, (to Shew Cause &c)——

And in obeynce to Said order, and for answer (besides w^{ch} is in the Said Andrew Gillman & others Petition,) they beg leave to Say 1: That they are humbly of opinion what was acted at the meeting held on the 22^d fe^r Last, was not done in conformity to the intent of the Town at the first meeting which was held the 8th of fe^r, & y^t on y^e 22^d of fe^r was by adjournment, the Reason of which adjournment was (That new market & Epping Parrish Line might be run, & until it was run) that the Town & People might the better know what, & whose Persons & Estates would fall in, But the day of the Said meeting on y^e 22^d of fe^r fell out, before Either of the Said Lines were Run, and your Respondents Supposing the Meeting would be again Adjourn'd until the Said Lines were run, they were not at the meeting, nor did Severall of them know whether their Houses or Estate would fall within, or without the Said Lines of the proposd new Parish. The Petitioners for the new Parrish took the advantage of So thin a meeting and would not adjourn againe, to have the aforesaid Lines run, But obtained a Vote for Setting themselves off (they being y^e Majority :) and gave themselves Bounds—all which managment we think to be ag^t Law or Equity:—& therefor not to be regarded or Confirmed

2^d By the Bounds set forth in the vote of y^e 22^d of fe^r the Estates of Severall of your Respod^{ts} are Split, & Divided So, as Some of their Houses, are in the old Town, & their improvd Land, within the bounds proposed for the new Precinct: and Severall of their homestead Lands divided, Some one Side of the Line; and Some on the other which may be verry prejudicial to them.

3^dly they are taken in by Said Line of y^e proposed precinct against their wills, or knowledge (by the vote of y^e 22^d fe^r aforesaid being past before the Lines aforesaid was run according to

the intent of the Town :) or that many of them knew how the Lines of the proposed Parrish would fall, & none of them being Petitioners.

4th the Great Confusion & heart Burning it will Raise by & with Som (if not amongst the whole) to be forced ag^t their wills to that they never desired, and will So greatly prejudice them and their Estates.

5th The Respondents under their present Circumstances & the Circumstances of the Petitioners; think they are not yet able to Support and maintain the necessary Charges of a Parrish Wherefore they humbly Pray the Prayer of the Petition may not be Granted.

But if the Hon^d Court Shall bee good to indulge the Petitioners with a Grant of a new Precinct according to the Bounds in Said Vote of y^e 22^d Febr.

Then Your Respondents Most humbly Pray the Hon^{ble} Court that their Poles & Estate may be Polled of to the old Town of Exeter, untill futher order, and your Petitioners, as in Duty bound Shall ever Pray &c^a.

May 27th 1742.

ANDREW GILMAN for himself and the other respondents afores^d.

Rec^d into the Sec^ys office for the Province of new Hamp^r the 27th May 1742—

J.—Action of the General Court, on the original Remonstrance of Andrew Gilman,—“B.”

In the House of Representatives Jun 22^d 1742 the within Petition Read and Parties Heard & Voted That the Petition be Dismissed

JAMES JEFFRY Cle^r Assⁿ

K.—Action of the General Court on the original Petition,—“C.”

In the House of Representatives June 22^d 1742

The within Petition Read and the Parties heard thereon and those that desired to be heard against it, and, Voted / That the Prayer of the Petition be granted They Maintaining an orthodox Minister & that Ichabod Roby & Richard Jennes Esq^r, be a Committee of this House to Joyne Such as the Hon^{ble} the Council Shall appoint to go on the Spot and View where it is Most Convenient that a new meeting House may be placed, So as to be most Convenient for all the Parties Concerned & that to be Conclusive, and the Petitioners have liberty to bring in a Bill accordingly

JAMES JEFFRY Cle^r Assⁿ

L.—Agreement between opposing parties.

WE Elisha Sanburn in behalf of the Petitioners for a Parrish in the Southwest part of Exeter, and John Dudley on behalfe of the Opposers of Said Petition (Excepting those Per-

sons that live on the South Side of Exeter River) do agree, That two places are proposed where to place a new Meeting House for Said District viz^t one place to be at the North East Corner of David Robinsons Land in Said District Joining to Jon^a Robinsons Land the South Side of the way that goes to Crawlys mill above Deere Hill Mill—the other place, at the South East Corner of Cap^t James Levits mowing Lot by a Gully on the north Side of the above Road, and that each party make Choice of a man Indifferent, and a third person be Chosen by both parties, & if they Cannot agree upon the third person, Then the two persons first Chosen Shall make Choice of a third persons: and that they three P^{er}sons Say at which of the above places the meeting House Shall Stand, or at any Convenient place between the above two places mentioned

In Witness of the above Said Said agreement Each for the parties he Represents have hereunto Set their hands this 23^d June 1742

ELISHA SAMBORN
JOHN DUDLY

M.—Action of the General Court, thereon.

In the House of Representatives June 24th: 1742 Upon Reconsidering the Votes on the Petition of the Inhabitants of the Southwest part of Exeter: for being Set off a Parrish—and upon Considering the Within agreement of the Several Parties

Voted/ That Richard Wibird & Geo. Walton Esq^r & m^r Jona^a Thomson be a Committee to go & View the places agreed upon by the Parties as within Mentioned for the placing the new Meeting House, and to fix the place where Said meeting House Shall Stand, and that to be a final Conclusion: and that the Petitioners have liberty to bring in a Bill accordingly for parrish Powers—and also that the Charge of the Committee be born and paid by the whole Society the Committee to make their Return into the Secretarys office,

JAMES JEFFRY Cle^r Assⁿ

In Council June 26th 1742

Concurred & John Downing Esq
aded to the above Committee

THEOD ATKINSON Sec^y

Eod^m Die

In the House of Representatives the councils vote of addition Read and Concurr^d
JAMES JEFFRY Cle^r assⁿ

Eod^m Die

Assented to B WENTWORTH

N.—Petition of the Agents of the Parrish for th^e settlement of its Boundaries.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, bearing Went;

worth Esq^r Governor & Commander in Chief in & over His Majesty's Province of New Hampshire The Hon^{ble} His Majesty's Council & House of Representatives in General assembly Convened September the 14th 1742—

HUMBLY SHEWS

Joseph Leavit & Elisha Samborn both of the Parish of Brintwood in the Province of New Hampshire & as Agents for said Parish

That the Inhabitants of said Parish are in an unsettled condition & Labour under Considerable difficulty notwithstanding the favour & Indulgence of the General Court in making them a Parish which arises from the uncertainty of the Boundaries on the Lower part of said Parish next to Exeter Town For as the Line which Divides said Parish from said Town is to begin at the Head of New Market Line & then to Run South to Exeter River making near a Right angle with New market Line and the head of that Line is not Sufficiently ascertain'd it makes the said Dividing Line uncertain and the Said Parish of Brintwood will be Longer or Shorter according as the said Line shall be Settled which Considerably affects the Inhabitants thereof & the affairs of the Parish and Especially with Regard to fixing the Meeting house & other matters Relating thereunto— That the Parties Interested cannot agree tof themselves in the Premises WHEREFORE the said Agents Humbly Pray that a Committee may be appointed by the General assembly with Sufficient authority to ascertain the Said Boundaries of the Said Parish of Brintwood as Soon as may be by fixing & Runing the said Line of New market and all other Lines necessary to the End aforesaid for the better Regulation of the affairs of Said Parish & preventing Differences & Disputes between the said Parishcs & the Town of Exeter afores^d or that the Same may be done in Such other method & as Soon as to the wisdom and Goodness of the Genral Assembly Shall Seem meet—

and your Petitioners as in Duty bound Shall ever Pray &c

JOSEPH LEAVIT
ELISHA SAMBORN

O.—Action of the General Court, thereon.

In the House of Representatives Sep^r the 17th 1742 The within Petition Read: and Voted: That the Prayer of the Petition be Granted in the following manner, Viz^t That Cap^t Ichabod Roby M^r John Samburn and Cap^t Nathaniel Ealy be a Committee to Run & mark out the Boundary Lines Between Exeter Old Parrish and new market and Between Exeter Old Parrish and Brentwood and that they make Return of their doing therein & present a Plan of the

Lines they Run how they have markt out the Boundaries to the General assembly next Thursday if the assembly be then Sitting (if not) then on the third day of the Sitting of the Gen^l assembly at their next Sessions for acceptance, and that all the Parrishes of afore said Shall have Liberty to be heard (to Shew Reason if any they have) why the Lines Shall not be Settled agreeable to the Report of S^c Committee before it be Confirmd by the Gen^l Court. And that in case m^r John Sanburn & Cap^t Ealy: or Either of them will not accept & go with Cap^t Roby to Run Said Lines, That then Cap^t Roby Employ two good understanding men to be Chaine men on Oath to go with him & That he make Return as aforesaid the Petitioners paying the Charge

JAMES JEFFRY Cle^r ass^m

September 17, 1742—

In Council read & Concurred

THEODORE ATKINSON Sec^y

Eodem Die

assented to

B WENTWORTH

P.—Petition for relief of some of the inhabitants.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY Benning Wentworth Esq^r Governour and Commander in Chief in and over his Majesty's Province of New Hampshire and To the Hon^{ble} his Majesty's Council & Representatives in General Court Assembled—

HUMBLY SHEWETH the Subscribers hereunto Inhabitants of the Parish of Brintwood having for Some years past Erected a meeting house for the Publick worship of God in the most Suitable place for us that live on the North Side of the river and have also Carry'd on the Publick worship in it at our own Cost and in as much as the Moving Said house or our being obliged to move the Same or pay towards the Erecting a New meeting house further up into Said Parish would be a great hardship as well as Cost unto us Several of us Living two miles & upward from the Present meeting house WHEREFORE we humbly pray Your Excellency and this hon^{ble} Court will in your Great wisdom take our Case under your wise Consideration and Grant us Liberty to Continue to Carry on the worship of God in the present meetinghouse that we may be free from all Charges and to any other house that Shall be built and that we may be Set off as a particular District with Such other priviledges and by Such boundaries as your Excellency this hon^{ble} Court in your Great wisdom Shall See meet to Grant us— and Your Petitioners as in Duty Bound Shall Ever pray &c^r Dated at Brintwood Nov^r 16th 1742.

ANDREW GILMAN
TIMOTHY LEAUT
BANGAMAN GILMAN
SAMUEL STEUNES
THOMAS MUDGET
HUMPHRY WILSON
JOSIAH THING
JOHN GORGE
JONATHAN THING
EDWARD COLCORD JUNR
NICHOLAS DUDLEY JUNR
JONATHAN DUDLEY
NICHOLAS SMITH
WILMA BEAN
EDWARD THING
JOHN MUDGET
HALEY STUENS
JOHN LEAVITT
ITHIEL CLIFFORD
JONATHAN QUINBY
MOSES DUDLEY
MATHA BEAN

NICHOLAS DUDLEY
DANIEL WORMALL
JONATHAN GILMAN
JMEREH GILMAN
SAMUEL EDGERLEV
STEPHEN LEAUT
JOHN DUDLY
JEREMIAH BEEAN
SAMUEL SMITH
JOHN MORGIN
JOHN QUINBY
JOHN DUDLEY JUNR
DARBY KALLY
EDWARD COLCORD
ANDREW DONNER
MOSES JEWETT
SARAH GORDEN
JOSHUA BEEN
MAVRICK GILMAN
ANTIPAS GILMAN
SAMUEL DUDLEY JUN
JOHN ODLEN IUN

JOHN QUINBY IUN

Q.—Preliminary action of the General Court, thereon.

In the House of Representatives 9^b 23^d 1742 the within Petition Read and Voted that the Petitioners (at their own Cost Serve the Select men of Brentwood with a Copy of this Petition and the votes thereon: And y^t they appear the 1^d day of the Sitting of the Gen^l ass^m after the 25th day of December next to Shew Cause (if any they have) why the prayer of the Petition may not be granted

JAMES JEFFRY Cle^r ass^m

PROV N HAMP^s

Nov^r 23^d 1742 the above Vote of the House read & Concurr^d

THEOD ATKINSON Sec^y

PROV^s NEW HAMP^s

November 24th 1743

assented to

B. WENTWORTH

R.—Order of the General Court, on taxes in the Parish.

WHEREAS the new Parish of Brentwood in the Town of Exeter, has been Set off from the old Town of Exeter Since the Proportioning the Town &c^s in this Province has been made,— And the Warrants from the Treasurer came directed to the Select Men of Exeter for the Prov^s Tax w^h Included the Poles & Estates of those persons & Estates in Brentwood and Since they have been Sett off they Refuse to pay Exeter Constables their Proportion of the Prov^s Tax: which is like to to cause a difference between the Town and parish—

For prevention whereof Voted, That the Poles & Estates belonging to Said Parish of

Brentwood pay their Proportion of the Province Tax as they are already assessed by the Select Men of Exeter, for the Present yeare, For the Constables who have the Warrants to Collect the Same, and for the future that Brentwood Joyn with the Town of Exeter in making their Province Rates till otherwise Ordered By the Gen^l assembly, and that an act be drawn up accordingly

9^r 25th 1742 JAMES JEFFRY Cle^r ass^m

In Council Nov 25th 1742

read & Concurr

THEODORE ATKINSON Sec^y

Eodem Die

Assented to

B WENTWORTH

S.—Report of Committee on selection of a site for a meeting-house.

Prov^s Newhamp^r

Portsm^r Febr^y 1st

174³

Persuant to An Act of the Gen^l Court Baring Date the 26th Day of June 1742:

Wee the Subscribers being appointed by S^d Act as a Committee to Survey and Veiw the parish of Brintwood in the Town Ship of Exeter in the province aforesaid To See. where the most Convenient and Comodious place, is for the Erecting of, a Meeting house for the accommodation of the aforesaid parish—

Accordingly to the power and Authority given us by the aforesaid Act Wee have Veiw^d all parts of Said parish as was Shew^d by the Committee appointed by Vote of the parish aforesaid to attend and Shew us, the Several parts of Said parish and Inhabitants

Wee Doe therefore adjudge & Determine that a Certain peice of Land call^d or known by the name of Cap^t James Levitts Lott that Lyes upon the North Side of, the Road or highway that Leads, from Deer hill Mill to Crawlys, falls, mill upon the Westerly Side of, the Gully—at the, Easterly Corner of Said Lott; is the most Convenient place According to the best of our Judgm^t and Shall be the Spott for the Setting the Meeting house on; Which wee give as our Judgm^t and Determination under our hands the Day above Said

JOHN DOWNING

GEO WALTON

JONATHAN THOMSON

} Committee

T.—Action of the Town, on that subject.

At a Legal parish meeting held at Brint wood on munday february the 19th 1742-3 voted m^r timothy Leaut moderator of S^d meeting at the Same meeting it was voted that Jeremiah Been & Joseph Leaut be Chosen to agree with the man that owns the Land where the Committee hath Detirm^d a place for a meeting house in S^d parish & allso to take a Deed of S^d Land for

the use of the of the parish of the afore Sd man If he See fit to give a deed: at the Same meeting it was voted that John Roberts John maresch Jeremiah Rowe James Roberdson Daniel Sandburn be Chosen a Committee to Imply men to procure timber for a meeting house in Sd parish & all other Stuff that is Necessary for building Sd house in Sd parish: at the Same meeting it was voted that the meeting house in Sd parish be builded by way of Rate Sixty feet Long and forty feet wide: at the Same meeting voted that the Same Committee have power to agree with Carpenters & others Leabouring men in Sd parish to build the frame of the Sd meeting house upon the Sd Lot that the Sd Committee hath apointed for Setting Sd house at the Same meeting voted that the frame of Sd meeting house be Compleated workman Like fit to Raise by the tenth day of June next Insewing. at the Same meeting Voted that Every Labouering man & yoake of oxen haue Seuen Shilling p^r day Each & find himself for Every days work he is out about Sd frame for house—a true Copy taken out of Brintwood parish Records

Attest JOSEPH LEAULT parish Clerk

U.—*Petition of Samuel Thing and others, supplementary to that of Andrew Gilman and others.*—[Ante, "P."]

Province of)
New Hampshire)

TO HIS EXCELLENCY
Benning Wentworth Esq^r
Captain General and Governour in and over his Majesties Province of New Hampshire aforesaid To his Majesties Councill and house of Representatives in General assembly Convened—

WHEREAS there is a Petition of Andrew Gilman, and others now Lying before Your Excellency and the Hon^{ble} Court Praying that Your Excellency and the Hon^{ble} Court will in your great Wisdom take their Case under Your wise Consideration—and Grant them Liberty to Continue to Carry on the Worship of God in the Present Meeting house that they may be free from all Charges and Duties to any other house that Shall be built and that they may be Set off as a Particular District with Such other Priviledges and by Such Boundaries as Your Excellency and this Hon^{ble} Court in your Great Wisdom Shall See meet to Grant them— To which Said Petition our names are not affixed and we being Freeholders or Inhabitants within the Parish of Brintwood and are Desirous to have the Prayer of the Said Petition Granted (if Consistent with your Excellencies & Your honours Pleasure) Do Earnestly pray that we may be Receiv'd as Joyned Petitioners with them and Deemed as Such—And your Petitioners as in Duty Bound Shall Ever Pray &c.

Dated at Brintwood May 10th 1743.

SAMUEL THING
JOSEPH THING
GONA DUDLY
JOHN HOLAN
EBENEZER HOOLE *
JOSEPH THING JUN

NICELES GORDON
NATH^l WEBSTER
JOSEPH HOGHIT
CALEP BROWN
DANIEL QUINBE
PETER THING

V.—*Action of the General Court, on the Petitions of Andrew Gilman and others.*—[Ante, "P" and "U."]

In the House of Representatives May the 24th 1743 the within Petitioners and their Opponents heard by their Council the House having Considered thereof VOTED. That this Petition and also a Petition Signed Joseph Thing & Peter Thing & ten others Desiring to be admitted to Joyne with the within Petitioners: be both Dismiss'd

JAMES JEFFRY Cle^r assⁿ

W.—*Remonstrance of persons in North part of Brintwood.*

TO HIS EXCELLENCY Benning Wentworth Esq^r Governour and Commander in Chief in and over His Majesties Province of New Hampshire, And To the Hon^{ble} his Majesties Councill and Representatives In General Court assembled—

We the Subscribers Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Northerly part of the Parish of Brintwood in the Province aforesaid Do Humbly Crave Leave of Your Excellency and honours as follows Viz: Many of us Living four or five miles Distant from Exeter meeting-house have Attended the Publick Worship of God at that house for many Years past with Great difficulty and our families increasing made it much more difficult Especially in the Winter, Spring & fall of the year— Wherefore about eight years ago we with Several or the Southerly part of Said Parish Erected a house for the Publick worship of God in the most Suitable place as they then thought and we Now Do think to Carry on the Publick worship in and Accordingly at our own Charge have Carry'd on the Same in the winter, Spring and fall of the Year ever Since as we had for four years or thereabout before Erecting Said house Carry'd on the Publick Worship in a Private house Standing near our Present Meeting house—

AND about Last February was twelve month the Freeholders & Inhabitants of the Southerly part of Brintwood aforesaid Petitioned the Town of Exeter aforesaid to be Set off as a Parish Contrary to the will and Desire of most of

* Towns, it may be.—W. F. G.

us and Said Town of Exeter Granted their Said Petition, Notwith Standing many of Dissented therefrom. And their Said Petition being granted they afterwards apply'd to Your Excellency and honours that we might be Permitted to Continue to Carry on the Publick worship of God in our Said house and to be Set off by Such Boundaries as your Excellency & honours Should think meet and be Exempted from all Charge towards the Meeting house and Minority in the Southerly Part of Said Parish &c: as by our Petition Lying before your Excellency and Honours in Your hon^{ble} Court may appear which Petition the hon^{ble} House of Representatives have Seen meet to Dismiss— And also Your Excellency & honours having appointed a Committee of four Gentlemen, two out of Each house to Prefix the place where the Meeting house ought to Stand Three of said Gentlemen have been and made return but is Accounted voyd by your Excellency & honours For that the Committee Did not all Joyn in their Return and for which Reason our Petition was also Dismissed wherefore our Case at Present Seems very hard and Difficult we having been at Such Cost to Erect our Said house and to Maintain Preaching in it hitherto and the minister also who hath hitherto Preached to us being at our Earnest Desire willing to Continue with us in the Ministry If your Excellency & honours will in your great wisdom take this our Remonstrance of our Difficult Circumstances in our Present Meeting house not being Established and our aforesaid Petition not being Granted and the great Charges and Difficulties we hitherto have and Still Do Labour under, Under your Excellency and Honours wise Consideration and be pleas'd to grant us Relief herein as in your Great wisdom you Shall See meet And as in Duty Bound we Your Excellencies & honours Most Obedient, Humble Servants Shall Ever Pray &c:

Dated at Brintwood June 27th Anno Domini 1748

ANDREW GILMAN
EDWARD COLCORD
ANTIPAS GILMAN
BENJAMIN GILMAN
SAMUEL DUDLEY
STEPHEN LEAVITT
JONATHAN HADLEY
JEREMIAH BEAN
JOHN GORGE
DANIEL QUINBY
JOHN LEAVITT
JOSEPH HOYT
JOHN MORGIN
ZEKIL CLAFORD
DANIEL WORMALL
HALEY STUENS

HUMPHRY WILSON
NICHOLAS DUDLEY
TIMOTHY LEAVITT
SAMUEL EDGERLEY
JONATHAN THING
JOSIAH THING
NICOLAS DUDLEY
JOHN DUDLEY
EDWARD THING
SARAH GORDEN
SAMUEL STEVENS
JOSHUA BEEN
JOHN HOLOW
SAMUEL SMITH
MARTY BEEN
JEREMY GILMAN JUN^r

X.—Action of the General Court, thereon.

In the House of Representatives July 1st 1748
The within Petition Read & Considered on & Voted That Eleazer Russell Esq^r Mark Langdon Gen^l & M^r Noah Barker of Stratham be a Committee to Joyne Such as the Hon^{ble} the Council Shall appoint to Go to the Parrish of Brentwood and View the Situation of Said Parrish —& See whether it will be most Convenient for the Inhabitants thereof to be Divided Into two Parrishes, or whether the whole Shall meet at the Meeting House already Built, for Some Limited time or to Conclude upon Some other method that they Shall think to be for the best good of the Said Parrish. In Order for their being Settled in Peace and that they make Report to the Gen^l ass^m the third day of the Sitting of the Gen^l ass^m at their next Sessions, and that the Petitioners be at the Charge of the Committee, and that the Petitioners Serve the Select men of Brentwood with a Coppy of this Pet^r & Votes that they may Notifie the Parrish of these proceedings—and that those that will dispute what Is acted may appeare at the day above Said—

JAMES JEFFREY Cle^r Ass^m

Eodem Die

In Council read & Concurr'd & the above Sa Committee hereby Established & Impowerr'd for the End above Sd

THROD ATKINSON Sec^y

Eodem Die

Assented to

B WENTWORTH

Y.—Petition of Inhabitants of Brintwood.

Province of {
New Hampshire { TO HIS EXCELLENCY
Benning Wentworth Esq^r
Governor and Commander in Chief In and over His Majesties Province of New Hampshire And To the Hon^{ble} His Majesties Council, and House of Representatives In General Court Assembled.

HUMBLY SHEWS The Subscribers, Inhabitants of the Parrish of Brintwood in the Province Aforesaid That they Having at their own Cost and Charge Erected a house for the Publick Worship of God in Said Parrish—Do—Therefore Humbly Request Your Excellency and The Hon^{ble} Court To Enable us by an Act of the Hon^{ble} Court To Poll off our Selves, our Families and Estates and Such Others as Shall Think meet to Joyn with us in Carrying on the Publick Worship in Said house, And that they may be Exempt from Charge towards Supporting any other house or Minister in Said Parrish besides their own.

And Your Petitioners as in Duty Bound Shall ever Pray.

Dated December 10th 1743.

ANDREW GILMAN	EDWARD COLCERD
DANIEL WORMALL	BANIA GILMAN
NICOLAS DUDELY	NICOLAS DUDELY JUNR
SAMUELL STEUENES	JEREMIAH GILMAN
JONTHEN GILMAN	HALEY STUENS
WID ^o MARE DUDLEY	WID ^o SARAH GORDEN
JOSIAH THING	TIMOTHY LEAUITT
THOMAS FLANDERS	JOHN GORGE
JONATHAN WADGET	JOSHUA BEEN
JOHN MORGER JUN ^r	DARBE KELY
JONATHAN THING	ANTIPAS GILMAN
JOSEPH HOIT	JOHN DUDLY
STEPHEN LEAUITT	EDWARD THING
DANIEL QUENBEE	HUMPHRY WILSON
JONATHAN QUINBE	SAMUEL DUDLEY
SAMUEL SMITH	JEREMIAH BEEN
SAMUEL EDGERLEY	CALB BROWN
JOHN HOLON	MARTHA BEN

Z.—*Second Petition, supplementary to the last.*

Province of } TO HIS EXCELLENCY
New Hampshire } B Wintworth Esq^r Cap^t
Governor in and Over his
Maj^{ties} Province of New-
hampshire

To his Maj^{ties} Council and house of repre-
sant^{es} in General Assembly Convened Whereas
there a Petition of Andrew Gilman and others
now Lying before Your Excellency and the
Hon^{ble} Council Praying &c B^e Bearing Date De-
cember the 10 1743 to which our names are not
in Infixd & we being Freeholders or Inhabit-
ants within the Parish of Brintwood and are
Desirous to have the Prayers of the Sd Petition
Granted if Consistant with your Excellency
and Your Hon^{ble} Council and house of Repre-
sent^{es} Pray that we may be Recd as Joynt Peti-
tioners with them and Deemed as Such & your
Petitioners as in Duty Bound Shall

Ever Pray

JOHN LEAUIT
ITHIEAL CLIFORD
MAY^r GILMAN
NICLAS SMITH

AA.—*Action of the General Court on the Peti-
tion of Andrew Gilman and others.*—[Ante,
"W."]

In the House of Representatives X^r the 15th
1743—The above Petition Read and Voted,
That the Petitioners at their proper Cost &
Charge: Serve the Select men of Exe^r and the
Select Men of Brentwood, with a Copy of the
Petition and Votes thereon: to appear the
third day of the Sitting of the Gen^l assembly
after the first day of aprill next, to Shew Cause
if any they have) why the Prayer of the Peti-
tion may not be granted

JAMES JEFFRY Cl^r ass^{ns}.

In Council Eodem Die
read & non Concurr^d

THEODORE ATKINSON Sec^y

And Voted That the Prayer of the Petition
be granted and that any Rateable Person or
Persons that are now Inhabitants within the Sd
Parish of Brintwood may Joyne with the
Petitioners Provided they Enter thier names
with the Clerk of the Parish aforesd on or be-
fore the 25th Day of febr^y next & that any Per-
son that Shall Settle in the Sd Parish within
Three years may alsoe have the Liberty of
Joyning with the Petitioners by Entring their
names with the Clerk of the Sd Parish—and
that an Act be drawn up Accordingly

THEODORE ATKINSON Sec^y

In the House of Representatives x^r: 16th
1743 the above vote of Council Read & non
Concured: & Voted That the Petitioners at
their Proper Cost and charge Serve the Select
men of Brentwood with a Copy of this Petition
and the Votes thereon, to appear the week after
next (of the Gen^l assⁿ be then Sitting) if not
then to appear the third day of the Sitting
of the Gen^l assⁿ after that time—to there
Cause why the prayer of the Petition may not
be granted

JAMES JEFFRY Cl^r ass^{ns}

December 17th 1743

In Council Read & Concurr^d

THEODORE ATKINSON Sec^y

Eodem Die

Assented to B WENTWORTH

BB.—*Reasons of Inhabitants for opposing the
Prayer of that Petition.*

Province of } TO HIS EXCELLENCY Ben-
New Hamp^r } ning Wentworth Esq^r Governor
and Commander in Chief in and
over his Maj^{ties} Province of New Hamp^r And
to the Hon^{ble} his Maj^{ties} Council And House of
Representatives In General Court Assembled—

We the Subscribers Inhabitants of the Par-
ish of Brent Wood in the Prouince aforesaid,
Having been Serued with a Copia of a Petition
of a Number of Inhabitants of Said Brentwood
Dated Decr 10th 1743 who have Petitioned this
Hon^{ble} Court, to Enable them by an act of Sd
Court, to Poll of themselves & families and Es-
tats & Such others as Shall think Meet to Joyne
with them in carrying on the Publick Worship
of God at a certain house they have Errected in
Sd Parrish at their own Cost & charge,
And being Served with the Votes on Sd Peti-
tion, & to appear in Sd Court to Shew Cause
why the Prayer of the Sd Petition may not be
granted—

Our Reasons why Said Petition May Not be
granted are ds followeth 1st) If their Petition

should be granted It would be very destructive, both to them & us, Neither of us being able to Pay the Publick and Private charges Necessarily arising in S^d Parrish, the which we Should be able to Do Should the Parrish & Inhabitants be Kept together; 2^dly: Should their Petition be granted It would Put the Parrish to more confusion and Difficulty about Seling then ever has been yet, & besides Should their Request be granted, there are many families in S^d Parrish as they Say which lives convenient to poll of Some to Kingston & Some to Epping for the benefit of going to meeting, which purpose to petition S^d Court to poll off also If their Petition be granted, 3^dly: Inas: much as that after three of the Gentlemen who were appointed in the Charter for S^d Parrish to State the place where y^r meeting house Should Stand had appointed the Place there was a unanimous Vote in S^d Parrish at a legall Parrish Meeting, to build a meeting house on the Spot appointed by S^d Gentlemen, & then chose a Com^{tee} to take care & to build S^d house which Commite agreed with men to build it, at the Parrish Cost & it is now framed Ready to be Raised, but the present Selectmen Refusing to Raise Money by way of Rate to pay the charge the men that did the work and Kept out of there honest due, And they S^d Petitioners as we Suppose think to Escape Paying their part of the charge towards building S^d Meeting house, by there Polling off And Severall of them being of the first Petitioners for S^d Parrish.

We hope that by these objections and What May be further offered on Tryal your Honours Will Pless to deny there Request: And that and End May be Speedely put to our long troubles we labour under, Dated Dec^r 26th 1743

JOHN ROBERTS
NATH^l FOLSHAM
JOHN BROWN
NICKLAS GORDN
JAMES YOUNG
JEREMIAH BEEAN JR^a
WILIAM GRAVES
JOHN FOLSHAM
BENJAMIN VESEY
BENJAMIN ROBERTS
ROBERT BROWN
JAMES DUDLEY JUN^a
GEOG ROBODS
ELISHA SAMBORN
DANIEL GORDEN
DANIEL GILES JUN^a
DAVID SMITH
BILEY LYFORD
BENJAMIN ROGERS
ISAAC CLEFFORD
JOEL JUDKINS

JOHN MARSH
BENJAMIN FIFIELD
BILEY HARDING
JEDEDIAH PRESCUTT
THOMES GORDING
MOABES FIFIELD
HANARY MARSH
DAVID BEAN
JOHN ROBERTS JR^a
EZEKIEL SMITH
JOB KENISTON
DANIEL SANBON
JEAMES ROBERNCOEN
JOSEPH LEAUIT
DANIEL GILES
JOHN GILES
JEANAS MARSH
JONATHAN SMITH
THOMAS CRITCHETT
JACOB HOBS
ITHIEL SMITH

ZECHRIAH JUDKINS
ROBERT YOUNG
CHARLES YOUNG
NICHOLAS GORDEN JEAN^r
JEREMIAH ROW
JONATHAN ROBINSON
SAMUEL JONES
BENJA SCHIBNER
SAMUEL ROBDES
AMBROS HINDS
JOHN JAMES
NICHOLAS DOLLOF
JOHN MUDGET
JONATHAN TALEN
JOHN BEAN
JOSEPH MOODEY
ELEXAND^r ROBERTS

CC.—*Final Action of the General Court, thereon.*

In the House of Represen^t X^r 30th 1743
the Petitioners & the Respond^{ts} heard & the
House having Considered thereof

Voted That the Said Pet^r be Dismist

JAMES JEFFRY Cle^r ass^{ts}

DD.—*Renewed Petition for relief, by some of the Inhabitants.*

TO HIS EXCELLENCY BENNING WENTWORTH ESQ^r Governor and Comander in chief in and over his Majesties Province of Newhampshire in Council

HUMBLY SHEWETH, Andrew Gilman, Nicholas Dudley and Humphry Wilson, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Northerly part of the Parish of Brentwood, on behalf of themselves and theiro distressed Neighbours, and friends Living within the Northerly part of Said Parrish, who have once and again been Supplicating y^r Excellency with the other branch of the General assembly for our being Set off from the other part of Said Parrish, and that we might Injoy the liberty of carrying on the Publick Worship of God in our present Meeting House free from any Charge to be Laid on us by the other part of Said Parrish, and in as much as our Grievances Still remain unredrest, and fearing the daily approaches of Greater by unreasonable Taxes, &c^r

We your humble Petitioners, for our Selves and our distressed Brethern and neighbours, would therefore humbly crave leave from y^r Excellencie once more to lay our distressed circumstances under your wise consideration and humbly Pray that your Excellency will be pleased to think of Some Speedy way to Set us off from the other part of Said Parrish, and from the charges thereof. That we may Still continue the Publick Worship of God in our own Meeting House, and not be forced to go to the meeting House, which Some of the other part of the Parrish would have us, which we could not do (in time of War) without the utmost hazzard of the Lives of our Selves & Famillyes, the place where their Meeting House is propos'd to be Sett, being in the midst of a Great Swamp, and very hazardous and also difficult to go to Either in Spring or Fall, of the Yearc

We your humble Petitioners most humbly leave our Selves and our distressed Circumstances to the Pitty and Compassion of Your Excellency, humbly praying your Pitty and Compassion, and the heareing and Granting this our Petition, as in your Wisdome you Shall See most meet

And your Petitioners as in Duty bound Shall ever pray &c'

Dated May 26th 1744

ANDREW GILMAN
NICOLAS DUDLEY
HUMPHRY WILSON
in behalfe of the rest
that have now a Petition
lying before
the Gen^l ass^m

EE.—*Further Remonstrance of Inhabitants of Brintwood.*

October y^e 8th 1744

We whose Names are Vnder writen hauing by Chance heard that his Excelecey & the Hon^{ble} Council heath Sent a Suruair to the Parish of Brintwood in Order to Deuide the Same and we being takin in to the Lower Part and haue bin at Grate Charge in gitting the Parish— We Pray that we may not be Confir^d theain for we are Sencible that theair is not a Sufficient number in it To be at the Nessecary Charges of a toun Parish or Preseinct but that we may haue a years Liberty for Consideration or what His Excellency Shall Se fit to Giue us—

JONATHAN CRAW
JONATHAN ROBINSON
JONATHAN THING
THOMAS MUDGET
WILLIAM BEEN
JONATHAN TOSER

JEREMIAH ROWE
MOSES JEWETT
JOHN MUDGET
NICHLOES SMITH
JONATHAN WODLEY
JOHN JAMES

FF.—*Minute of a Conference between opposing parties.*

October y^e 15th 1744

According To the aduice of His Exclency we A Number of Booth Peartes in the Parrish of Brintwood have Descorsed on our afair Concerning an agreement—And the upper People Desire Stell to Stand by the first Act in making the Parrish Notwithstanding They whose Names are under writen are willing Rather then to be deuided that the that the meeting house Should be Sit by way of Rate, Viz as Near the Senter of the uidth of the Parich on the middle Rode as may be and as Near the Botim Line as that one half the money a Cording to the Rate this Year Shall be Raised above it

REUBIN SMITH
JAMES YOUNG
JON^a ROBINSON
ELISHA SAMBORN
DANIEL SAMBORN
JER^a ROWE

BENJA VEASEY
JEREMIAH BEAN
JAMES ROBINSON
BENJA FIFIELD
JOHN ROBERDS
MOSES JEWETT

VI.

PAPERS CONCERNING SETTLEMENT OF
REV. WOODBRIDGE ODLIN.

A.—*Pertition for relief of opponents to the settlement of Mr. Odlin.*

To His Excellency Benning Wentworth Esq^r Governor and Comander in Cheif in and over his Majesties Province of New Hampsh^r &c and to The Hon^{ble} His Majesties Council, and House of Representatives, in Generall assembly Conven^d

The Humble Petition of a Number of the freeholders, and other Inhabitants of the Town of Exeter, Humbly Sheweth, that att the annual meeting held in Exeter, in the the Year 1748: The Town did att S^d meeting proceed (in a hasty and resolute manner, as wee Conceive Contrary to the mind of most of your Petitioners, who timely Entered their dissent) to Chuse a Committee, absolutely to agree with, and Settle M^r Woodbridge Odlin,* as a Colleague with his father† in the ministry; which was Effected by S^d Committee, and the Gentleman soon Settled; which being very greivous to us, & wee most of us apprehending that neither wee, nor our households, would be likely to proffitt under his Ministry, therefore could not receive him as our Minister, and have for our own and household's Spirituall Edification, Supported a Gospel Minister, to preach to us upward of a year, and have been Obliged to pay our proportion toward the Settlement, and Salary of S^d Gentleman notwithstanding; and as most of us have tho't it our duty so to do, wee, still look upon it our duty for our own, and our household's, & others Spirituall Edification, to Settle a Gospell minister amongst us and in order thereto, have Erected a Meeting house, for the Publick worship of God, att our own cost, and having already made application to the town for releif, butt they granting of us none; Wee tho't it our duty to make Application to this Hon^{ble} Court for releif, therefore wee humbly pray that your Excellency, and Hon^{rs} will take our Case under your wise Consideration, and grant us releif in the following Manner Viz^d by Exempting us, our households, and Estates, and all those persons, and families, with their Estates, whose hearts the Lord Shall Incline to Join with us, within a limmited time, to be prefix by your Excellency, and your Honours, from paying any thing to the further Support of the new Settled

* He was ordained, September 28, 1748: died in 1776, aged fifty-seven years.—W. F. G.

† The Rev. John Odlin, born in Boston, November 18, 1681; H. C. 1702; ordained at Exeter, November 11, 1706; died November 20, 1754. That Church was founded by Rev. John Wheelwright, in 1688, after he had been banished from the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.—W. F. G.

ministers, or those that may Succeed them; provided wee Support a Gospell Minister amongst our Selves: Or to grant us releif in Any other way that you, in your great wisdom, Shall think best: and if your Excellency and Hon^r Should think it reasonable; That wee have some allowance made us for the money wee have already paid, toward the Settlement and Support of S^d Gentleman, and Your petitioners as in duty bound Shall ever pray &c

EXETER July 18th 1744—

JOHN LORD	SAMLL GILMAN
NEHEMIAH GILMAN	DANIEL SMITH
JOSIAH GILMAN	DANIEL THING
SAMUEL NORRIS	NICH ^o GILMAN
THOMAS DEAN	ARNER THUSTIN
MOSES SWETT	ROBERT LIGHT
BENJA ^s THING	JONATHAN GILMAN
JOHN LEAVITT	WADLEIGH CRAM
DANIEL GILMAN	JOSIAH LADD
DUDLEY JAMES	JAMES DUDLEY
PETER GILMAN	DANIEL FOLSOM
TRUEWORTHY GILMAN	MOSES GILMAN inour
JOHN GILMAN	SAMUELL DOLLOF
JON ^t JUDGSKINS	CHARLES RUNDLET
JOHN SLEPER	JAMES THUSTEN
JOHN DUDLY	THEOPHILUS SMITH
JOHN PHILLIPS	THOMAS LORD
SAMLL GILMAN	JOHN DEAN
RICHARD SMITH	NICHOLAS GORDIN
JONATHAN GILMAN jn	JOHN LIGHT
STEPHEN THING	JEREMIAH BEAN
RICHARD SMITH Juner	JOHN LOOGE JUNIER
JOHN HAINES	EBEN ^s SINKLER
JONA ^s YOUNG	BENJAMIN LARY
TRUE DUDLEY	JOSHEP SMITH
ARNER DOLLOF	GEORGE DUTCH
JOSHUA FOULSHAM	JOHN ROBINSON JUNER

B.—*Action of the General Court, thereon.*

In the House of Representatives July 19th 1744—The within Petition, Read, And Voted, That the Petitioners at their own Cost and charge Serve the Select Men of the old Twno of Exeter, with a Coppy of this Petition, and the Votes thereon, And the Said Select Men may call the Said Town together, to Choose Agents (if they See cause) to appeare the Second day of the Sitting of the General ass^m After the last day of July Curr^t to Shew Cause (if any they have) why the Prayer of the Petition may not be granted

JAMES JEFFRY Cle^r ass^m

In Council July 20th 1744
read & Concurr^d

THEODORE ATKISON Sec^y

Eod^m Die
assented to

B WENTWORTH

C.—*Minutes of action at the Town-meeting, thereon.*

at a meeting of the freeholders and other Inhabitants of The Town of Exeter holden at the town house in Exeter July 30th 1744

Voted Maj^r Nich^o Gilman Mod^r of Said meeting.

Voted that their be agents Chosen to Reper-
sent the town in General Court or assembly.

Voted that m^r Nich^o Peryman M^r James
Gilman & Zebulon Giddinge be agents for that
End.

Voted that they or either of them to appear
in General Court at the next Seting to Shue
Cause Why the Petition of a number of this
town Should not be Granted and to Defend the
town against the Same.

a Coppy ZEBULEN GIDDINGS Town Clerk

D.—*Objections made by the Agents of the Town,
to the prayer of the Petitioners.*

TO HIS EXCELLENCY BENNING WENT-
WORTH Esq^r: Governor and Commander in
Cheif in and over His Majestys Province of
New Hampshire, and to the Hon^{ble} his Majesty's
Council & House of Representatives in Generall
assembly Convened

THE AGENTS for the Freeholders and Inhab-
itants of the Town of Exeter in the Province
aforesaid Legally Chosen at their Meeting held
at Exeter aforesaid on the thirtieth day of Ju-
ly 1744. to make answer to, and Shew Cause
why the Prayer of the Petition of a Number of
the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the
Town of Exeter, Preferred to Your Excellency
and this hon^{ble} Court (on the 18th day of July
1744.) may not be Granted.

IMPRIMIS, The Said Petitioners have been
Guilty of a very Great Mistake in Setting forth
in their Petition, the Hastty & Resolute manner
(as they Conceiv'd) of Chusing a Committee ab-
solutely to agree with and Settle M^r Woodbridge
Odlin as a Colleague with his Farther in the Min-
istry, which they Say "was Effectted by Said
"Committee and the Gentleman Soon Settled"

We Humbly Crave Leave to Reply and Say
that the Said Meeting (being on the 28th day of
March 1743.) was Carried on by the Freeholders
and Inhabitants (Excepting the Petitioners) in
as Moderate & Deliberate a manner as Annual
meetings have been usually Carry'd on in and
the Choice of the Said Committee was made
after a mature Consideration and Deliberation of
the Voters then Present, (as we apprehended) by
a very Great Majority, and Some time after,
one of the Said Committee (Viz:) M^r Benjamin
Thing, refusing to Act, and the others not think-
ing it Safe to act without him being Chosen to
act Joyntly) upon their Representation of it to

the Select men of Said Town Another Town meeting was Call'd on the thirteenth day of June then next to See if the Town would Proceed in Chusing another in his room or Give power to the Remainder of the Said Committee or the Major part of them to act in the Premises— At which Meeting after Due Consideration of the Voters then Present they Voted that the Remainder of the Said Committee or the Major part of them Should have full power to Act in and about the Premises; and the Gentlemen was not ordained untill the Twenty Eighth of September following, Waiting that time in hopes that many of the Principal men of the new Petitioners would have been Reconcil'd to the Gentlemen whom they by their request, with Sundry others on the 4th of January 1741. by a paper under their hands approv'd of and Pray'd his assistance with his hon^d Father, in the Ministry and thereby Prevail'd with him to Refuse a Call that was about to be made him at the Town of Biddeford, where he had for Some time Preached to the Great Satisfaction of that People and also at many other places as well as in our Town, too well known to be Denied by the Petitioners, and his Life and Doctrine being agreeable To us the Town Proceeded as before—and what moved many of the Petitioners to be prejudiced against him, we know not— For at the ordination, there were Twelve Churches, by their Elders and Delegates Call'd to Advise and assist in the ordination before whom many of the now Petitioners made their objections in writing against their Proceeding to Said Ordination, and were Patiently heard by the Said Elders and Delegates, who after Serious Deliberation—on the Said objections, Judged the Same to be Insufficient, and So Proceeded to the Ordination Since which Several of the Petitioners have Joyn'd in Communion with our Church, and two of them (Viz) M^r Benjamin Thing and M^r John Light, neither they nor their Families have forsaken the Ordinances—and Major Thomas Deane, another of the Petitioners who had for Some time left the Communion of the church upon his Declaring that he was Convinced that it was his Duty to Returne to the ordinance of the Lords Supper; and to Joyn in Communion with this Church, hath been Lately Readmitted to and Partaken of that ordinance

2^{dly} We Crave Leave to observe that Some of the now Petitioners, Joyn'd with others in a Petition to the Selectmen for their Incerting in their Warrant for the annual meeting to Consider of and Vote if they tho^t. meet the Choice of a Committee to Call and agree with the Said M^r Woodbridge Odlin to assist his hon^d. Farther as a Colleague in the ministry with him &c:

3^{dly} We would crave Leave to observe that the

reasons that Several of the Petitioners who were Church members Gave; by a paper under their hands Dated May 14th. 1743, for their withdrawing at first was "That they had observed with Grief the Conduct of our Rev^d Pastor M^r John Odlin with regard to the work of Gods Glorious Grace in the Late outpouring of his Spirit amongst us of which they Trusted many of them had been the Subjects, and their being Convinced in their Consciences that our said Pastor and Church Did. not treat the Same as a work of Sovereign Rich Grace, but that the Method of their Late Conduct, the Petitioners apprehended had been, and Continued in Opposition thereto, in-as-much as the Instrument it had pleased God to make use of in Carrying it on, and the Subjects of it are Discountenanced" they meaning as we apprehend thereby, that our Rev^d Pastor and Church Refused to allow Such of the Itinerant Preachers to Preach in the Meeting house, who did not first wait on our rev^d Pastor and Give him Satisfaction as to their Principles and Doctrine, & also that he Did not Comply with the Irregularities of the Times. and also as to the method of the Settlement of M^r Woodbridge Odlin, which we apprehend was Right

4^{ly} We further observe, that (as we humbly conceive) the Calling & Settlement of M^r Woodbridge Odlin was agreeable to the Laws of this Province, & the usage of the Churches in this Government: much the Greater part of the Town being Sencible of their need they Stood in of an assistant to his hon^d Father, by reason of his Age as well as his bodily Infirmitys and also having had full and Satisfactory proof of the Said M^r Woodbridge Odlin's Life, Conversation and Doctrin,

5^{ly} We Humbly Conceive that the Prayer of the Petition if Granted, will Tend Greatly to the Prejudice not only of this Church, but also of all the other Churches of this Government and will be a manifest breach of the Law of this Province and Contrary to the Constitution of the Churches in the Country, for any Small number of Persons who through unreasonable Prejudice Shall desire this Hon^{ble} Court, to Exempt themselves, their Families and Estates from paying towards the Support of the Present Settled Ministers or those that Succeed them; when the Law of this Province in that Case already made & provided obliges them So to do: unless the Petitioners Should So Chande their Principles in Religion, that the Act of Parliament would Free them from the Same: which we Apprehend is not the Case of the Present Petitioners.—Neither have the Petitioners, Either before the Council Present at the Ordination, or the Council Lately Call'd by this Church, Supported their objections

against the Calling & ordaining of m^r Woodbridge Odlin, and the offence Taken at the Settlement of the Rev^d M^r Woodbridge Odlin under the Notion of his being an Opposer of the work of God, the Said Last Council * in their Result Say that therein they tho^t they (meaning the withdrawing brethren, Some of the Petitioners) had Cast an undue Reflection upon him.—and as to the Validity and Regularity of his Settlement, they found it was Agreeable to the Majority both of Town and Church, and approv'd and ratified by a Venerable Councill of Churches Call'd by this Church—and the Said Council Further adjudg'd that the Agriev'd brethren's Calling a Council at the Time and in the Manner they did, was an uncommon Step of Proceedure, and that this Church have been in the way of their Duty, and have Done no more than they had a right to do in Calling them as a Councill, without the agriev'd brethren, They being Desir'd to Joyn in Calling them.

6th We Humbly Conceive that the Conclusion of the Prayer of the Petitioners is absurd, unreasonable and unjust in Desiring to have Some Allowance made them for the money they have already paid towards the Settlement and Support of the Said Gentlemen, meaning (as we Suppose) our Present Ministers.— as to the Settlement of the Rev^d M^r John Odlin, very few, if any of the Petitioners paid any thing towards it, and as to the Settlement and Support of the Rev^d M^r Woodbridge Odlin, Several of the Petitioners having Lately Come into the Town, have paid Little or Nothing towards it, and Some of them not in the Rates until this Year.

Lastly We Humbly Crave Leave to Observe to your Excellency and honours That the Principal motives (as we Conceive) that the Petitioners have used in their Petition in order to induce this hon^{ble} Court to Grant the Prayer of their Petition, are these two (viz) First "that they have Supported a Gospel Minister to preach to them "upward of a year." and 2^{dly} that they have at "their own Cost Erected a meeting house."—and as to the first, we humbly Conceive that they will be under Some Difficulty to prove that they have Supported a Gospel Minister, and we Conceive that their Separating from the Establish'd Ministry of The Town, without Just Cause was Evil in itself, and the Evil Example thereof has

Drawn Many, belonging to the Neighbouring Towns & Parishes, away to their Separate house, and to Leave their own Ministers; which things if Countenanced by this Hon^{ble} Court will be a Leading Example to others; and be a means of bringing this Province into the utmost Confusion, both by Dividing Familys and Separating friends and Christian Societies.—And 2^{dly} as to their Erecting a meeting house (as they Say in their Petition) at their own Cost, We humbly Conceive, that any number of Gentlemen may build an house at their own Cost, if they please; But for this Hon^{ble} Court who have the Religions as well as Civil Interests of this Province—under their wise care, to Set it apart for the Publick worship of God, to the Disturbance and breaking up of the Neighbouring Churches and the Publick peace of the Government, we humbly Conceive would be a Great Grief and burden to the People in General, and bring the Province into Such Confusion as will Render the Inhabitants unable to Support the Charge of the Government.

For these reasons with what others we Shall Crave Leave to Lay before your Excellency and Honours, We Humbly hope This Hon^{ble} Court will be Induced not to Grant the Prayer of the Said Petition but to Dismiss the Same

NICH PERRYMAN
JAMES GILMAN
ZEBULEN GIDDINGS

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VII.—THE SCHAGHTICOKE TRIBE OF INDIANS.

BY HON. JOHN FITCH, OF NEW YORK.

PHILIP OF POCANOKETT, Sachem of a tribe of Indians living within the boundaries of Plymouth and Rhode Island, by his superior powers of intrigue and eloquence, succeeded in persuading most of the Indian tribes in New England to unite and make a vigorous effort to exterminate the English settlers. His influence and power over the various tribes were unbounded. He succeeded in forming a union of various tribes, who were able to number nearly four thousand of the best and bravest Indian warriors that then existed. With this horde of savages, he commenced his war of extermination of the settlers; and a fierce, bloody, and desolating conflict ensued, little or no mercy having been asked or given. The whites triumphed. Philip, in his misfortune, showed himself worthy of a better fate, and that he possessed many virtues. The War was destructive to his people, and cost them their favorite hunting-grounds; and many of his followers united with other tribes, while

* This Council met on the thirty-first of January, 1743, at the house of the Reverend Mr. Odlin, in Exeter; and then adjourned to the Meeting-house. The Council consisted of ten Churches, viz.: First Church in Kittery; First in Andover; Second and Third in Salem; First in Dover; First in Bradford; the Church in Nottingham; the Church in New-Castle; the Church in Rye; and the Second Church in Newbury. The result of the Council was printed in Boston, in a small quarto of sixteen pages, "by B. GREEN and COMP, for D. GOOKIN, the Corner of Water-street, Cornhill, 1744."—W. F. G.

others emigrated to the State of New York, and became small, though independent, tribes.

After King Philip's defeat, in the year 1675-6, a portion of the Wampanoags and Narragansetts, two tribes which had been broken up, emigrated from Massachusetts; came to the Province of New York; and settled about eighteen miles North of the city of Albany, at a place named by them, SCHAGHTICOKE.* It was within the territory of the Six Nations, on the East side of the Hudson-river, at nor near the intersection of that river with the Hoosic-creek. The Mohawks, then a powerful tribe, occupied the great Mohawk-valley; and upon their hunting-grounds the Schaghticoques settled. The Mohawks received them kindly; and here they lived, in peace and quietness. No tribe had better hunting-grounds or finer streams for fishing. They roamed, unmolested, over a large space of country, which now constitutes Rensselaer, Washington, Saratoga, and parts of Albany and Columbia-counties, in the State of New York, Bennington-county, in Vermont, and Berkshire, in Massachusetts; and the grounds were likewise free, as far East as the Connecticut-river. Game of all kinds was then abundant. The Bear and Deer roamed through the fine forests; and the woodman's axe was not often heard, near the sylvan retreats of the Schaghticoques. The Hudson-river and the Hoosic-creek yielded them the sparkling trout; and their banks, with the slightest cultivation, afforded a great profusion of Indian corn and beans. The forest grew the chestnut, the hickory, and the butternut: no other tribe molested them. Here the fugitives found a home. They were received by the Six Nations, as a tribe, under their protection; as their children, they were admitted by them into their counsels and shared their confidence; and, from the white man, they learned to rear the apple-tree from the seed. Furs were abundant: the Beaver and the Otter abounded. Albany was a good market for their furs: and, from Albany, they obtained their guns and ammunition, their blankets and trinkets, in return for their game and furs.

For many years, they enjoyed uninterrupted prosperity. They increased in wealth, influence,

and numbers; and, with their white neighbors, they were on terms of peace and friendship—a friendship which, afterwards, proved, to the inhabitants of Schaghticoke, of great value.

It is not to be supposed, however, that any love existed in the bosoms of the Schaghticoques towards the English, since the latter had been the sole cause of their exile from the *homes* and *graves* of their fathers, which, to the Indian, are words held dear as life itself; but there were other considerations which were, with themselves, sufficient to cause them to appear friendly to the English.

As the Schaghticoques passed through the country of the Stockbridges, they gave the latter tribe some offence, which caused the Stockbridges, ever afterwards, to be their enemies; and as the Stockbridges were their neighbors, on the South, and were a tribe of some importance, standing high in the esteem of the English, it became the Schaghticoques to be as friendly to the English as they well could be, in order to secure their protection and care. Then, again, the Mohawks were a large and powerful tribe, numbering full four hundred warriors, friends of the English, and occupied all the country, near Albany, on the West side of the Hudson-river—their territory reaching to the Oneida country. They likewise claimed the territory East of Albany, including the grounds of the Stockbridges; and that tribe were in a great measure incorporated with them, although possessing an independent organization. The Mohawks and Stockbridges, together with the Indians residing below Albany—the latter commonly called "the River Indians"—held frequent conferences with the English, at Albany; and at those conferences, the Schaghticoques appeared as a separate and independent tribe; and it was of the first importance to them to enjoy the friendship and confidence of the English, whose friendship they had once tested.

The Schaghticoques had found the friendship of the English to be of much service and a source of safety, in this wise. After the defeat of King Philip, the whites made a Treaty with Jamageson, Taytson, Agamang, and other Indian Chiefs, as the English styled them, of the New England tribes, for the capture of Philip and his Indians. For Philip, they were to receive forty coats, and for his head alone, twenty coats; and for every one of his subjects, two coats, if alive, and one, if dead.* Under this reward, the Schaghticoques were demanded of the English, in

* "With regard to the name (which has obtained such a "barbarous orthography through the Dutch channel) in an interview with an intelligent St. Francis Indian, who was so far educated that he read the Indian Spelling-book and Bible with facility, I learned that *Ske-te-cook*, in his dialect, implied *still water*, or the slow, quiet water of a "river; and that *Skat-te-cook* implied the fork or branch "of a River. The name SCHAGHTICOKE has, I suppose, "come from the last of these; but it is a little singular, "that either term would have been appropriate for the "neighborhood inhabited by these Indians; and that, at "the present day, we have the two terms, *Schaghticoke* "and *Still-water*, contiguous to each other—the name of "the latter being, perhaps, a mere translation of the former."—*Doctor Asa Faxon to the Author.*

"The said Sachems shall carefully seize all and every "of Philip's subjects, and deliver them up to the English "alive or dead; that they shall use all acts of hostility "against Philip and his subjects, to kill them wherever "they can be found; that, if they seize Philip and deliver "him alive to the English, they shall receive forty tunking "cloth coats; and for his head, alone, twenty of said

the Province of New York; but it is needless to say that the request was promptly refused. This the Schaghticokes well knew; and it was a prominent reason why they were apparently so friendly, which seeming friendship continued, unabated, until they removed to Canada, in the year 1754.

They frequently visited Fort Nicholson and Fort Edward, on the Hudson-river, the Fort at Saratoga, Fort Dummer, on the Connecticut-river, and the village of Schenectady; and they were ever on the alert to aid the English, in any emergency, against either the French or hostile Indians.

They occupied and hunted upon the confederate territory, which lands so occupied by them, were bounded on the North, by Split-rock, on Lake Champlain, including the branches of Otter-creek and Wood-creek; thence across to the Hudson-river, and down the same to Catskill. The Mohicans occupied the West side of the Hudson; but the confederation conquered them. The Iroquois claimed dominion to the Connecticut-river; and the tribes which occupied the lands adjacent to the river, were called *Esopus Indians*, which name was given, collectively, to the Wappengers, Esopuses, Papagonka, Stockbridges, and Schaghticokes. These tribes all resided within the acknowledged territory of the Iroquois territory of the Mohicans, or Hudson-river tribes, who were conquered by the Iroquois.

The Schaghticokes were, as it were, incorporated with the Mohawks, although the latter tribe, at the councils, at Albany, treated them as an independent tribe, although occupying their territory; and the records show that the Schaghticokes usually met with tribes at Albany, in council with the English, who, as a matter of course, they must have positively disliked, as they had been the cause of all their troubles and their exile from the graves and homes of their fathers, which to the Indian are dear as life itself.

The Mohawks being a powerful tribe, they were in the habit of compelling the small tribes around them, who were not of the Six Nations, to pay them a yearly tribute; and none of the small tribes residing on their territory, dare make a Treaty without the consent of the Mohawks. This may be, and probably was, the reason why the Mohawks treated them as an independent tribe, as they did the Stockbridges.

When they first settled at Schaghticoke, they

were entirely destitute of guns and knives. They used the bow and arrow; and they even had to resort to the stone knife, made of flint, for skinning the deer and beaver. Some fine specimens of arrow-heads and a stone knife have been found upon the site of their village. I have a very good collection of them.

At one of the Councils, at Albany, the Schaghticokes applied to the English to establish a Fort, or a stockade, and a place of worship for them, at Schaghticoke. These were promised; but the promise was not kept. A stockade Fort and storehouses, which were for many years kept in good repair, were erected, however, at Stillwater, near Schaghticoke, on the opposite side of the Hudson-river, but so far from their settlement as not to be of any protection to the Schaghticokes.

In the year 1689-90, after the burning of Schenectady, at a conference of the Mohawk Chiefs and the Magistrates, at Albany, a Mohawk Chief, in his speech to the English, said, "We advise you bring all the River Indians, who are under your subjection, to live near Albany, to be ready on all occasions." The Mohawks evidently made a distinction between the River Indians and the Schaghticoke Indians, as will be seen by the same Speech, in the advice there given: "The Schaghticoke Indians, in our opinion, are well placed where they are, to the northward of Albany. They are a good out-guard. They are our children, and we must take care that they do their duty; but you must take care of the Indians below the town. Place them near the town, so they may be of more service to you." The Chiefs calling them their children is an additional proof that the Iroquois regarded them as a separate tribe; received a tribute from them; and claimed to control them, in war matters.

In the year 1709, the authorities, at Albany, gave one, Knickerbocker, and some others, a Deed of a fine tract of land at Schaghticoke; and then commenced the Indian troubles. The white man's axe felled the forest; his rifle lessened the game; the white population intruded itself upon their lands; and, soon, the Indians love for fire-water used up the proceeds of his furs and skins, and left the poor Indian in debt to the white man; and when an Indian becomes indebted to a white man, he can truly say, "once in debt always in debt."

About the year 1753-4, and about the time of the commencement of active hostilities, in the French and Indian War, the Schaghticokes had a pow-wow, so protracted and singular, as to attract the notice and excite the wonder of their white neighbors. During four consecutive days, they engaged in songs, dances,

"coats; and for every subject of said Philip, two coats if alive, and one, if dead."

This treaty is dated "PETAGUANSET 15th July, 1675, In Presence and signed by the marks of

DANIEL HINORMAN	JAMAGHSON
THOMAS PRENTICE	TAYTSON
NICHOLAS PAIGH	AGAMANG
JOSEPH STANTON	WAMPUGH ALIAS COLMAN—
HENRY HAWLINS	Interpreter,
PETER BRUCE	Indians
JOEL NEFF	probably—

shouts, and other ceremonies; and, on the morning of the fifth day, most of their huts were found to be tenantless. A man, residing on the outskirts of the settlement, had heard the footsteps of one Indian after another, as they were running past his cabin, singly and at the top of their speed, the whole night through. Thus the entire tribe, which was now quite formidable and of much influence, without the knowledge of the whites, left their homes, went to Canada, and settled at or near Missisquoi Bay, on the East side of Lake Champlain, and partly in the State of Vermont. They united with the St. Regis * Indians; and were incorporated with that tribe. Much pains were taken by the English, at Albany, to induce them to return; and many favorable inducements were held out to secure their return. They alleged that they were so much in debt that they could not extract themselves; and refused all the offers. Those offers, it must be remembered, were made after the burning of Sancoick and Hoosick, in which they probably took an active part, if they were not the instigators of that outrage. They were accused of being the chief actors in this affair, and upon good grounds; as those Indians were acquainted with the old Indian path, leading from Canada, through Washington-county—Sancoick and Hoosick being quite near the path—and the attack was conducted in such a manner, well calculated to create the belief that the assailants were guided to those settlements by Indians who were well acquainted with the localities. The attack was on the twenty-eighth day of August, 1754, at a season of the year when the most injury could be done. They burned the buildings; destroyed the grain and hay; and killed the animals. Only one person, Samuel Bowen, was killed, and one, John Barnard, wounded.

For two or three years previous to the French and Indian War, the Northern Indians continued to commit outrages upon the white inhabitants; and in these affrays, some of the Schaghticoke Indians, it is said, were recognised among the other savages; which is the more probable, as the St. Regis Indians were among the most troublesome of the Canadian Indians. To their honor be it said, the Schaghticoke did not return and massacre the whites, at Schaghticoke, as, with the aid of the St. Regis Indians, they easily could have done, as Fort Nicholson was abandoned and the Fort at Saratoga burned; Schaghticoke was left entirely exposed; and the whole country was left unguarded, down to the city of Albany.

The famous Mohawh Chief, Hendrick, who was afterwards killed in the bloody morning

scout at Lake George, in a speech at a Council, at Albany, when speaking of the affairs of the Province and of French and Indian depredations, at the North, and the discouraging incidents of the War, said: "You burnt your own Fort at Saraghtogse, and ran away from it. Look about your country and see: you have no fortifications about you—no, not even to this City. 'Tis but one step from Canada hither; and the French may easily come and turn you out of doors."

Their forbearance towards their former friends, at Schaghticoke, must be set down as a proof of their good feelings for them, and that they were mutual friends, as the Indian could easily have massacred the inhabitants and possessed themselves of their property, by the aid of the St. Regis and other Indians. If they aided in the burning of Sancoick and Hoosick, they spared Schaghticoke.

The inhabitants of Schaghticoke were Dutch, and lived on the most intimate terms with the Indians. Their children were playmates; and thus commenced a personal and particular friendship between them, which accounts for, and may be the reason why, Schaghticoke was spared, when Sancoick and Hoosick were burned.

We have seen this little band of Indians, a small remnant of a once powerful tribe, settled on the East bank of the Hudson-river, about eighteen miles North from Albany, rapidly increasing in numbers, with every facility to increase their worldly wealth, and gain for themselves a livelihood, suddenly and abruptly depart, without giving any information of their intention to leave their pleasant home. We are naturally led to enquire the reason for this sudden and decided step—a measure of the utmost consequence to them and fraught with the most intense interest to their posterity.

It must be remembered that the lands they occupied, as well as their hunting-grounds, were of the very best character for cultivation; and that its proximity to Albany made it very desirable, as a place of residence.

The Indians never had any regard for the whites, as a body; and had the best reason for being their most implacable enemies. They were encroached upon by them; their fine hunting-grounds were rapidly disappearing before their eyes; the axe was leveling their forests; and the clearings were too large and numerous to suit their savage nature. To work, the Indian has a natural repugnance. He considers labor beneath him. His dignity is lowered by it; and is it strange that, with a northern forest before him, he preferred a permanent home, and that far from the haunts of white men? The wilds of Canada were, to him, a permanent resting-place. At Schaghticoke, if he ascend-

* It is asserted by some that they joined the St. Francis Indians.

ed Bald-mountain, he saw from its towering heights, Albany and the settlements on the Hudson; Westward, he saw the vast country of the Iroquois; to the North, the white man was already at Saratoga, Stillwater, Sancoick, and Hoosick; and on the banks of the Battenkill, on the East, were the hated Yangeese, (*English*). With the French, in Canada, he had no particular quarrel. They had never particularly injured him; but with the Yangeese (*English*) it was far different. From the first, his tribe of Indians and the New Englanders had quarreled. No friendship existed between them. With the Indian, the New Englanders had neither affinity nor intercourse: with the French and Dutch, it was far otherwise. The Dutch and French met the Indians, as friends. They accommodated themselves to the habits of the Indian. But the stern, surly, New Englanders did not fancy the Indian, his habits, nor his squaw. Their tastes and their tempers were different: hence arose the New England Indian wars—bloody, cruel and exterminating wars—which ended in the expulsion of the greater portion of the Indians, from New England; and was the first step towards the downfall of their race.

In Canada, they were free from the English, whom they hated, and near the French with whom they readily fraternized. Had they remained in the Province and proved true to the colonists, they might have had allotted them, as was allotted to the Stockbridge Indians, a fine tract of country in the far West and, from the State of New York, an annuity, which would have been servicable to them, as it has been to the Stockbridges.

Prominent among the reasons which induced these Indians to abandon their fine hunting-grounds in Renesselaer, Saratoga, and Washington-counties, it is probable, was the growing and universal dissatisfaction which was spreading through the entire Continent, with the English. The French were, evidently, making rapid inroads upon the English frontiers and English territories. In the Southern Provinces, inherently weak and feeble, murder and rapine were common throughout their entire frontiers. The Delawares, Shawnees, and many other tribes, were either openly or stealthily engaged in these barbarities and butcheries. Some of these Indians had previously been on friendly terms with the English; and, but for the bribes and promises of the French, in the North, which gave them the entire control of all the country bordering on the Ohio and West of the Alleghanies, was a severe blow to the English influence with the Indians. It gave the French an immense advantage over them and increased their influence and interest with the Indians, to an alarming extent. They flattered, persuaded, and intermarried, and soon

won over to their interests, many tribes who had previously been friendly. From choice, the Indians joined the French. With the exception of Six Nations, the French had alienated the entire race of Indians from the English, or induced them to withhold from the English, the confidence and friendship which they had previously shown.

Here we see prominently developed, the peculiar characteristics of the French and English. The English, true to their nature, seized all the lands they could get: their rapacity was boundless: they wanted all they saw: and they were rather indifferent as to Indians tribes. They took the lands of the Indians, honestly if they could, but at any rate they took them. With the French, it was different. With a few acres they were satisfied, and could live with ease upon what the soil produced, without much of any culture, and, with the Indians they were always friendly—was it strange that the Indians should leave the English and settle under the protection of the French?

From 1744 to 1755, the condition of the settlers, north of Albany, was truly deplorable—scarcely any protection afforded them against the incursions of the French and Indians, while Ticonderoga and Crown Point afforded a safe retreat for the French, and the towering Adirondacks equally one for the Indians.

The Schaghticoke shared this danger as well as the whites. This they well knew; for it is a fact worthy of notice, that information and intelligence of victories or defeats, among the Indians, is conveyed to distant parts of the territory with astonishing rapidity. They well knew that they were the frontier tribe, and the nearest Indians friendly to the English, and exposed at all times to the fury of the French and hostile Indians.

It was the policy of the French to alienate, by any means in their power, the Indians from the English interest. They neglected nothing that would secure that result. No tribe or fragment of a tribe was left unnoticed; and as the result proved, they were most eminently successful. That the French made the Schaghticoke Indians liberal offers of land, if they would settle in Canada, is true, beyond all doubt, although it is not likely that any proof of it can be found, as the negotiations with the Indians, by the French, were not usually preserved in the annals of the Canada Provinces, and the Schaghticoke were so few in number, that but little importance was given to them. That the English were anxious to have them remain in their position, at Schaghticoke, is more than probable, for their position was advantageous for them to act as spies and to give information of any northern movement of French or Indians, upon any of the settlements; and as soon as they left for Canada, all was open to the unobserved incursions of the hostile In-

dians. The burning of Hoosick and Sancoick soon followed the flight of the Schaghticoke to Canada.

In view of these facts, can we consider their conduct strange or unjustifiable, with their isolated and dangerous location; the scarcity of game, hereditary grudge against the English, and love for the French; the encroachments of the whites upon their lands; the nonperformance of the promises, on the part of the English, to build them a fort; the deplorable state of the frontiers; and the continued success of the French and hostile Indians, in their incursions against the English, that they should listen to and accept the offers of the French, and obtain in the wilds of Canada a permanent home?

At a meeting of the Commissioners of the New England Provinces and the Provinces of Pennsylvania and Maryland, with the authorities of the Province of New York, at Albany, on the sixth of July, 1754, the Schaghticoke Indians were present and appeared to be as true to the English as they ever were; and asked that the sale of rum might be stopped at Schaghticoke.

This apparent friendship could not have been sincere, for the same year they left for Canada.

VIII.—A MILITARY MEMOIR OF WILLIAM MAHONE, MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE CONFEDERATE ARMY.*

By GENERAL J. WATTS DE PEYSTER.

"Vandamme is very valuable to me, for if ever I have to make war against the Devil, it is him I will send to carry it on. He alone is capable of beating the Devil."—NARCELOU on Vandamme—in A. DU CASSA's *Vie de Vandamme*, I., 298.

Very often in reading the annals of the past, a figure presents itself so opposite to that which the reader conceives should be the form and port of an individual filling the place, that he wonders if it is possible that there could have been such an actual personality and whether the writer has not distorted facts to produce a sensational portrait. For instance, the world almost invariably associates great deeds with a grand figure. Thus we find that Guinevere wasted her goodly gifts, not

on a lithe and graceful knight, who achieved his greatness by address and ability, but on "our big Lancelot," who, mounted on a congenial steed, bore down opposition by weight and momentum.

There is scarcely any doubt but that Washington's personal appearance had a great deal to do with his elevation to the command in chief of the American Revolutionary Armies and gave weight to his counsels, at the head of the Government. It is well known what an impression his dignified appearance made upon the French Generals, sent out to co-operate with him. Nor is it at all unlikely, judging from what has been written, Lee's physical advantages had a very great deal to do with his reputation, especially abroad.

Shakspeare, subtle and sublime, has, on the contrary, invested the truth with robes of poetic beauty; but still he has presented the truth; and nowhere is there a finer picture of the power of mind over matter—the might of mind mastering men through the magnificence of a man—than in the case of the famous John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury,* one of the most celebrated of English Captains who has ever glorified his country's annals. Like Field-marshal Schwerin, Frederic the Great's greatest General, and, like de Gages, Spain's last great General, "his little body was all heart."

Reading Shakspeare's pen-portrait of this Talbot, at once re-called the fiery little Mahone, the subject of this memoir.

The scene from Henry VI. (*Act II., Scene III.*), referred to, is worthy of citation. The Countess of Auvergne, inspired by patriotic hatred, has invited Talbot to her castle, intending, as in the cases of Oseola and Abd el Kader, to betray him, and thus, by the vilest treason, free her country, France, from its greatest scourge and terror. When Talbot presents himself, she is astonished at his appearance, so utterly in contradiction to the idea she had formed of him, from his exploits. Supposing that he is in her power, the vindictive woman, disenchanted, adds extreme discourtesy to vile intended treachery;

military matters, which our country possesses. Besides, in this instance, there are sweeping condemnations of entire classes of officers, without exception, in both armies, only because they were educated at West Point—a condemnation which we cannot concur in, in its wide and unqualified extent—and there are, in it, impeachments of motives, in General Lee, as a Commander, which we conceive to be gravely unjust and unworthy of a place in our pages.

Justice to General de Peyster requires us to recognize his great abilities and his capability, if he would use a curb bit, of being exceedingly useful; justice to himself requires us to leave where it only belongs, the responsibility of a spirit in this paper and of condemnations of "West Pointers," as such, and of General Lee, as a Commander, with which we have no sympathy.—EDITOR OF HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

* Born about 1273, in Shropshire, England; killed 17 July, 1455, at Castillon, Guienne, France.

* This paper has been admitted into our pages, in pursuance of a "bargain" made with its author, several weeks since, and under a misconception, on our part, of the spirit in which it was evidently written as well as of its exact character, as a composition; and we ask our readers to bear with us, under the circumstances, and to hold us accountable only as far as we are justly so.

Like all that the learned author writes, there is matter in this paper which every close student of the history of the late Civil War will thankfully examine and employ; but, also, like the greater part of what he writes, that useful material is too much obscured by words which are worse than useless and by a mode of using those words which is always unsatisfactory to us, and, too often, destructive of their author's usefulness, as one of the acutest critics, in

and, in the spite of her ignoble nobility, exclaims:

"Is this the scourge of France?
 "Is this the Talbot, so much fear'd abroad,
 "That with his name the mothers still their babes?
 "I see report is fabulous and false:
 "I thought I should have seen some Hercules,
 "A second Hector, for his grim aspect
 "And large proportion of his strong-knit limbs.
 "Alas! this is a child, a silly dwarf:
 "It cannot be, this weak and writhled shrimp,
 "Should strike such terror to his enemies."

The manly Talbot, who has suspected treachery, laughs at her astonishment and misconception, and tells her:

"I laugh to see your Ladyship so fond, (*foolish*)
 "To think that you have aught but Talbot's shadow
 "Wherein to practice your severity."

COUNTESS. "Why, art not thou the man?"

TALBOT. "I am indeed."

COUNTESS. "Then have I substance too."

TALBOT. "No, no, I am but shadow of myself:

"You are deceived: my substance is not here:

"For what you see is but the smallest part,

"And least proportion of humanity:

"I tell you, madam, were the whole frame here,

"It is of such a spacious lofty pitch,

"Your roof were not sufficient to contain it."

Then he gives the pre-concerted signal, by sounding his bugle. Answering drums are heard, succeeded by a discharge of artillery. Then, through the gates, burst in by his guns, the English troops find entrance to his rescue. In these, he indicates himself as having permeated them with his military essence; and demonstrates to her that Talbot, the individual, is only the shadow of the "Man-Legion," the Talbot of renown, who, through the Brierian arms of his soldiery has filled France with moans and tears, corpses and ashes.

"How say you, madam? are you now persuaded

"That Talbot is but shadow of himself?

"These are his substance, sinews, arms, and
 "strength,

"With which he yoketh your rebellious necks,

"Razeth your cities and subverts your towns,

"And, in a moment, makes them desolate."

This fine scene winds up with an exhibition of a hero's courtesy, even to a treacherous hostess. Thereupon, the baffled Countess, cringing to the magnanimous creature she would have outraged and destroyed, declares herself:

—"honored

"To feast so great a warrior in my house."

Now the hero the writer desires to introduce to his readers, is an able, ardent, and audacious soldier, of the Talbot type, whose achievements would befit a form like that of Washington, or

of Thomas, or of Kleber—vast and imposing: such as the multitude admire and almost demand in a popular hero. William Mahone, however, is nothing of this sort; and the only indication of the germ within, is his clear blue eye, which fairly burns with the intensity of his will and mentality.

It may seem a curious task for a Northern man to assume, to present to the people of his section, the military record of a soldier whose whole soul was devoted to the service of the Southern Confederacy. Ability, however, wherever and however displayed in an eminent degree, is the property of our common country; and no man between the Oceans, the Gulf, and the Lakes, is a finer illustration of the innate military capability and adaptability of the American people than the subject of this sketch—than William Mahone, late Confederate Major-general, and now President of the Norfolk and Petersburg, of the Southside, and of the Virginia and Tennessee Railroads.*

It is very doubtful if, in the ranks of the rebellion, there was another single man who did so much damage to the North, as "little Mahone." Little, indeed, is Mahone, in his physical development, but great as it was possible to be, in his conception of the true principles of war, his profound enormous energy, his prodigious activity, and his marvellous influence over his troops. Of him it might be said, as Warnery remarked of Field-marshal Schwerin, that "his little body was all heart." Indeed, he exercised an influence in no degree inferior to that of Stonewall Jackson, although more circumscribed in its sphere, but superior in that Mahone survived Jackson, to fight with undiminished ardor, down to the last supreme hour of the War—until the last shot was fired in defence of the flag which he recognized as the object of his mistaken but fervent idolatry.

To give an idea of what one man can do, in command of men transfused by him with his manhood, it is sufficient to state that Mahone, with only eight thousand bayonets, occasioned to the North, in the Campaign which commenced on the Rapidan, on the fifth of May, 1864, and ended on the Appomattox, on the ninth of April, 1865, a loss of six thousand, seven hundred, and four men, in prisoners, and eleven thousand casualties, in dead, wounded, and missing, besides capturing fifteen pieces of artillery and forty-two battle-flags, or stands of colors. These statistics were gathered not only from his own but from our Reports, by Mahone.

* For an admirable sketch of the civil service of William Mahone, the "leading Railroad man of Virginia"—see *Self-made men of our Times*, in *Frank Leslie's Chimney Corner*, pp. 296-310 of the issue of 19th February 1869.

The following is the printed statement of this remarkable succession of exploits, due solely to the dash and capacity of one man:

[From the *Daily Lynchburg Express*, 20th March, 1865.]

"Operations of Mahone's Division, in 1864."

"We have been favored with the following figures from the Official Report of Major-general William Mahone, giving the operations of his Division, during the Campaign of 1864, from the time he assumed command down to the Battle of Burgess-mill, (known at the North, as Hatch-er's-run), on the twenty-seventh of October. We publish them to show the public what this Command has accomplished. In appreciation of their services, guided by a wonderful genius and energy, which always ensured success, the citizens of Petersburg testified their gratitude by presenting their leader with a beautiful sword—fit emblem of the times.

"The Command has captured—

"Prisoners,	-	-	6,704
"Pieces of artillery,	-	-	15
"Colors,	-	-	42
"Small arms	-	-	4,867
"Horses,	-	-	235
"Wagons and Ambulances,	-	-	49
"Slaves,	-	-	537

"According to the enemy's own statements, to correct which particular care has been taken, the losses, in killed and wounded, in those Commands, which, at different times, fought Mahone's Divisions, summed up eleven thousand.

"By these figures, and for certain reasons, it is believed that the loss, in killed and wounded, is under-estimated: it will be seen that during the Spring and Summer Campaigns of last year, General Mahone inflicted upon the enemy a loss of seventeen thousand, seven hundred, and four men.

"The loss of his own Command, during this time, in killed, wounded, and missing, was five thousand, two hundred, and forty-eight."

What is more, with his depleted Division, not over fifteen hundred men, all told, he alone frustrated the success of the Mine explosion, backed by a mass of forty thousand to fifty thousand Union troops—a fearful aggregation of troops, competent to anything, if they had been determinedly and scientifically "put in"—a force and mass, if properly applied, sufficient to have carried Petersburg at a blow and have crushed that portion of Lee's Army, in their front, into the nothingness of slaughter, capture, and dispersion. There was nothing between Meade's forty thousand to fifty thousand men, but an attenuated line, under an inefficient commander, until Mahone came up, three miles, to throw himself into the gap, and then, with a loss of

two hundred and fifty men, to win back the captured works, with an admitted list of casualties to us, of five thousand, two hundred, and forty, in killed, wounded, and prisoners—twenty-one times his own list of casualties. This operation will be explained more at length in its appropriate place.

The first time that the writer ever met with General Mahone, was in the Spring of 1869. He found him quite unwell, in bed; but his blue eye was full of life. He is a very small man, not weighing, perhaps, over one hundred pounds, if as much; his dark hair, streaked with grey, long and flowing down upon his shoulders. His ordinary dress would certainly not attract attention for its cut, care, or material. He is just as eccentric as able; and, from his description, recalled the remarks of Thiers, in regard to the intrepid Dutch General, in the service of Napoleon, Cohorn, a descendant of the famous "Prince of Engineers," Cohorn, whose originality of genius placed him second to none, if not first, in his profession: "In his small and slender frame was one of the most fiery and energetic souls which God had ever bestowed upon a warrior. He was worthy to be executive of the impetuous will of Massena, the Child of Victory." These words are truly apposite to Mahone.

Although comparatively unknown to fame, at the North, it is exceedingly doubtful if he had his superior in the rebel ranks. Without enjoying the same influence, he possessed almost every attribute which so greatly distinguished Stonewall Jackson. He was equally audacious and enterprising, and handled his troops, tactically, better. He was not a West Pointer; and that, doubtless, injured him. Like Washington, and Wayne, and several other military men who have distinguished themselves, when improvised into Generals, he was a Civil Engineer, by profession, and a railroad man.

Since the War, he has received the control of a number of Southern railroads, from which, it is said, he enjoys an income almost as great as the salary of the President of the United States.* Yet no General had a better record or prospect of a brighter career. He was equally distinguished for dash, tenacity, and ability. It is true that he never enjoyed such extensive commands, as a number of Generals, better known; but, whatever duty was assigned to him was fulfilled in a manner which his opponents had every reason to regret. From his first appearance on the battle-field, against us, to the close of the rebellion, he was, perhaps, the most formidable Division-commander whom our Generals encountered. "It was remarked to

* *Old Dominion (Magazine)* Richmond, Va., iv., 194, 195.

“an officer in our [*the rebel*] service, by several Staff-officers of General Meade, that Mahone “had occasioned more trouble to the Federal “Army, around Petersburg, than all of Lee’s “Generals combined.” These, and corroborative testimony, justify Mahone’s good-humored remark, that he “always liked to get hold of “one of them”—particularly prominent, at one time, and really distinguished for his soldierly qualities, at the North—“for he was sure to “*lamm* him.”

This is the just record of the impression made upon the writer at that time. Subsequent investigations have demonstrated that this estimate was far below the real merit of the man. The remarks applied to Major-general Philip Kearny, apply with equal force to Mahone, that “he thoroughly understood men, system of fighting, discipline, and real responsibility.”

General Mahone was born in Southampton, one of the most southeastern Counties of Virginia, bordering on North Carolina; and is now, (1870), about forty-three years of age. At the age of seventeen, that is about 1844, he entered the Virginia Military Institute, at Lexington, which gave so many able officers to the Virginia Confederate Line, and graduated with distinction, when he was twenty. After matriculating, he was connected, as an Instructor of Mathematics, with a school near Port Royal, in Virginia. Such a situation, however, was inconsistent with his nervous temperament; and he soon abandoned the three-legged professional chair for the surveyor’s tripod, and was employed, as Engineer, on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. Subsequently, he was appointed Assistant-engineer, under General Bartlett, of the Mexican Boundary Survey. This honorable office, for personal reasons, he declined; and was then selected to construct the Fredericksburg Plank-road, upon which the hardest fighting at Chancellorsville occurred, in which he participated, and upon which Stonewall Jackson fell. About the time this plank-road was finished, the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad had been determined upon. Of this work, he was appointed Chief Engineer; and it was surveyed and built under his exclusive supervision. When this road was completed, he was elected President of the Company, and managed its affairs with as much ability as he had displayed as Engineer in its location and construction. Mahone is peculiarly proud* of this “road,” which has been pronounced, by both English “and American Engineers and railway mana-

gers, as embodying all the elements of a first-class work, and, in these respects, far in advance of any other in the whole Southern “country.” This brings us down to the year 1861.

Mahone was at this time a Militia Colonel, and was destined to command the improvised forces assembled for the capture of the Gosport Navy-yard. Fortunately, for the Union cause, Taliaferro, an old-fashioned Militia Major-general, was his superior in rank, and claimed and received the command. Without meaning any disrespect to the individual described, as a gentlemen of high standing, his military incompetency and slackness—using this language in its strict application, in which it applies to nine-tenths of all North and South, who aspired to and received Generals’ commands—gave the Union naval commander an opportunity to destroy a large portion of the material and works.

An impromptu gathering of the first men in Norfolk—in no sense a mob—offered to substitute Mahone for Taliaferro; but the former’s idea of system and order would not permit him to allow an energetic and popular outbreak to supersede even inefficient military law, when an example of submission to discipline was necessary to the future. Nevertheless, there is no doubt but that Mahone’s fiery energy determined the prompt evacuation of the Navy-yard, on the twenty-first of April, 1861, and gave to the rebels those immense stores, especially of heavy guns, which afterwards proved of such vital importance to them. In all his movements, he displayed as much subtlety and knowledge of men as he afterwards developed true soldiership and powers of command. By means of his Railroad control, he used his stock so as to convey the idea reinforcements were continually arriving to the rebels, sending locomotives away, quietly, to return, as noisily, blowing their whistles and ringing their bells, as if drawing after them loads of fresh troops and supplies. This must have had its effect. If, on the other hand, a man like Mahone had been in command of that enormous depot, it is most probable that everything would have been preserved for the Union, had its abandonment become a public necessity. In the contrary event, if it had been compulsorily abandoned, not only the Navy-yard, but its arsenals, its dock-yards, and the fleet, also the adjoining towns of Norfolk and Portsmouth, would have been left no better than blackened heaps of ruins and ashes.

* This biographical sketch was submitted to Major-general William Mahone, and approved by him, as to matters in which he alone could decide. It was corrected by the General’s friend, Colonel S. Basset French; and has been verified, in a great measure, by Northern histories, state-

ments, and Reports. The paragraphs subsequently added by the author, are few and short, and simply present his views in regard to the probable effect of certain movements, predicated on a Northern judgment, founded on Northern statements, etc.

Virginia having seceded, on the seventeenth of April, 1861, William Mahone was one of the first four Colonels appointed under the rebel Administration of that State; the other three were Stonewall Jackson, Gilham, and P. St. George Cocke. Mahone's commission bore date the second of May, 1861. He was the senior Colonel in his district; and he, at once, proceeded to raise a Regiment around Norfolk, which was afterwards known as the Sixth Virginia. It was composed of a commingling of the flower of the citizens and the rough-scuffs of the place—very hard material to manage and lick into shape. Mahone admitted that his reputation as a hard master or severe disciplinarian was well merited, and that he had ample opportunity to display his qualifications, in this respect, in organizing, administering, and instructing his new Command.

In the Fall of 1861, he was made Brigadier, a merited and, for him, fortunate promotion, since he had hitherto been sadly hampered by the previous Confederate appointment of an officer named Withers, from Mobile, as Brigadier. This General Withers, a fine chivalrous man, whatever may have been his shortcomings as a soldier, in consequence, became, temporarily, Mahone's superior.

The first important command held by Mahone, was at Drury's Bluff, or Fort Darling. It appears that after the evacuation of Norfolk, which had been evacuated in obedience to peremptory orders of the rebel War Department, by General Huger, and its occupation, by General Wool, on the tenth of May, 1862, Mahone's Brigade was ordered to Richmond, where it attracted the attention of every one. It was generally admitted that it was the best Brigade which had ever been seen marching through the rebel Capital. It was better uniformed and appointed, and possessed more elasticity; so much so that it was dubbed "General Lee's Regulars." It was composed of five or six Regiments, each eight hundred to one thousand strong—the Sixth, Twelfth, Sixteenth, and Forty-first Virginia, Thirtieth North Carolina, and Third Alabama. The last was a very fine fighting Regiment. The majority, if not almost all, the privates, were gentlemen, worth, individually, one hundred thousand dollars. Intrepid in the field, they were not easily amenable to discipline, and they soon melted away; not so much, however, in the fire of the battle, as under the hardships of military or camp life, to which they were unaccustomed. Mahone said that his experience had taught him that gentlemen did not make good privates—their physique was bad, and they cannot be tempered to discipline. His idea of the best

stuff for soldiers appeared to agree with that of the Swiss officer, in the Neapolitan service, as expressed to the writer, in 1852: "Bon soldat, faut d'être un peu abruti." "*To make a good private soldier, a man must be something of a brute.*" In other words, "a soldier must not be so independently intelligent that he cannot be converted into a perfect machine. A good private soldier should have or be permitted no independent thought"—Mahone's idea was exactly Schiller's opinion. This may be true of the Southern war-personal, but did not hold good as to the Northern, 1861-5, and as to the Prussian, 1866-1870.

But to resume: Jefferson Davis was so much impressed with the effects of Mahone's discipline that this, in connection with his previous acknowledged reputation as a Civil Engineer, induced him to assign Mahone to the supreme command of Fort Darling. His jurisdiction embraced everything, naval as well as military; consequently, if the repulse of our gun-boats, on the fifteenth of May, 1861, in which the *Galena* was so badly damaged, and lost so heavily, deserves high praise, the whole credit belongs to Mahone; and yet he received none. This success has never been attributed to him; nevertheless, he it was who directed everything. His Brigade, from Petersburg, lined the shore, and supported the works. The batteries, which did the fighting, were manned by a Company of "Home Guards," commanded by the owner of the farm on which Fort Drury had been established. The other batteries were manned by sailors and marines; and it was owing to the jealousy of the Navy that the honor of the victory was given to one of their own people, the commander of the Fort. This officer, as well as his sailors and marines, as far as regarded the result, might as well have been cruising on the Bay of Biscay. No person showed his head on board the attacking Union flotilla but was killed by Mahone's troops, posted upon the river's bank. The action lasted from nine A.M., to three P.M. Notwithstanding these facts, no history, Northern or Southern, connects the name of Mahone with this severe military and naval artillery duel, whose result, so adverse to the Union flotilla, certainly exercised a pernicious influence on all of McClellan's subsequent operations.

Mahone's first actual fighting, in the open field, was at Fair Oaks, the Third Corps fight of Kearny and Hooker—just as Williamsburg had been; as the Orchards, Glendale, Bristow Station, Chantilly, Hazel Grove, the Peach Orchard, Wapping Heights, were to be—worthy of such rivals in glory as were inspired by a spirit akin to that of the hero of this memoir. On the first

of May, 1862, he was in camp, three miles from the battle-field, on the Charles City-road. Nevertheless, he reported, at sunrise, or 7 A.M., to D. H. Hill, who happened to be the senior Commander on the field, when Mahone came up. For this reason, he reported to General Hill, who had occupied Casey's Head-quarters tent, on the ground from which the Union troops had been driven. At the Battle of Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines, as it is variously styled, Gustavus W. Smith commanded the Confederate Left, and Longstreet the Right. The farm called Seven Pines, was on the right; the farm styled Fair Oaks, on the left. The rebel Commander-in-chief, Joseph E. Johnston, was at the latter point. Mahone had only three Regiments with him; one, however, was detached, and he made his attack with only two, to the left or North of the Williamsburg-road, in "the thickest growth of woods you ever saw." Struck by overwhelming masses, he was driven back, with severe loss, and had his horse killed. His hard fighting, however, attracted much attention, and won him as much consideration as if the result had been a perfect success. After this battle, at Fair Oaks, the rebel troops were brigaded by States; and Mahone, in consequence of this arrangement, retained four Regiments, all from Virginia.

It is well known, that when active operations recommenced, towards the end of June, it seemed as if it was the intention of both McClellan and Lee to operate in the same quarter, that is, for the former to turn the rebel Left, and for Lee to turn the Union Right. Whether this be so or not, the first collision occurred in the opposite direction, on the twenty-fifth of June, in what is variously styled the second Battle of Fair Oaks, the affair of Oak Grove, or of the Orchards, or of the Peach Orchards—the rebels have still another name for it. On this occasion, Mahone was opposed to Hooker; flanked our attack; and inflicted serious damage.

When Kearny fell back, after Savage Station, on the night of the twenty-ninth of May, it was Mahone's Brigade which headed him off. Kearny's Aid, the well-known Brevet-colonel, U. S. V., or Major U. S. A., Alexander Moore, gives quite a graphic account of this skirmish, in which he lost some "ducks," as he expressed it—i. e., cavalrymen—of his escort, trying to communicate with his General, along the Charles City-road. (*R. R. ix., Doc., 436, (2) Brigadier-general Mahone's (Corroborative) Report*). Kearny attempted to get across the Chickahominy, by the Bracketts, or Upper Ford, but ran into Mahone's Brigade, and suffered sufficiently to compel him to recross and follow the road to Gathering's, or the Lower Ford. Mahone spoke of this as a mere skirmish, as scarcely worth

mentioning among the many hard fights in which he took part; nevertheless, it had a marked importance, at the time, and, if utilized, might have produced memorable results.

The next engagement, as regarded the army in which he served, in which he participated, was Malvern-hill, on the first of July. (*Mahone's (Corroborative) Report R. R. ix., Doc., 438, 439.*) He dwelt upon this, with great feeling, as a useless slaughter. He was on the extreme right of Lee's line, which was very ragged. The ground was not only rough, but of the most difficult nature, affording every advantage to the defence. "We went in," said he, "with beautiful heroism, and got butchered." (See Brigadier-general William Mahone's Reports of Operations around Richmond. *Rebellion Record*, ix, 486.)

That night, he had only one hundred and fifty men of his Brigade together. All the rest were scattered. This is one of the many proofs of the disorganized condition of the Rebel Army, and also of the fact that nothing but McClellan's inefficiency prevented the capture of Richmond, on the following days.

Mahone was of opinion that if the Confederate plan for the Battle of Malvern-hill had been carried out, it would have been a perfect success. The rebel General Holmes was to have come in with his Division, by the River-road, in order to cut off McClellan's retreat. He utterly failed to do so.

Here was another instance of failure, resulting, as usual, from utter inability to estimate the value of time, the greatest or most criminal delinquency in war. Holmes wasted two and a half days in making a march which ought to have been accomplished in half a day.

On the Pope Campaign, Mahone did not consider himself "engaged," as a hard-fighting man understands the word, until the battle, which is generally known as the Second Manassas, or Bull Run Second, often styled Groveton. Upon this occasion, the thirtieth of August, Mahone was wounded, just as he was about to deliver one of his telling blows.

The General's wife had often remarked, referring to his size, that if he was ever hit, he would be knocked to pieces. The result proved that she was incorrect. The stuff in Mahone's body was as first-proof as that which constituted his moral force. The ball hit him on the left side, over a rib; flattened upon one of the buttons of his coat; spun him round, like a teetotum; and was found in his boot. As he fell, he ordered the senior Colonel to "Forward," and take the Union line in flank. The Brigade behaved well; but the commander hesitated. Thus the attack came short of its spirited projector's intention.

On his way from the field, he was overtaken, at Upperville,* near the eastern entry to Ashby's Gap, by the Union Cavalry. By the way, this shows that the Union Cavalry were around, some, notwithstanding all the abuse heaped upon them for inefficiency. Mahone made his escape with difficulty into the Blue Ridge Mountains, at whose feet this village is built; but his wagon fell into the hands of the Union Horse, and, with it, all his comforts. They made a welcome booty of his stores, his liquors, bed, bath, spoons, and other plate, etc., for Mahone lived like a little King, and ruled about as despotically. "I was 'dead broke,'" he said, "took to the mountains; and made my way home."

At this point, it may be as well to state a few curious facts in regard to Mahone's Headquarter arrangement, indicative of the same pre-eminent common sense which characterized all his public service and private actions. He absorbed his whole Staff in himself—the only acknowledged Staff-officer he had about him was an Assistant Adjutant-general. All the other subordinate duties were discharged by Orderlies—"Couriers" he termed them, corresponding to what is known in France, as "Guides." These acted as Aids; and yet could be punished as soldiers for derelictions of duty. Thus he never had to consider the susceptible feelings of consequential young officers, such as those who so often filled similar positions in the Union army—men of fortune and good family, who knew nothing and learned next to nothing; who were incapable of being permitted to assume any responsibility; who were brave enough, but so uninformed, that they were dead-weights rather than assistants to a General. Then, Mahone's Head-quarters, or baggage-waggon, was a complete little treasure-house of comforts, nay, even luxuries, including an excellent bed. It has been stated that Mahone carried a bath with him, and, like Napoleon, had recourse to it, to enable him to bear up under the multifarious duties he compelled himself to discharge, and set an example to his men, who could scarcely shirk labors which they saw their little leader cheerfully undergo.

Lee once sent down a Major as Inspector-general for Mahone. The General said, "Major, 'make yourself comfortable for the night, and, 'to-morrow, be pleased to say to General Lee

"that Mahone's Brigade does not need an Inspector-general." Lee, on hearing this, said, "He 'is right. Mahone does not need an Inspector-general."

Mahone rejoined the Army of Northern Virginia, at Culpepper Court-house, on its return from Maryland, after Antietam or Sharpsburg. He found his Brigade very much depleted, scarcely six hundred men left out of the four thousand with which it commenced the march, northward. He soon got it up again to twelve hundred.

Fredericksburgh was his next battle.* His Brigade formed that part of Lee's line, next to the extreme left. On this occasion, had his advice been listened to, the Union troops would have suffered much more severely than they did, great as were their necessary losses.

With that clear topographical glance developed by his professional training, he discerned the advantages which could have been derived from the utilization of a ravine which opened directly opposite the Mary Washington Monument. A Battery established in this ravine, while perfectly sheltered from the Union artillery, on the Heights above, or Northwest of, Falmouth, would have completely commanded the open ground on which the Union troops had to form to advance to the assault of Marye's Heights and that never-to-be-forgotten blood-washed stone-wall at their foot. He urged upon Anderson, his Division Commander, the effect which might be derived from posting a Battery in this ravine; but his superior replied, very much in the same spirit of McClellan, after Antietam, and Meade, after Gettysburg, "Let well enough alone." Afterwards, when Lee himself came riding over to that portion of the field, he at once acceded to Mahone's suggestion, but it was now too late †—the Union attack had failed; and the troops were withdrawn. Imagine the effect of such a Battery playing upon the flank of our sacrificed columns, already melting away under the direct fire of commingled Infantry and Artillery. It would have doubled, if not tripled, our list of casualties. We shall see that, from this time forward, it was a happy thing for the North, that Mahone had to fight as hard, if not harder, against the inertia and incompetency of his superiors, than he did against the North or Union.

After Fredericksburg, he resumed his profession as Engineer, and laid out the lines of works which bothered Hooker—especially those from the unfinished railroad to Orange Court-house, occupied by Anderson's Division, on the thirtieth

* Upperville is quite a place, for this part of Virginia, on Pantherskin-creek, in Fauquier-county, of which Warrenton is the capital. It is situated three quarters of a mile West of Cartown; midway between Aldie, the scene of Pleasanton's Cavalry fight of June 18, 1862, and Paris, in Ashby's Gap, midway between the Bull Run Mountains and the Blue Ridge; and Pleasanton had a third Cavalry affair at Upperville, on the twenty-first of June, 1862; the second was at Middleburg, on the nineteenth. So much pains has been taken to locate this place, because it is not laid down on any but the most detailed maps, such as are accessible to few readers.

* See Report of the Battle of Fredericksburg, by Brigadier-general William Mahone. *Rebellion Record*, x., Documents, 119.

† Vandamme at Hondschoote, *Vie de Vandamme*, l. 47.

of April, and those opposite Banks' Ford—and his plans were executed by his own Brigade, some twelve hundred strong, discharging the duties of assistants and pioneers.

He was at the United States (Mine) Ford, or Bark Mill Ford,* and commanded two Brigades of Anderson's Division, when Hooker succeeded in turning the rebel position, and crossed further up; and when it fell back from the river upon Lee, Mahone, with one Regiment, constituting the rebel rear guard, held our Cavalry in check, near Chancellorsville. This was on Thursday, the thirtieth of April, the day Hooker's army, as such, may be said to have crossed. Anderson afterwards came up with the balance of his Division. Those who will take the trouble to examine the facts of the Battle, will find that this was the same Anderson who, at Fredericksburg, refused to listen to, or rather to act upon, Mahone's suggestions as to posting a Battery, and was now caught napping, from a similar neglect, blindness, or inattention, upon this occasion.

The next day, Friday, the first of May, Mahone posted the troops; and, after Jackson came up, he (Mahone) struck the Sixth United States Infantry, under Sykes. Mahone was operating on the turnpike; while Anderson was fighting on the same plank-road, which Mahone had laid out and built. (Hotchkiss and Allan's *Chancellorsville*, p. 36; *Rebellion Record*, x., 263-293.

The next day, the second of May, Mahone was on, or rather to, the left of the plank-road, confronting Chancellorsville, on the identical ground where Lee and Jackson had their Headquarters, on a cracker box, the preceding night.

This was while Jackson was making his celebrated flank march or movement, which ended in smashing up the Eleventh Corps. "As soon as I heard Stonewall Jackson's guns," said Mahone, "I pressed the Union lines, in front of me, Slocum's Twelfth Corps, and did some A 1 work, running part of one of my Regiments (Sixth Virginia Infantry) right through the Union abatis. Captain Williams, who commanded the skirmish line and did up the work so handsomely, was killed. Here I took a splendid flag, a most elegantly finished work, the first I ever captured. Howard's runaways, actually, after traversing the whole Union Army, ran into my lines, hatless, etc. During the night, I heard of Jackson's death." "He was a great man; he understood the true principles of strategy." "To name Stonewall Jackson, was to express audacity and time." "Jackson was great on time."

The next day, the third of May, Mahone

was still pegging at the left or east face of the apex of the Union line. He admits that "the Unionists [*Sickles and Slocum held this ground*] fought like devils, at Chancellorsville House," particularly Graham's First Brigade, First Division, Third Corps. (See Davis's *Life of Birney*, 379.)

When it was known that Sedgewick had carried the Heights of Fredericksburg, Lee wanted two Brigades, to assist in arresting the Union advance. He selected that of Mahone; and when he found that he ranked Semmes, of Mc Laws' Division, added the latter's Brigade to the former's command, with directions to join Early, if possible; otherwise to co-operate with him. Mahone ordered his Brigade into his old lines, on the Old Mine-road, previously alluded to, as Anderson's lines of April 30. He thus reversed the front of the works which had been originally built to resist an attack from the contrary direction. "Here Sedgewick should have been met. It would have made the fight two miles nearer Lee's main army." There is no doubt of this, as affairs turned out; but, if Hooker and Sedgewick had co-operated and attacked, simultaneously, the rebel lines, facing East and West, it would have gone hard with the Army of Northern Virginia.

Early was cut off by Howe's attack and thrown off, completely to the left (i.e., South), whence he worked round, the next day, into Sedgewick's rear. He had little effect on the Salem-church fight. (Hotchkiss & Allan's *Chancellorsville*, 85.) In this engagement, Mahone was on the extreme (rebel) left (North,) and claims to have come near bursting up Sedgewick, since he greatly overlapped the Union right, and repulsed it by an enflading fire. A reference to the elaborate maps attached to Hotchkiss's and Allan's account of the battle, will show that Mahone is correct in his comments upon these affairs.

The writer had formed an entirely different opinion of Early, from that entertained by Mahone. The former, however, had to judge from the statements of others, while Mahone knew him, intimately, and had served under him. Moreover, Mahone's judgment was justified by the proverb in regard to Early, at West Point, "that, although his name was Early, he was always Late." Mahone said that "he did not like to fight under him; that Jubal Early was always hesitating whether to fight or not; he would ride up and down his line, from fifteen to twenty minutes, debating whether or no to begin; whereas the battle was to be lost or won, meanwhile"—that is to say, as proved by experience, that battles are decided by the proper utilization of fifteen minutes.

On the ensuing day, Monday, the fourth of May, it is well known that it was late before the

* See Report of the Battle of Chancellorsville, by Brigadier-general William Mahone. *Rebellion Record*, x, Doc: 308.

rebels made an attack. Mahone said he never could understand why the Union right was not pressed, nor why Sedgwick was allowed to get off without further molestation from the rebel force, in which Mahone held a subordinate command. Always ready for a fight, and always willing to do more than his share in it, it is very likely that he was one of the few, in the rebel army, at this time, who had not got enough; but then he never got enough.

Mahone, still a Brigadier-general, with a command of about sixteen hundred men, was present at Gettysburg, but took no active part in the engagements of either of the three days. His views coincide exactly with those of the writer—that it was one tissue of errors; that there was no necessity for, nor wisdom in, Lee's fighting there; that the position should have been turned to the left, or South; but that, when it was resolved to fight, there should have been no hesitation. He was with the reserve of eight thousand men the first day. These were not used. "Things ought to have been pushed, early that day. There was nothing in front of Hill to prevent a successful result; and had Stonewall Jackson been alive"—the appreciation of time and audacity personified—"the position of Gettysburg would have been lost to the Union cause."

Captain Blake, in his *Three Years in the Army of the Potomac*, 124, quotes the remarks of rebels, captured at Bristol Station, in 1862. These prisoners were constantly talking about the good qualities of their commander, who had marched them sixty miles in two days; * * and one of them exclaimed: "If your Generals were as smart as Jackson, you would soon conquer us." True! Fortunate for the North, the only man who could have filled Jackson's place. Mahone, was not taken into favor, because he was not an F. F. V. and a West Pointer, until it was too late, even for his wonderful Jacksonian genius, any longer to do us injury. We shall see that with all the brilliancy of his record, he was still a Brigadier, while such men as Bragg, Pemberton, Polk, Hood—famous only for losing battles, fortresses, and armies—had long since climbed to the top of the ladder.

On the second day, Mahone was in the centre, in reserve; on the third day, still in reserve, and only subjected to the cannonade. * With all his fire, he was opposed to the final assault, and foresaw and predicted its results.

Mahone agreed with the writer, that the final attack was made too late in the day. It has been remarked—and this opinion is a very just

one—that the rebel commanders almost always fell into the error, indeed, this appeared to be their custom—of making their most important attacks in the afternoon, when their men were fagged out, if with nothing else, with waiting, when more or less affected by exposure to the sun, or to the cold, lying in line, idle, fasting, with nothing to do but reflect, for hours upon hours. Whereas, if they had attacked early, after a good breakfast, they would have had all the force consequent upon a night's repose of mind and body, backed up by the invigorating excitement and strength of food. What is more, an attack late in the day left no time to improve a success, since rapidly approaching night precluded the harvesting of the fruits of an afternoon's work. On the other hand, if an early morning attack failed, there was ample daylight to renew it, with better results, at noon, or in the afternoon; and, if it succeeded before midday, there was the whole afternoon to reap the harvest of spoils. Such a delay was Napoleon Bonaparte's fatal error at Ligny and at Waterloo, and he lost, by waiting, all that he did accomplish by his prodigious efforts, at a later hour. In any event, at Ligny, it hindered a decisive victory, when nothing but a decisive triumph could have saved his doubtful cause.

He left Gettysburg, on the night of the fourth, covering the rear. His line of retreat lay through Fairfield, and his fighting Brigade was hurried on, through Monterey-springs, on the summit of the South-mountain, to redeem the disaster occasioned by Kilpatrick's raid upon the retreating trains.

At Williamsport, his Brigade held the lines to the left of St. James College. He left them, at eleven P.M., on the night of the thirteenth and fourteenth, and crossed the Potomac, at nine A.M., on the fourteenth, and ate his breakfast after he got over. He established the truth of Lee's Report, in this respect, that the last of the Army of Northern Virginia did not cross the Potomac until between twelve and one o'clock, midday, on the fourteenth of July. Despite the assertions of many of our own officers, to the contrary, the writer believes that this is indubitably so, after a thorough examination of conflicting authorities and conversations with soldiers and officers of veracity who were serving with the rebel rear-guard. This, however, being proved, what on earth was Meade doing, from daylight to noon, especially as the gallant and eagle-eyed Mahone admits that Heth, who commanded where Pettigrew was mortally wounded, did not take sufficient precautions to cover the withdrawal?

Nothing of consequence occurred as regarded Mahone, either while Lee was falling back to the lip of the Rapidan or during Lee's subse-

* According to Bachelder's map, Mahone was directly in front of Humphreys, a little to the left, facing West or South of the umbrella-shaped clump of trees. He appears to have had the Sixth, Twelfth, Sixteenth, Forty-first, and Sixty-first Virginians.

quent advance towards Centreville, until what he terms the "disaster" at Bristow Station, "where Hill got badly hurt." Mahone was ready to go in, but did not get under fire. As he said, "The affair was terribly mismanaged. Who ever heard of making a direct attack upon a railroad with a line parallel to it, since an embankment or cut serves as a perfectly defensible work?"

As is well known, Warren was left alone, behind, with his single (Second) Corps. With characteristic decision, he seized upon a deep cutting in the railroad; concealed a large body of his troops behind a railroad embankment; (Cudworth's *First Massachusetts Volunteers*, 415), and received Hill with such a withering fire, as drove the assailants back, with severe loss, including a Battery. "Warren did well," said Mahone—high praise from such a man—"and we got severely hurt." Early was, in reality, in Warren's rear; and, if he had been "early" in the field, might, in co-operation with Hill, have nipped and crushed the Fifth Corps. This is a mere opinion, it is true, but if any man is competent to judge of such operations, Mahone is. This was on the fourteenth of October, 1863. *Harper*, 519, 520.

When Lee fell back to the line of the Rappahannock, Mahone was often, *provisionally*, in command of two or three Brigades. He was always "drilling, drilling, drilling, and kept his men well up."

On the seventh of November, occurred the brilliant affair, for us, of Rappahannock-station. The holding of a bridge-head, on the North bank, was Early's idea. Mahone advised, strongly against it; and pronounced the position a "man-trap;" he foretold the result of Russell's brilliant attack and "gobbling" almost the entire force, within the week, *sixteen hundred* prisoners, besides killed and wounded. *Harper*, ii., 520. Mahone was at Glaisel's House, to the left of the bridge, up the river, and witnessed the whole affair, which must have aroused his indignation, at such a disregard, not only of military principles, but of common sense. Thence he fell back to the Hall House, beyond Brandy-station, on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. "Then and there," said he, "you could have seen the result of my discipline. In less than an hour after my Brigade was posted, it was fully entrenched. There was no organization of a Pioneer Corps in the rebel army; but I required every ordnance-wagon to carry a certain number of tools—shovels, picks, axes, etc.,—for each Regiment. The Ambulance Corps had little to do. I required them to bring these up to each Regiment when they were needed: afterwards, to gather them up

"and transport them back to the train—this, when they were not engaged in their appropriate duty. So much for method. If any of their tools were lost, I reckon somebody got hurt."

On this occasion, Lee sent for Mahone. Although he did not advance him as he deserved, Lee was fully aware that his little fiery lieutenant possessed a pre-eminent topographical glance and the highest engineering capacity. Mahone told him that "his line was very weak and untenable," and advised him to fall back and occupy the line of the Rapidan [*Rapid-Anna*.] In accordance with his counsel, on the seventh of December, Lee fell back to the line of the Rappahannock, "the strongest in this country," in the opinion of this gifted subordinate (*de Trobriand*, ii., 180, *Loring*, iii., 107.) Indeed this occasion was the first on which Lee gave, publicly, to Mahone, personally, any evidence of his appreciation.

Lee, with A. P. Hill and Ewell, was on an eminence, noting the Confederate Army as it came into line. He was struck with the rapid and skillful construction of field-works, in Hill's Corps, and inquired, "whose command had so quickly entrenched itself." Hill said he "could not tell, unless it was Mahone's." When these Generals dispersed, Lee said to Hill, "Send that officer to me." Mahone knew he was no personal favorite with Lee; and, when Hill delivered the order, he inquired, "What now?" and received for answer, "Go and see." When Mahone reported, General Lee asked what he "thought of the line?" Mahone replied, "Do you seek my opinion as an Engineer or General officer?" Lee said, "As both." "Then," said Mahone, "it is the most indefensible line I ever saw, or can imagine." "Such is my opinion," said Lee. "My Engineers give me great trouble." What is your advice, General Mahone?" "To fall back beyond the Rapidan, which affords an impregnable line of defense." "Can it be done in the face of the enemy?" inquired Lee. "Yes," responded his lieutenant, "if commenced at once." "Then lead off," said Lee. From this time, Lee never failed to express his appreciation of Mahone.

On the twenty-seventh of November, Mahone says that Lee occupied "an immensely strong position, on Mine Run. Had Meade attacked he would have got badly hurt."

"All I (Mahone) got, at this time, was a lot of hides—the whole country was covered with them—stripped off the cattle slaughtered to feed the Union troops. I made my Ambulance Corps"—Mahone seems to have down on this Service—"pick them up; and I traded them off,

"with the neighboring tanners, for dressed leather. This I converted into shoes. I made everything—lasts, even knives, all but thread—and, with details from my old command, shod my men better than the Government did the other troops."

In Mahone's Division, the Winter of 1864 passed off in "drill, drill, drill." It had been strongly recruited, and was in an efficient condition. When Grant crossed the Rapidan, it was eight thousand strong, and consisted of five Brigades, say fifteen hundred each; four Regiments to a Brigade, say four hundred each.

When the Campaign ended, few of his Regiments numbered a hundred muskets; but each, generally speaking, had its full complement, of officers. As the Southerners are very much like the French in disposition, this redundancy of officers doubtless made them fight much better.

In the Wilderness fight, on the fourth of May, 1864, Mahone was sent to stop the turning of the rebel left. Mahone's testimony would seem to corroborate the idea that it was Grant's first intention to turn the rebel left and move upon Gordonsville. On the fifth, he was operating on what he termed the "Upper Plank-road." On the morning of the fifth, Mahone turned the Union left, pushed it back, and doubled it up on the plank (Brock) road. *Harper*, ii., 628. It was on this road, that glorious Wadsworth was killed and Longstreet was shot down the same day, as was generally supposed, by Finnegan's troops. Mahone was in command where Wadsworth fell, so gallantly striving to stay the retreat of his command; and the Finnegan referred to, in connection with Longstreet, was afterwards one of Mahone's Brigadiers, and himself the hero of Olustee, or Ocean Pond. On the seventh, Anderson having been assigned to the command of the Corps of Longstreet—its beloved commander being supposed to be mortally wounded—Mahone was transferred to the command of Anderson's Division.

As the Army of Northern Virginia evacuated the Wilderness, Mahone brought up the rear. (*Early's Memoir*, 22, 23, etc.; *Swinton*, 445.) At Spottsylvania Court-house, he made one of those daring movements, peculiar to Jackson and himself, striking in flank the Union attack upon the angle of the rebel works. As usual he was not adequately nor promptly supported; and the attack, though daring, was not as resolute as it would otherwise have been. This, however, does not detract from the conceptive ability nor daring of the attempt.

At Spottsylvania Court-house, Mahone made another burst, and claims to have "captured the Head-quarters and principal Flag-station and ran Meade off." (Examine *Swinton*, 445.) This must be the occasion alluded to by Chaplain Warren H. Cudworth, in his *History of the*

First Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, 473. when, "during the afternoon, (Saturday, the "fourteenth of May) General Meade narrowly "escaped capture by the enemy, being in a "house upon which they made an unlooked-for charge, having doubtless been informed "by their scouts that he was there."

At the North Anna, Mahone made another brilliant coup. This stream, although narrow, is subject to sudden floods, and flows through a deep, rocky, and woody ravine, whose natural difficulties were augmented by strong works, on the southern bank, to which it constituted a better wet ditch than any engineer could have devised or executed. By thus holding a position back a little from the river, instead of the bank itself, Lee fulfilled to the letter, Von Bulow's maxim (*Dumas' Histoire de la Campagne de 1800*) for the defense of a river: "The best method to defend a river is to have "the army in hand, at some distance from the "shore, and fall vigorously upon the enemy, "after he has effected a crossing." Thus, the assailant becomes the assailed, and has to fight with a stream in his rear, recognized as one of the worst situations in which to deliver a battle. There, the opposing armies relatively occupied very peculiar situations. At this point, the Army of Northern Virginia presented an obtuse triangle, with its apex toward the river and to Grant, with both wings refused. Wright (Sixth Corps) and Warren (Fifth Corps) confronted Lee's Left so that they held a line almost parallel to it. Burnside (Ninth Corps) was opposite Lee's apex, which pointed North, directly towards a sharp curve, or U, of the North Anna, bending southwards, half-way between the Union right and left wings. Crittenden's Division of the Ninth Corps, General Ledlie's Brigade leading, plunged into the stream, and passed it, at Quarle's Mill or Ford. As soon as they were completely over, Mahone, who was on the extreme right (of the left wing?) of Lee, pushed one Brigade right out into the space between the two armies and across the chord or opening of the bend. Then, immediately, like a panther—a fit emblem for him—he dashed at the advancing column; fell upon it, with his usual vigor; drove it back; inflicted severe loss; captured a large number of prisoners and General Ledlie's Headquarters-flag, before snonor could reach that commander. Guernsey (*Harpers' History of the Great Rebellion*, i. 631,) must allude to this manœuvre where he speaks of it as a "brilliant one." Greeley (ii., 578) is very clear in regard to it. He says: "Crittenden's Division was promptly repelled with "heavy loss." Fletcher, (iii., 241) reads: "When the leading Division of Burnside's "Corps (opposite 'the apex' of Lee's lines on "the river, between the two wings of the Feder-

"al army—essayed to cross the river, he—Lee, by "Mahone—made it pay dearly for its attempt." Lossing (iii., 326) corroborates Greeley and Fletcher. "And so it was, that when Burnside's Ninth Corps of the Center attempted to cross between the two wings of the Army of the Potomac, his advance Division (Crittenden's) was quickly met (by Mahone) and repulsed, with heavy loss. When Warren, on the right, likewise attempted to connect with Burnside, by sending Crawford's Division in that direction, an overwhelming force fell upon him with almost fatal weight."

At Cold Harbor, on the third of June, Mahone's Division lay in reserve. After the Union troops had carried the first line, in his front, and captured a whole Brigade which had just reinforced Lee from the Shenandoah Valley and Southwestern Virginia, Mahone went in, in his usual style, to recapture what had been taken; and reoccupied the works.* Finnegan, his subordinate, the rebel hero of Olustee, or Ocean Pond, has the credit of this success.

After the Union Army had possessed itself of the first line of Confederate works, East of Petersburg, it pushed forward two columns, in parallel lines, on the South of the city, up to and beyond the Jerusalem Plank-road, the inner column fortifying as it progressed.

Wilcox was sent out to feel for the enemy, but returned without accomplishing anything. General Mahone seeing the enemy, asked for, and obtained leave from General Lee, to attack them. Wilcox was directed to move out, in front of the Union advanced columns and beyond the outer ones, with instructions, so soon as Mahone should begin the fight, to press down upon this outer column, and force it towards the Confederate lines. This part of the programme, however, was not fulfilled. In the meanwhile, on the seventeenth of June, Mahone withdrew his command, quietly, from the lines which he manned, and passing them along a ravine to the front of the inner column, formed a line of battle, and, suddenly dashing upon it, rolled it up, as a scroll, and forced it back upon the works, at the plank-road and upon the main body of the Union Army.

This occurred in sight of the Confederate lines, which were studded with heavy artillery. The officer commanding this artillery had orders from Mahone, to open his batteries simultaneously with his assault, and to keep them in full play, in front of his advancing columns. To his chagrin, these great dogs of war remained as silent as death; and not a shot was fired from them.

The parallel columns of the Union Army were

so near to each other, that, Mahone's right flank passed within a very short distance of the outer column, which, though unassaulted, was so paralyzed, that the movement of Wilcox's Division on it, as was ordered, would necessarily have put it to flight. The failure of Wilcox to move up, and of the artillery on the lines to open its fire, saved these two columns from utter destruction. As it was, Mahone, with three Brigades of his Division, captured sixteen hundred prisoners, four guns, and a large quantity of small arms. (*Swinton*, 510; *Greeley*, ii., 586).

Mahone's next exploit, in order of date, is what he terms the "Crater fight,"—that most terrible of all Union failures, on the thirtieth of July, 1864. (Examine Jarratt's *Guide to Petersburg*; *Harper*, 679.)

Of this; Mahone was unquestionably the hero; and the whole credit of our repulse belongs to him. Indeed, notwithstanding the combined blunders of all the Union Generals connected with the affair, we would have gone straight into Petersburg, in spite of the West Pointers in the rebel Army, in our front, if there had been no civil Engineer and natural General Mahone about, at this time. (*Fletcher*, iii, 271; *Littell's Living Age*, No. 1347, Page 793, comparison to Lannes, "Napoleon's own favorite Marshal, the best handler of troops in action, according to his master's judgment, of all the quick tacticians that followed the imperial eagles.")

While our Volunteer Miners were at work—for for West Pointers pooh-poohed the subterranean operations before Petersburg, and Meade and Duane, Chief Engineer of the Army, styled it "clap-trap and nonsense;" (*Report on the Conduct of the War*, i., 65; *Battle of Petersburg*, 1, 2, etc.)—Hancock, with his Second Corps, and Sheridan, with his Cavalry, were sent over to the North side of the James, as a feint, say some—to make a real attack, say others, upon Richmond. This, whether real or false, had the desired effect. Lee tumbled four of the seven of his Divisions out of the works, on the South or right of the James; hurried them across his military pile-bridges, near Drury's, or Drewry's, Bluff; and, while he thus frustrated Hancock's attempt, if any confidence had been placed in it, by Grant, left the way open before Petersburg, if the Mine had turned out a success.

The three Divisions left behind, were Mahone's (of Hill's Corps), Bushrod Johnson's, and Hoke's, of Anderson's (formerly Longstreet's). Mahone was on the extreme rebel right, some two or three miles away; Bushrod Johnson, in the front, and to the immediate right of the Mine, which, in itself, was a perfect success. The subsequent reverses are due to Meade, red-tape, and worse.*

* Dawson's HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, December, 1869, 255—F. E. Haster's Statement; and *Traper*, ii., 235.

* If any one deems these remarks the result of prejudice

The mine was run under an advanced work, often styled a fort, which constituted a salient, about a mile immediately in front of Petersburg, to the Southeast. To a casual or superficial observer, the country does not appear very rough, but it is extremely broken, or, rather seamed with ravines, or gullies, *accidenté*, as the French, express it. This, while it facilitated the building of the mine, it also, as will be seen, favored the able movement of Mahone, to fill up with men, the gap opened in the earth-works by the explosion,

At half past three, A.M. the fuse was fired, but failed. Two intrepid Volunteers—yes, heroic volunteer soldiers, for if their act was not heroism, to penetrate into the bowels of the earth, with every chance of being entombed alive, and perform their daring work unseen by men, and therefore ignored by men, there is no heroism in earth—Lieutenant Jacob Doughty and Serjeant Henry Rees, of the Forty-eighth Pennsylvania Volunteers, relighted the fuse and scarcely escaped from the gallery, when the mine exploded. This was 4.42, A.M.

Thus far the Volunteer idea—the Mine was suggested as well as constructed by Volunteers, with Volunteer materials—proved a perfect success.

As Meade was in command of the Army of the Potomac, he cannot shift the responsibility of this failure from his own shoulders to those of a subordinate. His manner of judging and acting, throughout the whole course of his career, in that exalted and responsible position, brings him under the denunciation of the Napoleonic Colonel, Baron AMBERT, in his work, *The Soldier, (Le Soldat)* page 179—"Woe to the lukewarm, 'cold or slack,' (*Malheur aux gens tièdes!*) His course, on this occasion, was a perfect parallel to that of MONCEY, in 1809, when, if the French Marshal had acted promptly, following up the victory of Tudela, he could have gone right straight into Saragossa. General of Infantry, the Prussian Heinrich von Brandt, then a subaltern in his army, records this as his opinion of the event: "Aus den Leben etc., *Theil 1. Seite 18 supra et infra*, thus reviewed in the *Edinburg Review*, as quoted in *Littell's Living Age*, p. 792-'8 of No. 1347 (March 26, 1870):

"Although the battle was won on the twenty-third of November, not two days march from Saragossa, it was a week before the French commander came in sight of the city [*Petersburg*]; and when fairly before it, want of means or dread of repeating the failure made earlier in

"the War, held him back from any attempt to take the place by a *coup-de-main*; nor was it until he had received a regular park of heavy guns, and been re-inforced by the whole Corps of Mortier, that he commenced, about the middle of December, after several vain summons to Palafox, the first operations of the memorable siege."

The springing of eight thousand pounds of powder shook the ground like an earthquake; blew the two, four, or six (according to different accounts) guns in the salient into the air, and the garrison—an unhappy South Carolina Regiment, two hundred and fifty to three hundred strong—likewise into the air; then engulfed and buried over half of them, likewise the Artillery detachment, leaving a crater, some two hundred feet long, fifty to sixty feet wide, and twenty-five—Mahone says, one hundred and twenty feet long, sixty feet wide, and forty—feet deep. Consternation struck, the defence was paralyzed; the only officer who appeared to have had his wits about him, was shot down, striving to rally his men; and the rebel troops fell back, towards the town, leaving, as all parties seem to agree, the avenue to triumph open.

Now comes one of the most perfect illustrations of the value of time on record. Mahone heard the explosion, two miles away; but was already on the alert.

The Union Generals did all they could to waste time; and, finally, tumbled a column of men into the hole made by the explosion, and let them lie there. Their blundering, in engineering, failing to open issues for the assaulting parties to get out of our works, preceded by worse blundering, and succeeded again by even still worse—if such a series of inexcusable mistakes can come under the head of blunders—lost us from twenty to thirty minutes, or more. Just half this space of time would have carried our troops into Petersburg, about one or one and a half miles distant. It sufficed to bring up the the ever-ready Mahone from about two miles distant, or, by the route he had to take, nearly three.

While, on the one side, it was a tissue of mistakes, on the other side, it was almost equally so, or hardly better—redeemed, however, by the supreme activity and ability of one man. The idea that if a man adventures his life and dies bravely, this sole fact constitutes him a soldier, is one of the greatest fallacies into which our people have fallen. The present War (1870) in Europe, on the French side, is completely exemplifying this. Another equally dangerous error is, that a Commander is a great General who can waste human life without remorse, and who will pour forth human blood like water upon a resultless objective. Those captains are truly

against West Point dogmatism and individual dislikes, let him examine the testimony taken before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, in 1866, Vol. I.—*Battle of Petersburg*—and his eyes will be opened, unless it requires a miracle to effect that result.

great who accomplish great ends with comparatively little means; and such was and is Mahone.

As stated, Mahone heard the explosion and was already on the *qui vive*; so that, when an Aid-de-camp galloped up, in search of reinforcements, he was almost ready to move. Ordering his subordinates, Brigadier-generals Weisiger, Wright, and Saunders, to bring on the men, at a double-quick and under cover of a ravine or natural covered way, which led towards the menaced point in the rear and parallel to the rebel lines, he spurred on, ahead, to investigate matters.

Drawing rein at the Headquarters of Bushrod Johnson, the General in command of that portion of the line, embracing the Crater, Mahone found him, as he said, "absorbed in looking after his "breakfast and apparently oblivious of what was "going on in front. He was talking, unconcernedly with Beauregard." Mahone indignantly demanded a guide to the menaced point, and, hurrying on, led his men, who had come up, out towards the Mine, by a ravine perpendicular to the front, whence a lateral branch, at right angles, turned off parallel to the rebel works. Thus his leading Brigade (Virginians) was established within a few hundred yards—two hundred is the estimate of an eye-witness; three hundred, if memory serves, of the crater, crammed with Union troops, huddled together like benumbed wasps, on a frosty day in Autumn. Mahone himself dismounted, climbed the bank—he is still surprised, as he then wondered, that he was not shot down, standing thus, alone, exposed, and so conspicuous an object, in his light gray uniform—and distinctly counted eleven flags established on a front, of which the blown-up fort was the body, and the adjacent works, about several hundred yards in extent, the two wings on either side. He immediately calculated that these eleven flags represented twenty-two hundred men. He estimated that a half hour had elapsed since the explosion; and saw indications of an advance. He got his men—Weisiger's Virginia troops—upon the top of the bank, and met the charge and volley he had anticipated with a counter-charge and discharge, point blank, well aimed, which drove the Union troops back and into the crater; "following them into the outer lines, using the "bayonet." Posting sharpshooters to keep them down, which they did—for a few marksmen sufficed for this, by picking off every man who showed himself—Mahone rushed back to his Second (Wright's) Brigade of Georgia troops,* who had just arrived, regained their breath, and some order.

These troops he ordered to charge and re-take the captured line, to the left or South of the Cra-

ter. His First Brigade, Weisiger's Virginians, had won back the works to the right of it. The intervening ground was cleared and sloped outwards and downwards to the mined fort, and extending to the right or South. It was now swept by an artillery fire, whose fury almost surpasses conception to those who have not witnessed a similar scene. One of our Generals of Artillery (C. S. W.) present, said, that the canister, pieces of shell, and other missiles, striking the slope, produced an effect upon it similar to the heavy drops of rain, in a thunder-shower, upon a placid sheet of water. It was enough to appal the sternest veteran; and, when the Georgia troops charged, the fire had the same effect upon them as the shock of Stannard's volleys upon the right flank of Pickett's column, at Gettysburg. It threw them off to the left, so that, instead of striking Mahone's objective, they glanced off and shrunk in behind his First Brigade, sheltered by the works they had retaken. By this time, Mahone's Third Brigade—Saunders's "Immortalized Alabama"—had come up. It was composed of better troops than the preceding. They made a direct charge, at a run; lost astonishingly few men, considering the fire to which they were exposed; and drove the Union troops out of their remaining captures of the morning. Mahone now augmented his sharpshooters, around the crater, and, a few good shots picking off all who tried to get out, kept every one down.

Then the rebels picked up muskets with bayonets fixed, which our men had abandoned, and projected them into the air, like javelins, so that they came down like the rain of Norman arrows, at Hastings, transfixing our poor fellows, white and black, promiscuously mixed and lying piled upon each other, in the chasm.

"It was cruel," remarked Mahone, relating these facts, "but what could be done? By and bye I saw what seemed to be a white hankerchief thrust upwards, over the edge of the "crater. I stopped the firing and we took "eleven hundred and one prisoners out of that "slaughter-pen. I afterwards diligently analyzed your (the Union) Reports, and found that "your loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, "was five thousand, two hundred and forty. "Cannon (in his *Grant's Campaign against Richmond*, 1864-65, p. 245), puts it down "at five thousand, six hundred and forty. These "figures were collated from statements published "at the time. My loss was not over two hundred and fifty." Thus ended the catastrophe.

Our best troops do not appear to have been at, or near the point of collision, i. e., the Second and Third Corps (combined or consolidated). See Major-general Graham Mott's Statement,*) was in reserve; and the Sixth Corps was away, protecting Washington.

* At Gettysburg, Wright had Third, Twenty-second, Forty-seventh, and Second Battalion, according to Bachelder.

All the while, forty thousand—some say fifty, and it has even been asserted, seventy-thousand—Union troops were massed to support the first rush, or, rather, lay as nearly within supporting distance of the attack, as Mahone had been, as regarded the defence. Our best troops do not appear to have been at, or even near, the point of collision. The combined Second and Third Corps, (see Mott's and Barnard's *Statements*) were in reserve, and the Sixth Corps was away, protecting Washington. The force, present, consisted of the Ninth, Tenth, and Eighteenth Corps; at hand, the Fifth Corps; in reserve, the combined Second and Third Corps; aggregate, sixty thousand? Professor John W. Draper, who wrote under the most favorable circumstances for arriving at the truth, says (iii., 405), "The assault was to be "made by fifty thousand men." Guernsey (*Harper*, i., 699,) gives the same number, as drawn together for the attack. They looked on and did nothing. Why they did not make a diversion, to the right or left, is incomprehensible to any military mind. On the extreme rebel Right, Mahone's line proper was denuded of defenders; for he had led his troops to the scene described. The intermediate works were feebly held. The neglect to co-operate with the attack, at the crater, is something which must excite astonishment on reviewing what occurred, and what should, if the American people ever held any one to strict responsibility, arouse their withering indignation.

Mahone's promptness and audacity, upon this occasion—this one achievement—should immortalize him.

Well might the British Colonel, Fletcher, (iii., 273.,) remark: "General Mahone became greatly distinguished during the operations around "Petersburg. From the commencement of the "War, he had been noted for his soldierly abilities; and when placed in high command, evinced "the qualities of an able General. Previous to "the War, he had been a Civil Engineer on the "Richmond and Norfolk-railway. He and General Gordon were accounted as two of the "best of the Division Generals of the Army of "Virginia." And again (*Ibid*, iii., 500,) he declared that Mahone "divides with Gordon, the capturer of Fort Steedmen, on the twenty-fifth of "March, 1865, the glories of the last Campaign "of the Army of Northern Virginia."

At, about, or after, this decisive action, on his part, Mahone was created Major-general. Why this promotion had been so long delayed, was, doubtless, owing to the stupidity of Jefferson Davis and the caste-prejudices and jealousies which worked such disastrous results, as well in the rebel as in the Union Armies. This remark is, by no means, an unjust one, for it has been said by those competent to judge, that West Point—that is, not the ability or education, but the per-

nicious caste-influence, of West Point—killed the South as much as it paralyzed the North, until the War gave it a practical energy, by associations and experience, through such men as Grant, Sheridan, etc., which it did not intrinsically possess. The very failure of Lee may be attributed to his subserviency to red-tape and to the stereotyped rules which made McClellan little better than an unready theorist. There is no question but that a thorough-bred, naturally-capable, and self reliable practical railroad-man must make the best of commanders; for his very ordinary business imbues him with a knowledge of the value of time—not only of hours, but of minutes and seconds—of system of discipline; and of what is even more important, inexorable responsibility. He had more than once, at previous dates, been offered a *Provisional* Major-generalship. This he indignantly refused. His promotion came when it had become almost unnecessary; for he was now the senior Brigadier-general in the Confederate Army.

On the twenty-third of June, Mahone, with two Brigades from his Division, left his position on the Confederate line, and marched a distance of nine miles, to anticipate the return of Generals Wilson and Kautz from their celebrated raid on the Southside and Danville-railroads. As was expected, Wilson came up, with his command, at sunrise, upon the advanced line of Mahone, but declined an engagement, although four thousand strong; at once, massed his forces on the North bank of Rowanty-creek; destroying the bridge in his rear, apprehending, doubtless, the pursuit of Hampton, at whose hands he had been discomfited, the night before. Here, Mahone, with his two Brigades thus situated, was yet within three miles of the left of Wright's Corps; and, with the knowledge that Wilson had communicated with that Corps, he well understood that in delay there was great danger. Confronting Wilson with one Brigade, and taking him on his flank with the other, at which juncture he was reinforced by Fitz Lee's Cavalry, the assault was made, resulting in the most inglorious defeat of Wilson's command—his forces, in wild confusion, seeking safety through the woods, in every direction; losing, in their flight, all their artillery, having previously surrendered their entire ordnance, ambulance, and provision trains, with a lot of prisoners, some five hundred and odd slaves, and an immense quantity of personal property, taken on their raid.

"Had Mahone been given six, instead of three, "Brigades for this service, Mahone thought the "entire force and establishment of this command of Warren's would have been captured; "while the result, brilliant in its proportions, "amounted, perhaps, to no more than the capture of two thousand, six hundred, and fifty

"men and the consternation of Warren's whole force. The importance to the Confederate situation, of dislodging Warren was such as to induce Beauregard to direct that Mahone should renew the attack, with a strong force. This he did, the second day after, the twenty-first of August, by a detour around Warren's left, aiming here to take him again in flank and rear.

"In the meantime, Warren had fully fortified his position—front, flank, and rear. Mahone, with six Brigades, made, successfully, his detour, and formed his line of attack, in the fog of early morning, on the flank and somewhat in the rear of Warren's lines. But, in this case, he had been misled as to the exact position of the Federal line, and, in consequence, formed his line of attack more remote than he otherwise would have done. This gave more ground to pass over, before reaching the enemy's real position, than had been anticipated; and, in consequence, his line became somewhat ragged at the moment when the touch of the elbow was most essential for success. He was unsuccessful, therefore, in carrying the works, but boldly maintained his own position, the balance of the day, and said to General Lee, "With two more Brigades, he would pledge himself to accomplish the work he had set out, in the morning, to perform." It was Lee's purpose to give to Mahone the reinforcement; but Field's Division, from which the reinforcements were to come, arrived too late for any further successful movement."

Such is Mahone's account, and whoever considers he has exaggerated his success can easily detect any error by comparing it with the most popular writers, at the North, on the War—Swinton (532-5) sets down the aggregate Union loss at four thousand, four hundred, and fifty-five; compare Greeley, ii., 592; Lossing, iii., 355; Harper, 703.

In due order of events, we now come "to the fight on the Weldon Road," are the words of a letter from one of Mahone's friends. "Grant made an effort against Lee's lines, on the North bank of the James-river, resulting in the capture of Fort Harrison. Failing of the full success contemplated, he turned Warren back, who had reached the James-river for the purpose of re-inforcing the movement, for a diversion on the Weldon Railroad, where Warren, without resistance, quietly established himself. Heth, with a part of his Division, was sent, on the eighteenth of August, to confront him, by Beauregard, in the absence of Lee, who was on the North side, commanding that (the Right) wing of the rebel Army. Warren, in this new position, on the Weldon railroad, was now detached from the ex-

treme Left of the Federal lines, by more than a mile.

"The intervening space was covered by a heavy growth of wood. Mahone suggested to Hill, who conferred with him, upon the position, that this interval between Warren and the Left wing of the Federal Army, was doubtless occupied by no more than a picket line, as it proved; and that Warren's overthrow might easily be effected, by boldly penetrating this picket line; separating Warren from the main body of his friends; and taking him in rear and reverse. This suggestion of Mahone, was adopted by Beauregard; and Mahone asked to perform the task. Beauregard allotted one Brigade of Mahone's Virginians and two of Hoke's for the service; and, while Mahone insisted upon the insufficiency of such a force, for accomplishing [securing] the fruits of victory after it had been won, yet, in deference to the earnest desire of his superior, undertook the movement.

"He, on the nineteenth of August, penetrated the picket line, and successfully got in rear of Warren's line of battle and on the flank of his position; and, rapidly moving upon Warren's very Head-quarters, was foiled in his triumph and capture of all and everything, by the disintegration of his two attacking Brigades, from the vast number of prisoners—twenty-six hundred and fifty—which fell directly into his hands. This left only one, the Virginia, Brigade, at the very moment when the addition of two more would have insured the capture of the entire dislocated command. To cover the results which he (Mahone) had already accomplished, was all that could be done; and this was handsomely performed by the most reliable of all his troops—Mahone's own Virginians—his old Brigade."

The next prominent action in which Mahone was to emulate the thunderbolt, was at Hatcher's Run, on the twenty-seventh of October, 1864—when Grant operated to turn Lee's extreme Right in order to gain possession of the South-side-railroad. The main movement was entrusted to the Second Corps, Hancock's; subsequently, the Second was supported by the Fifth, Warren's. The latter was ordered up, to form a connection between Hancock's right and the left of the Ninth, Park's, who was to engage the attention of the rebel troops, in the front, while Hancock was making the turning manœuvre. Hatcher's Run is a marshy stream, flowing from East to West, through thick forests and dense underbrush. Its head waters are near Zion and Corinth Churches, on the South-side-railroad, about fifteen miles East-south-east of Petersburg; and it struck the extreme Left of the Union lines, near Armstrong's, on the Duncan-road. [*Grant's Map*]

about seven miles South of the "Cockade City."

It would be difficult to conceive a more ugly country to operate in. Our Maps were defective. Brigades and Regiments went astray. Staff officers, sent to disentangle the "Toho-Bohu," became lost themselves in the maze; a drifting rain and fog made bad worse; night came on; and thus, in an unknown region, "darkness which could be "felt" converted the termination of this military movement into a literal groping in the dark. This was one of our disasters; and, had Mahone been adequately supported, it is impossible to estimate what might have been the extent of our losses. On our side, it was redeemed by Egan, commanding Gibbon's Division of the Second Corps. Mahone pays the highest compliments to the ability and intrepidity displayed. Praise, from such a man, is, indeed, praise; and Egan deserved it.

While Heth was to head us off, at the bridge, at the Burgess Mill-dam, and attack vigorously, and Hampton was to harass us, Mahone, as usual, made a turning march through the woods and, after a detour, formed his line in their edge; charged across an open field; and struck Egan on the right flank. Egan, previously Gibbons's, Division, which was posted on a clearing, South of the Run, with his guns on an elevation to the left of the Boydton-road, made a conversion; wheeled around his guns; and gave Mahone such a stunning reception as, finally, after a hard fight, drove him back to the shelter of the forest! Mahone says the scene was beautiful, in the dimness of the mist and the thickening darkness, through which the blaze of the musketry shone like lightning against a black cloud.

While he was performing, according to his wont, he appears to confine his praise to that officer, Hampton, who did his part well. There seems to have been as little co-operation in our own Army; and the glory of this involved engagement belongs to Egan and Mahone. Our losses were great—the result a failure; and this, as on so many other occasions, was due to that little fire-eater, whose name is hardly known in the North; and yet was our most dangerous and indomitable adversary. He realized the idea of the "hornet" of Scripture in the spitefulness and persistency of his attacks. He was a perfect military yellow-jacket-wasp.

After this action, Mahone was absent from the Army, some time, on leave. But he was not forgotten, for while Fort Steedman or Sedgwick, on the Union side, received the title of "Fort Hell," its opponent, where the lines approached nearest together, was named Fort Mahone, and dubbed "Fort Damnation,"—not inappropriate, since its sponsor, our great little hero, always gave us a taste of something akin to the idea expressed by the nickname.

Mahone does not seem to dwell upon any of the intervening operations, until those which occurred when the fortunes of the Confederacy were at their last gasp.

At the end of March, 1865, he held the rebel lines at Bermuda Hundreds; (*Fletcher* iii, 508; *Swinton*, 585; according to *Harper*, 762, Lee, Hill, and Mahone were in Petersburg, on the second of April, 1865); and it was not until the last days of the month, that he withdrew, covering the rear of the flying or retreating fragments of the "Army of Northern Virginia." To the last, he maintained discipline in his decimated Division and opposed an undaunted front to the pursuing enemy. Mahone speaks of Miles as his most persistent adversary; and, by the troops of Miles's command, his Headquarters wagon, with all his comforts and papers, were captured. Among them, he most regretted the capture of his elaborate Reports, on which he had expended immense labor, especially that embracing the operations from the fifth of May to the thirty-first of December, 1864. Mahone is of the opinion that, by dextrous flanking movements and his usual spiteful attacks, he inflicted a severer loss upon Miles than has ever been admitted. His last combat, of importance—for the fighting in detail, or skirmishing, never ceased—was at Cumberland-church. This is the name of the place, given by Mahone, but the writer cannot find it on the most detailed map or plan of the district, embracing the last scenes of the War, just beyond the Appomattox.

The Second and Sixth Corps were operating together; and Miles, of the latter, tried to play Mahone's game upon Mahone, and turn his position. Mahone turned upon him and gave him a severe shock, upon which he plumes himself, not a little. It certainly was plucky enough; and worthy his whole previous career. Miles lost six hundred men. When the game was about up, Lee called into his counsel, Longstreet, so greatly trusted, and Mahone, no less worthy of trust, if not more so—certainly a wiser, if not a better, fighter—to ask what more could be done. (*Harper* 771.) Mahone advised surrender. He said that further fighting was wicked because useless. As long as there was a hopeful chance to fight, no one was more eager to do so or did it more effectually.

The Army of Northern Virginia surrendered; and Mahone's military career was ended. On his return to civil life, his energy was recognized in his appointment as President of the three combined railroads concentrating at Richmond.

If he lives, his future is an assured one; and he is already talked of as the next Governor of Virginia.

IX.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

AN OLD MASON.—A correspondent of the *Hartford Times*, writing from East Haddam, Connecticut, on the first instant, says: "To-day, was attended the funeral of Mr. Chevas Brainard, at St. Stephen's Church, in this town. He attained the age of ninety-six years, and is said to be the oldest Freemason in New England, having been a member of that Order seventy-one years. He was also the last surviving member of the original founders of the Episcopal Church, in this town.

"There is another thing remarkable about this Church. The sober people of this town are, on every Sunday morning, called to divine service by the oldest bell in America. It came to this country, one hundred and forty years ago, with a lot of old bell-metal."

There is one older bell in America than the one in East Haddam, certain. That is in the little Catholic Church, in the village of St. Regis, on the St. Lawrence-river. The bell in that Church was taken from Deerfield, at the time of the French and Indian invasion of that place, in 1704, and it is said was suspended on a pole, and carried on the shoulders of the Indians, through the wilderness, to the place where it now hangs. It was originally purchased in France, by the Church at St. Regis, and the vessel in which it was being taken to Quebec, was captured by an English cruiser and taken into the port of Salem. The bell, as a part of the cargo, was sold, and bought by the Church in Deerfield. The invaders of Deerfield were from St. Regis, and took special pride in recapturing and returning the bell.—*Norwich Aurora*.

THE EARLY MANUFACTURE OF GLASS.—In reference to a paragraph, recently copied in our paper, stating that the first manufacture of glass, in this country, was at Temple, New Hampshire, a correspondent writes:—"Thirty years previous to the commencement of the establishment at the town of Temple, New Hampshire, or, in 1750, a manufactory of glass was started at Braintree, (now Quincy), Mass., under the superintendence of Joseph Palmer, Esq. Glass bottles were then made, and other articles, and the business prospered until it was destroyed, at the time of the American Revolution. The peninsula received the name of Germantown, from the foreigners there employed. The workmen, however, were evidently emigrants

"from Holland, as embankments they raised to guard against the tides of the ocean, are yet visible."

Mr. Palmer's mansion and estate are now the property and the site of "The Sailor's Snug Harbor."—*Boston Traveller*, August 10, 1866.

FOURTH OF JULY ADDRESS.—We learn from the *Atlas* that J. Lothrop Motley, Esq., author of *Merry Mount*, etc., has been invited to deliver the Address before the City Authorities on the Fourth of July.—*Boston Emancipator and Republican*, April 19, 1849.

SCRAPS.—E. D. Mansfield, in the *Cincinnati Gazette*, says that the number of marriages in Ohio, for a series of years, were:

In 1859.....	23,671
In 1860.....	23,106
In 1861.....	22,251
In 1862.....	19,540
In 1863.....	19,300
In 1864.....	20,881
In 1865.....	22,198
In 1866.....	30,479
In 1867.....	29,230
In 1868.....	28,231
In 1869.....	25,798

—A Beech-tree lately blew down in Germantown, of very great age. It was three feet in diameter, at the ground, and stood by an old house, on the Wister estate. It must have been of considerable age, when the house was built. Cut in the smooth bark, were seen the initials D. S. W., 1771—ninety-nine years ago. Not many trees bear on their bark, such evidence of their antiquity.

—The mildness of this Winter is not without precedent. As early as 1612, the first Winter that Penn spent in this country, he speaks of the extreme mildness of the atmosphere, the mercury but rarely falling below the freezing point, which impressed him very favorably with our climate.

—The variable climate of the United States, is illustrated by the historic "cold Friday," on the nineteenth of January, 1810. The preceding part of the month was unseasonably warm and sunny, with a South wind blowing; but as the sun went down, on the eighteenth, the wind shifted to the North, blowing hard, and the cold weather that ensued was intense, and caused great suffering to man and beast.

—Cato Oakley, a Suffield darkey, is supposed to be one hundred and six years old. He was once a slave, in Fairfield-county, and came to Suffield, in 1838.

—Not only General Washington but Mr. Jefferson owned and ran horses. In 1790, General Washington acted as one of the Judges, at the race-course, near Alexandria, when his horse, Magnolia, was beaten. He afterwards sold Magnolia to "Light Horse" Harry Lee, for fifteen hundred dollars. He was sent, afterwards, to South Carolina. Mr. Jefferson had a fine horse, a winner at the same meeting, called the Roan Colt.

—The oldest house in East Haven, built in 1662, will be pulled down this Spring, to make place for a new residence. Willis Bailey, its owner, gave a party therein, recently, and read a history of the ancient building.

X.—QUERIES.

HENRY SHERMAN, ESQR., of Hartford, Ct., is said to have had in press, as long since as 1857, a *Governmental History of the United States*. Was it ever published? If so, by whom?

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

E.

STAMFORD AND WETHERSFIELD TOWN RECORDS. It was stated in an early volume of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, that these Records, or some portions of them, were carried away, by one John Welles, and were then in private hands, somewhere on Long Island. Can any person indicate their present whereabouts? M.

XI.—REPLY.

SHEA'S CRAMOISY SERIES OF RELATIONS.—Having depended on others to reply to this query, without securing any response, I beg to submit the titles of those of the series which are in my own library; and if any have others to which I make no allusion, they will confer a favor by mentioning their titles through this work:

- I. * * * * *
- II. BIGOT's *Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable dans la Mission Abnauquise de Saint Joseph de Sillery, et dans l'établissement de la Nouvelle Mission de Saint Francois de Sales, l'année 1684.* A Manate: 1857.
- II.* *Copie d'une lettre écrite par le Pere JACQUES BIGOT de la Compagnie de Jesus, l'an 1684.* Manate: 1858.
- III. BIGOT's *Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable dans la Mission Abnauquise de Saint Joseph de Sillery et de Saint Francois de Sales, l'année 1668.* A Manate: 1858.
- IV. BIGOT's *Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable dans la Mission des*

Abnauquis à l'Acadie, l'année 1701.

A Manate: 1858.

- V. CAVELIER's *Relation du Voyage entrepris par feu M. ROBERT CAVELIER, Sieur de la Salle, pour découvrir dans le golfe du Mexique l'embouchure du Fleuve de Missisipi.* A Manate: 1858.
- VI. *La Vie du R. P. Pierre Joseph Marie Chaumonot, de la Compagnie de Jesus, Missionnaire dans la Nouvelle France, écrite par lui-même par ordre de son Supérieur, l'an 1688.* Nouvelle York: 1858.
- VII. *Suite de la Vie du R. P. Pierre Joseph Marie Chaumonot, de la Compagnie de Jesus.* Nouvelle York: 1858.
- VIII. TRANCHEPAIN's *Relation du Voyage des premières Ursulines à la Nouvelle Orleans et de leur établissement en cette ville.* Nouvelle York: 1859.
- IX. *Registres des Baptemes et Sepultures qui se sont faits au Fort du Quesne pendant les années 1753, 1754, 1755, and 1756.* Nouvelle York: 1859.
- X. *Journal de la Guerre du Missisipi contre les Chicachas, en 1739 et finie en 1740. Par un Officier de l'Armée de M. de Nouaille.* Nouvelle York: 1859.
- XI. *Relation ou Journal du Voyage du R. P. JACQUES GRAVIER, de la Compagnie de Jesus, en 1700, depuis le pay des Illinois jusqu'à l'embouchure du Missisipi.* Nouvelle York: 1859.
- XII. DABLON's *Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable aux Missions des Peres de la Compagnie de Jesus en la Nouvelle France, les années 1673 à 1679.** A. la Nouvelle York: 1860.
- XIII. les années 1672 et 1673.* A. la Nouvelle York: 1861.
- XIV. *Relations Diverses sur Bataille du Malangué. Gagné le 9 Juillet, 1755, par les Francois sous M. de Beaujeu, Commandant du Fort du Quesne sur les Anglois sous M. Braddock, Général en Chef des troupes Anglois.* Nouvelle York: 1860.
- XV. *Relation de la Mission du Missisipi du Seminaire de Québec en 1700. Par M. de Montigny, de St. Cosme, et Thaurmur de la Source.* Nouvelle York: 1861.
- XVI. *Novum Belgium, description de Nieuw Netherland et Notice sur René Goupil. Par le R. P. Isaac Jogues, de la Com-*

* Copies of the two volumes thus designated were printed in octavo, as continuations of the series of *Relations*, in three volumes, published by the Canadian Government, in 1868.

- XVII. *pagnie de Jesus. A New York: 1862. Extract de la Relation des Aventures et Voyages de Mathieu Sagueu.*
Nouvelle York: 1863.
- XVIII. *MILER's Relation de sa Captivité parmi les Onnoisouts en 1690-1.*
Nouvelle York: 1864.
- XIX. *Relation des Affaires du Canada, en 1696. Avec des Lettres de Pères de la Compagnie de Jesus depuis 1696 jusqu' en 1702.* Nouvelle York: 1865.
- XX. *Bigot's Relation de la Mission Abnaguise de St. Francois de Sales l'année 1702.* Nouvelle York: 1865.
- XXI. *Lettre du Père Jacques Gravier, de la Compagnie de Jesus, le 23 Fevrier, 1708, sur les Affaires de la Louisiane.*
Nouvelle York: 1865.

There is, also, another which bears Mr. Shea's imprint and is uniform with this series, and which, therefore, will be added to the above, by those who are not aware of its real character. We have the authority of that gentleman for saying that it is not Mr. Shea's; nor does it, properly, belong to the series of his Relations, above-named. It is entitled: *Epistola Rec. P. Gabrielis Dreuilletes, Societatis Jesu Presbyteri, ad Dominum Illustrissimum, Dominum JOANNEM WINTROP, Scutarium. Neo-Eboraci in insulâ Manhattan: Typis Cramoisiensis Joannis-Marie Shea, M.DCCC.LXIX.*

Besides the above named twenty-one volumes of the series, there is one—the first—which I do not possess. It is Gravier's *Relation de la Mission Illinois, 1693*; and I shall be very much obliged, and will pay a liberal price for it, to any one who can favor me with a copy of it.

It may serve a good purpose, to add that this series was printed uniform in size, style, type, ornaments, etc., with the series published, in the seventeenth century, in Paris, by M. Cramoisy; and that the edition was generally limited to one hundred copies.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

H. B. D.

XII.—BOOKS.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to Messrs. CHARLES SCHENCK & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*The Bradford Prayer Book. 1719. Some account of "The Book of Common Prayer," Printed A. D. 1710, by William Bradford, under the auspices of Trinity Church, New York. The first edition of that book ever printed on the American Continent. Privately printed for Horatio Gates Jones 1870. Octavo, pp. 10.*

A very beautiful re-print of an article which

appeared in *The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* of July 15, 1870, concerning the copy of Bradford's edition of *The Book of Common Prayer* which our friend, John Jordan, Jr., Esq., of Philadelphia, recently unearthed in that city—a stray volume which has served to set at rest various bibliographical doubts, and to set in anxious motion various intensely earnest bibliophiles.

The matter of this tract is chiefly a correspondence between Mr. Jones and Mr. Wallace—the former a Vice-president, the latter the President of the Pennsylvania Historical Society—concerning a volume which, through the generosity of another member, has been donated to that Society; and, notwithstanding there are some errors in the narrative and a seemingly unnecessary parade in the mode of presenting the simple story of the origin and character of the precious volume and that of its discovery and transmission to the Society, it is, at once, an acceptable bibliographic morsel and an elegant specimen of typography.

The Society is to be congratulated, both because such a volume has been found and because it fell into such utterly unselfish hands as those of its excellent Treasurer, Mr. Jordan.

B.—OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

2.—*The Water Power of Maine*, by Walter Wells, Superintendent Hydrographic Survey of Maine. Augusta: Sprague, Owen, & Nash, Printers to the State. 1869. Octavo, pp. viii, 528.

In 1867, the Legislature of Maine authorized an exploration of the water-power of the State, both that which was unemployed and that which was employed; and, in 1868, a Report was made thereon, which we have not seen. In 1869, a more elaborate Report was made by Hon. Walter Wells, to whom the duty was assigned of superintending the Survey; and, in the volume before us, which Mr. Wells has sent to us, we have a copy of that interesting Report.

Mr. Wells begins his Report with a Description of the position of Maine, geographically and with respect to the remainder of the Continent. Then follow careful examinations of her horizontal dimensions, her elevation, her mountain-system, and her vallies. Next are noticed her geological relations and the aspect, materials, and vegetation of her surface; her lake-system and its influence upon her water-power; her tidal water-power; her temperature, rainfall, and evaporation; the healthiness of her climate; the comparative cost of her Water-power and Steam-power; and the accessibility of her Water-power. Next follows an elaborate examination of the river-systems of the State, in which, successively, are noticed the peculiarities of the Saco, Androscoggin, Ken-

nebec, Penobscot, St. Croix, St. John, Dennys, Pemaquan, East and West Machias, Narraganset, Pleasant, Tunk, Union, St. George, Sheepscot, Medomac, Presumpscot, Mousam, Piscataqua, and several smaller streams, and those of the basins which they severally drain; and the Report closes with very careful descriptions of the Water-powers, as a whole and each separately. From this very brief synopsis of the contents of this volume, our readers will learn how important it is, both in its industrial and its literary relations—both as suggestive to the manufacturer, concerning cheap and accessible power, and as one of a series of volumes, containing the result of surveys of the State, which are among the most important of the class known as "locals."

In the preparation of the work, Mr. Wells has evidently discharged his important duty with zeal and fidelity; and if he has not been misled by those on whom he has necessarily depended for detailed local reports, his Report will continue to possess unusual interest and value, long after he shall have passed away. It is, unquestionably, a work of unusual merit.

It is very fairly printed; and the map which illustrates it adds greatly to its usefulness.

2.—*Proceedings of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Westchester, for the years 1773 to 1787, inclusive.* Arranged by Charles E. Johnson. New York: 1870. Octavo, pp. 54.

At the Annual Meeting of the Board of Supervisors of this County, in 1869, the Clerk was ordered to print, annually, "such portions of 'the past records of the Board of Supervisors, 'not to exceed fifty pages in any one year, as 'may be selected by a Special Committee on 'Past Records, to be appointed by the Chair-man, at each Annual Session;" and, in the tract before us, we have the first installment of that good work, embracing the Minutes, from before the opening of the War of the Revolution until the year 1787—certainly a period, in the history of Westchester-county, embracing the celebrated "neutral ground," during the War, which will add significance to the homely record.

As a local history, relating to the third, in population, of the Counties of the State, this tract possesses unusual importance.

4.—*Annual Report of the Adjutant-general of the State of Connecticut, for the year ending March 31, 1870.* Printed by order of the Legislature. New Haven: 1870. Octavo, pp. 114.

We are indebted to the attention of our friend, General Merwin, Adjutant-general of the State, for this continuation of our series of Re-

ports of Connecticut's military authorities. It is a very complete record of the local military affairs of the State; and it is made more generally interesting by the republication of that portion of the *Rolls of Honor* which describes the names, places of burial, etc., of those, from Connecticut, who fell during the late War of Secession.

5.—*Proceedings of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Westchester, for the year 1869.* Charles E. Johnson, Clerk. New York: 1870. Octavo, pp. 548.

The record of the local legislature of this County, for the year 1869—a volume which is especially important to every tax-payer therein, whether residing in the County or elsewhere. It is interesting, also, because it contains lists of the County-officers, from the organization of the State Government until now, together with the instalment of the ancient records of the Board, now first published, to which, in its independent form, allusion has been made in another part of this number of the Magazine.

C.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

6.—*The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians.* By Otto Schmoller, Ph.D. Translated from the German, by C. G. Starbuck, A.M. Edited, with additions, by M. B. Riddle, D.D. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. viii, 161.

The Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians. By Karl Braune, D.D. Translated from the German, with additions, by M. B. Riddle, D.D. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. ii, 285.

The Epistle of Paul to the Philippians. By Karl Braune, D.D. Translated from the German, with additions, by Horatio B. Hackett, D.D. New York: C. S. Scribner & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. 76.

The Epistle of Paul to the Colossians. By Karl Braune, D.D. Translated from the German, with additions, by M. B. Riddle, D.D. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. 88.

Of this work—known, collectively, as a portion of *Lange's Commentary*—we have repeatedly written, with more or less approval; and we opened this volume, embracing the three works above mentioned, with some misgivings, because of the tendencies of the general collection to run in a direction which our conscience tells us is not the true one.

Of the twenty-three, whose names are published as its American Editors, twelve are Presbyterians or Reformed Dutch, between whom there is no perceptible difference in their religious faith; four only—two Baptists and two Congregational—are Congregational in their mode of Church Government, against nineteen who have departed from the scriptural standards, on that subject; two only are Baptists against nineteen who no longer pretend to follow the Bible as their *only* "Rule of Faith and Practice." So much for the impartiality with which its Editors have been chosen.

As an evidence of its value as a Commentary,

when the prejudices of its Editors come in contact with the truth, let us cite a single instance, which we may multiply, if necessary: *The Epistle to the Ephesians* was addressed, on its face, "to the Saints which are at Ephesus and to the faithful in Christ Jesus," and to no other person, good or bad, there or elsewhere. The non-professing Jimmy O'Brians and Bill Pooles of that city had no more part in the specific message of the writer than had those church members, therein, who mixed gin with their milk, defiled other men's wives, or pharisaically thanked God that they were better men than those whom they had swindled, a day or two before; and those of any other city, at any time, had as little interest in it as had those Ephesians, who were not then "saints" or "faithful in Christ Jesus." It was addressed to the latter, and to no one beside them, whom the writer sometimes called "you;" and it concerned no one, whatever, except those who were particularly addressed and him who addressed them, who collectively, were sometimes spoken of, in the Epistle, as "we" and "us."

The original author of the Epistle, [i, 3-23] opened the communication which he proposed to make to those "saints" and "faithful" ones "which [were] at Ephesus," with thanks to Almighty God, whom he described as having blessed "us"—the writer and the written-to, not everybody—with all spiritual blessings, in heavenly places, in Christ, according—in the same manner, even,—as he had chosen or selected "us"—not everybody in Ephesus—in him—Christ—not after "we" had done something to earn salvation, but before the foundation of the world. He thus recognized the "election" of some and, consequently, the rejection of others, by the Almighty, before time was or man individually existed. He next recites the purpose of God in having thus blessed "us," rather than the world, at large, "that we" should be holy and without blame before him, "in love," and thus recognizes the doctrine that "holiness" in the individual is a consequence of the pre-existing love, for that individual, by God, rather than an antecedent cause for the subsequent appropriation of Divine love to man, where no such love had been previously enjoyed. And he concludes his description by reciting the preliminary process employed by the Almighty—"having predestinated us into the adoption of children, by Jesus Christ, to himself"—by giving, as the reason for it, not anything which "we" had done, but merely "the good pleasure of his Will," etc.; and by noticing, as among the great results of this predestination of some and rejection of others, *First: Acceptance of "us,"* in the beloved; *Second: Our Redemption* through his blood and forgiveness of sins; etc.

All this indicates an entire rejection, by the

writer of this Epistle, of the least consideration of every one, either at Ephesus or elsewhere, except of those unto whom it was especially addressed, in like manner, as he evidently supposed they had been already rejected by the Almighty, when, "before the foundation of the world," the latter had made his selection of those whom he would favor and those whom he would not favor, "according to the good pleasure of his Will." Indeed, "us," "we," and "our," and "you," and "your," thrust themselves before us, in almost every line of the Epistle—as they necessarily do in almost every line of every private letter, whether written in our own day or any other—and they clearly indicate the Apostle's opinion, that he and those whom he addressed, if no others, were among the elect of God. No one who will read this Epistle can honestly say anything else; and the final benediction, with which the Epistle closes, tells, unmistakably, that "the brethren" and "all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity"—not those who were merely Sunday Christians and sinners during the rest of the week—were those whom he had alone addressed; and who were the "you" and "your" to whom he had specifically referred.

While we have distinctly set forth whom Paul meant by "we," "us," "our," "you," and "your," and whom he described as those who had been so peculiarly "blessed in heavenly places in Christ;" who had been "chosen in [Christ] before the foundation of the world;" who had been "predestinated unto the adoption of children;" who had been "accepted in the Beloved;" who had had "Redemption through his blood," which included "forgiveness of sins;" and who had had "made known unto them the mystery of his will," etc.; it is peculiarly noticable that he made no exclusive claims for himself and those whom he addressed. They were thus favored: how many others were similarly blessed was not then before them, for consideration. It was not necessary, for the purposes of that particular letter, to discuss that particular subject; but he referred, also, (ii, 19) to others, besides themselves, who were "the saints and the household of God," with whom those whom he addressed were no longer "strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens;" to "other Gentiles," who walked "in the vanity of their mind, having the understanding darkened," (iv, 17, 18;) to various classes of men, none of whom "hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God," (v, 3-5;) to certain principalities, powers, rulers of the darkness of the world, etc., against which he and those to whom he wrote were wrestling, (vi, 12;) etc. In short, there were others who had not been thus blessed, as Paul and the Eph-

esians had been; who had been left when the choice was made by God, "before the foundation of the world"; who had been "predestinated" to some other fate than "the adoption of children, by Jesus Christ;" who had been *rejected* when others had been "accepted;" etc.; and these are said, (ii, 2, 3) to have "walked according to the course of this world, according to the Prince of the power of the air—the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience, among whom also we all had our conversation, in times past;" and until God had rescued them.

In the face of all this, either Doctor Braune or Doctor Riddle tries very hard to show, on pages 21 and 22, that "the recipients of the 'Epistle' were something *more* than those whom the plain terms of the Apostle specifically indicated; on page 30, to show that "us" means "the Church of Christ, the *congregatio sanctorum*, the 'saints,' who, at the time, make up 'the people of God, in whom the election is perceptible and manifest;" on page 43, to insist that it means "the local Church," at Ephesus, "the Church as a whole;" on page 47, to convince his readers that "the object of the 'predestination' of the 'us' of the writer of the Epistle was that of 'the whole human race,' in which case, as all those who had been thus 'predestinated' were accepted and redeemed, and were to be justified and saved. Paul must have been an early Universalist and the 'election' of some and the 'rejection' of others, by the Almighty, a mere farce.

No, Doctors Braune and Riddle, where there has been a *choice*, an *election*, there has necessarily been a *rejection*—that is no "election" which takes *all*—and it matters not whether it was made "before the foundation of the world" or on the first Tuesday in November, whether it was mere men or any other thing, whatever: there is no "election," nor can there be, where "one is [*not*] taken and the other [*not*] left." There most certainly has been an election in which a few were chosen and many were rejected: those who were thus "chosen" were given to the Son for a people: those who were not thus chosen were left—"reprobate silver shall men call them, because the Lord hath *rejected* them:"—for the former of these the Savior *prayed*: for the latter he never prayed—"I pray not for 'the world, but for them which thou hast given me' *John xvii, 9*—and for them, and only for them, he died, as both Doctor Braune and Doctor Riddle have severally professed to believe, in their respective ordination vows.

In view of these insidious teachings, covered with the tinsel of Germany's doubtful learning—and we can point out dozens of other instances,

in these volumes—and in view of the evident partisan bias of the Editor, in his selection of co-editors, we cannot commend this work as a *faithful* exposition of the Scriptures, whatever we may do as a merely philological treatise, in which the dexterity of various scholars can be displayed, in their earnest attempt to disguise the truth and instruct their readers how they can best *not* understand it.

7.—*Free Russia*. By William Hepworth Dixon. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 359.

Old Russia is said to have passed away, and another Russia—free and fresh—is said to have arisen in its stead.

It may be that Russia has become more enlightened; that she is not as fearfully bound, in feudal fetters, as she was, before the Crimean War; that she is relatively free; but we have no faith in the professions or pretensions of her *freedom*, as we understand that word—or, rather, as we were wont to understand it, before the recent War indicated to us, just what that word really meant and amounted to, even in a Republic which was said to have been "governed by the people," "for the people," when those possessing the power to oppress "the people," were pleased to exercise it, even at the cost of the Constitution established by "the People."

We have no confidence in the existing "freedom" of Russia; and we will venture a guess—that, when the Czar shall feel inclined, it will vanish like the mist of the morning. Nevertheless, the description of *existing* Russia, as portrayed by Mr. Dixon, is exceedingly interesting and important, ranging, as he did, from the Polar Sea to the Ural Mountains, and from the Vistula to the Straits of Yenikale, and mixing, as he did, with all classes and conditions of life; and he, certainly, has presented his subject in a manner which is at once picturesque and fascinating. We certainly know more of Russian every-day life than we ever knew before; and it may usefully arrest the attention of all who desire to know more than they now know, concerning the great empire of the North.

This volume is a very neat one.

8.—*Put yourself in his place*. A novel. By Charles Reade. Illustrated. New York: Harpers & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 307. Price, in paper, 75 cents.

..... New York: Sheldon & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp.

..... New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 319.

Different editions of the same work—a novel, by Charles Reade, which has attracted the attention of every one who reads works of this character.

We have not read either of these volumes;

but we understand from those who have, that it is a work of the highest character, entirely worthy of the author's reputation. The various editions afford an opportunity for all to read it, who are inclined to do so.

9.—*Recollections of Eton*. By an Etonian. With illustrations by Sydney P. Hall. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 126. Price 50 cents.

A pleasant review of the experience of an Eton boy, at that celebrated school. Of course, it is thoroughly English in its character: and for that reason it will find few in our country who can fully appreciate it.

10.—*Tom Brown at Oxford*. By the author of *Tom Brown's School Days*. New Edition, with illustrations by Sydney P. Hall. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 281. Price 75 cents.

The great body of our readers know the character of this volume, as "one of the very best 'boys' books ever written;" and nothing that we can say will add to its interest or increase its popularity, among those for whom it was written. The Edition before us is a handsome one, neatly illustrated, and, all things considered, sold at a nominal price.

11.—*The Genial Showman*, being Reminiscences of the Life of Artemas Ward and Pictures of a Showman's career, in the Western World. By Edward P. Hingston. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 155. Price 75 cents.

A pleasantly-written narrative of the life and adventures of "Artemas Ward," as Charles Browne was called, professionally. It will serve to keep him in remembrance, among those whom he amused; and, at the same time, agreeably occupy the leisure which thousands possess, to a greater or less degree, sometime during the year.

12.—*Charles Dickens*. The story of his Life. By the author of the *Life of Thackeray*. With illustrations and fac-similes. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 110. Price 50 cents.

Speeches, Letters, and Sayings of Charles Dickens. To which is added a sketch of the author, by George Augustus Sala, and Dean Stanley's Sermon. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 147. Price 50 cents.

The Mystery of Edwin Drood. By Charles Dickens. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Price 25 cents.

These three volumes close the record of Dickens, both as a man, a public speaker, and an author; and, notwithstanding he has closed his pilgrimage and departed, the world seems to jog alone, just as it did while he was living. It may be a queer world, or Dickens may have been nothing more than a mere man: whichever is the fact, his exit has not stopped the progress of Time, nor does the busy world seem to miss him.

In fact, Dickens was unduly petted and duly spoiled; and when he died, the morality and worth of England experienced no material loss.

13.—*The United States Internal Revenue and Tariff Law* (Passed July 13, 1870), together with the Act imposing taxes on Distilled Spirits and Tobacco, and for other purposes, (approved July 20, 1868,) and such other Acts or parts of Acts relating to Internal Revenue as are now in effect: with Tables of Taxes, a copious Analytical Index, and full sectional Notes. Compiled by Horace E. Dresser. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 62.

A convenient volume of reference, which will be very acceptable to every business-man throughout the country.

14.—*Estelle Russell*. By the author of *The private life of Galileo*. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 177. Price 75 cents.

The Heir Expectant. By the author of *Raymond's Heroic*. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 167. Price 50 cents.

A Dangerous Guest. By the author of *Gilbert Ruggs*. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 114. Price 50 cents.

Veronica. A novel. By the author of *Aunt Margaret's trouble*. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 175. Price 50 cents.

Klimenty. By William Black. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 184. Price 50 cents.

John: a love story. By Mrs. Oliphant. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 110. Price 50 cents.

True to herself. A romance. By F. W. Robinson. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 178. Price 50 cents.

From Thistles-Grapes? By Mrs. Ellvart. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Octavo, pp. 186. Price 50 cents.

The Vivian Romance. By Mortimer Collins. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 144. Price 50 cents.

The Warden and Barchester Towers. By Anthony Trollope. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 244. Price 75 cents.

In duty bound. By the author of *Mark Warren*, etc. Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 131. Price 50 cents.

Which is the heroine? A Novel. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 148. Price 50 cents.

Successive numbers of *Harpers' Library of Select Novels*; all from foreign writers of established reputations; and all acceptable to those who employ this class of works to "kill time." They are all neatly printed.

15.—*The New Issue*. The Chinese-American Question. By John Swinton. New York: American News Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. 16.

We have received from our friend, the author, a copy of this emphatic and eloquent protest against the immigration of the Chinese.

Mr. Swinton objects to the admission of these foreigners because of differences of Race, Industry, Politics, and Morality: he maintains, too, that the Federal authorities have the right and full power to adopt such a policy as will regulate or entirely prevent the importation of Chinese

Coolies; and he insists that that right shall be exercised and the influx prevented.

The subject is an important one: it has been ably handled, by an experienced writer, who is, also, one of the most profound thinkers in our country.

16.—*History of Joseph Bonaparte, King of Naples and of Italy.* By John S. C. Abbott. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 891.

History of Hortense, Daughter of Josephine, Queen of Holland, mother of Napoleon III. By John S. C. Abbott. With engravings. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 879.

Two additions to the widely-known series of "Illustrated Histories," by the same prolific author; or, it may be, they are portions of a new series, uniform with the other.

Each volume is complete in itself, presenting a succinct and comprehensive, yet simple, narrative of the events of a life; and, for all ordinary purposes, they present all that is necessary to be known of the subject of the narrative. For family book-shelves and for school or town libraries, these volumes will be very useful.

They are very neatly printed.

17.—*Adventures of Caleb Williams.* By William Godwin. Esq. Complete in one volume. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870.

An old novel, as widely-known as it very well can be, which has been re-produced in a very neat but cheap form. It will probably renew the lease on the favor of the reading public which it so long enjoyed.

18.—*The First Class-Book of History*, designed for pupils commencing the study of History; with questions, adapted to the use of Schools. By M. J. Kerney, A.M. Twenty-third revised and enlarged edition. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1869. 16mo. pp. 366. Price 60 cents.

The fact that twenty-two editions of this work have been already exhausted affords, *prima facie*, evidence of its general merit, as that quality has been understood by the public, in Maryland. It has been thoroughly revised and, therefore, somewhat enlarged by Professor Sumner of Georgetown College; and, as far as he was enabled to do so, in the short time which he was enabled to devote to the work, he has faithfully discharged his duty and made a very excellent little book, for the purposes for which it was designed.

The great good feature of the work is, that it is neither sectarian nor sectional in its teachings: Protestants and Roman Catholics, South and North, enjoy equal favor in its pages; and neither can say, with as much reason as very often appears, that it has been either unfairly represented or unfairly neglected. The Chapter

on the recent War of Secession, for instance, displays, very briefly, the origin of the struggle as it actually occurred; and the South is therein permitted, as she should, to state for herself the reasons which influenced her in making resistance to the United States. Another instance is found in the fact that although the work was written by one Roman Catholic and revised by another, no evidence of unfriendliness to the Protestants is seen in its pages, not even while Queen Mary of England is the subject of discussion.

Yet, we find the Editor has fallen into occasional errors, notwithstanding his anxious care to avoid them—possibly he may not have had access to the best authorities on the history of our own country, since American Colleges seem to be unacquainted with the fact that *America* has a history which is worth their attention. As a general rule, these errors are important, notwithstanding they are little understood; and we refer to them, not for the purpose of depreciating the general excellence of the volume, but to indicate wherein error will "creep in, unawares," and mar even the most faithful narrative. Thus, he has repeated,—with a saving clause, however,—the exploded stories of Pocahontas's personal simplicity, innocence, and attractiveness; her rescue of John Smith; and her honorable marriage and latter end. He also overlooks the re-capture of *New York* by the Dutch, under Colve, in August, 1763, although he notices that of New Jersey and Delaware. He is hardly correct in his notice of William Kidd and the pirates—many of them the ancestors of the aristocracy of New York, of to-day—and he might have said stronger words concerning the New York negro-plot of 1741—one of the earliest of the "Know-nothing" movements, hereabouts—without injury to the truth. If one can profess to live in communion with a Church whose teachings we ridicule, whose *Articles of Faith* we repudiate, whose general rules of conduct we disregard, whose discipline we defy, and yet be considered as "suffering greatly on account of one's religion," when we are subjected to penalties because of our disobedience to our own professions and covenants, the author was correct in his estimate of the Puritanic reasons for fitting to America: we do not either admit the propriety of the conduct or condemn the punishment; and we can see no "*religion*" in the cause for which the Puritans "*suffered*"—we cannot say as much for their *irreligion*. We have failed to find in the *Acts and Orders* of the first General Court of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations any evidence of the alleged "exclusion of the Roman Catholics from voting at elections and from every office in the Government," as stated on page 147, or anything which can possibly be thus con-

strued. A little less certainty concerning the origin of the Washington family than is seen on page 167, might have been preferable; and the story of the hatchet and apple-tree might, usefully, have been omitted from what is intended to be a "history." A more moderate tone might have been adopted, without disadvantage, in reciting the causes which primarily led to the American Revolution. The fact is, a few of the Colonists were ambitious and they dragooned the masses into disaffection, rebellion, and resistance, just as the leaders of the South did, a few years since; and it was only because the politics of Europe differed—those of 1777 favoring European co-operation and those of 1860-'5 disfavoring it—that the results differed and one became "patriotism" and the other "treason." The street-row in Boston, in March, 1770, had as little to do with politics as it had with religion—the attempts to make it appear so, to the contrary notwithstanding—and the acquittal of the soldiers, at the time, indicates that even a Boston jury thought that the "killing" of the Boston rowdies who had attacked them, was, in fact, "no murder." There was no "nation" in America, in 1775, nor was there any "people" to resolve on resistance—these are technical terms which cannot be improperly used without inflicting an injury, on the truth of history. The Colonists were no more a "nation," than the Counties of the Eastern Shore are a "State;" nor were the Colonists, in any sense, a "people." They were *subjects* and the Colonies were *dependencies*; and it was the duty of the former to obey all duly enacted laws, whether agreeable and useful or disagreeable and disastrous. The stereotyped error of the "first blood" having been shed at Lexington is repeated here; and the apocryphal story of Putnam leaving his plough, receives a new endorsement. The old-fashioned half-told story of Bunker's-hill is repeated; and some things are told of Warren which cannot be established by evidence which is as good as that which contradicts them. Montgomery had left no "enjoyment of ease" and the highest domestic happiness, in Ireland, "his native land, to share the toils and dangers of a war," etc., in Canada, where he fell: he was, indeed, an Irishman, by birth; but he had married a New York lady and his home was in that Colony. The wrong done to General Schuyler, in 1777, we regret to see repeated here. It was that General, not Gates, who really defeated Burgoyne; and, notwithstanding the opponents of Washington so far prevailed as to give the command to one of their own tools, just before the necessary development of the overthrow of the enemy, the real honor is Schuyler's and the shame of Gates is not less certain because it is concealed. The old story of Wyoming, origin-

ally concocted in order to "arouse the northern heart" of that day, should not have been repeated, at this late day. Andre was not "tried by a Court-martial," as stated: his case was sent to a Court of Enquiry, to ascertain the facts and report on them; and, on his own confession, he was ascertained to have been truly a spy and was hung, as such, without a trial, by order of General Washington. Cornwallis was captured by the united armies of France and the United States, which had met before the enemy and, in co-operation with the French fleet, secured the victory. The *Articles of Confederation* are entitled to more respect, and the partizan politicians to less, than they have received in Chapter XXVII; and the very radical *Amendments* to the Federal Constitution, which were made at the earliest possible moment, should not have been overlooked. There were two sides to the matter of Hull's surrender of Detroit; and that affair shall have been treated with greater tenderness than it has enjoyed. If we understand it correctly, Fort Brown, opposite Matamoras, is not *South* from Point Isabel, as stated on page 224; and Colonel May was hardly as gallant, at Resaca de la Palma, as is stated on page 226. Mr. Lincoln was no more an "Abolitionist," notwithstanding he was so called by his political opponents, than were the Democrats of ten years before, the "Loco-focos" which the Whigs had persisted, insultingly, to call them; and the averment, on page 233, to that effect is inaccurate. That he *was so called*, by the other side, we admit: that he *really was* "an Abolitionist," or that he was elected by "Abolitionists," or for the promotion of the peculiar tenets of that little party, we emphatically and understandingly deny: how he subsequently yielded to the demands of selfish men and, in his weakness, approached "Abolitionism," the world knows as well as we. We have not seen any evidence of the *vigor* of the defence of Fort Sumter, in 1861, to which reference is made on page 234; nor do we think that either ability or vigor was really displayed in any part of that defence.

We have not either time or space to follow the author very closely through his Chapters concerning other histories than that of the United States; but we have seen that, as a whole, he has done his work with evident pains-taking fidelity; and, even in the instances referred to, we have read his errors with many grains of allowance in our condemnation, since they are of that character which may be easily overlooked by those whose attention is only occasionally turned in the direction of our history.

The volume is very neatly printed.

19.—*The Churchman's Year Book*, with Kalendar for the Year of Grace 1870. Compiled by William Stevens Perry, D.D. Hartford: Church Press Co. 1870. 16mo. pp. vi., 450.

This, we believe, is designed as the first of a series of *Year-books* of the Protestant Episcopal Churches in America; and its Editor has certainly made a good beginning.

Besides the usual Calendars and tables of Lessons; Governmental, Revenue, and Postal Information; Latitude and Longitude of the principal cities in the Union; calculations for Easter, 1753-2013; the Jewish Calendar; tables of the Jewish Festivals, 1869-1900; a historical sketch of the General Conventions, 1784-1868; a summary of the proceedings of the General Convention of 1868; a list of its Officers and Committees; Summaries and Statistics of Church Progress, 1847-1868; and a digest of the Canons and Index to the Digest, we find a series of Diocesan Histories, in which the foundations are laid for the history of the Church in each Diocese, which the Editor promises to present in future numbers of the work; and these are followed by statistics of the American, English, Scotch, and Colonial Episcopalies; a Clerical Obituary for 1869; and a complete list of the Clergy, with their addresses.

The labor bestowed upon this work has been great; yet, from the fact of its being the initial volume of the series, it is necessarily incomplete, in many of its parts. We look forward for the next issue, however, with entire faith in the diligence and good judgment of the Editor, assuring ourself that we shall have, in it, a record of the history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America which will be worthy of the subject.

The volume is a pattern of neatness; and reflects great credit on the Church Press Company, by whom it was printed.

20.—*Analysis, Parsing, and Composition*: with direct references to the new School Grammar and Analytical and Practical English Grammar of Doctor Bullions's series. Also adapted to any correct Grammar of the English language. By James Cruikshank, LL.D. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1870. 16mo. pp. viii., 302.

Another of the class of school-books which are crowding each other, in every hole and corner of the Union, vexing the teachers, and harrassing the tax-payers.

There can be no doubt of its general excellence, nor of its entire fitness for the peculiar purposes for which it was evidently written—as part of a series of excellent school-books which is pushing its way through the host which are also struggling for a foot-hold—yet we must say that we hope the country will, very soon, on this question as on all others, be allowed to have peace.

21.—*The Bazar Book of Decorum*. The Care of the Person, Manners, Etiquette, and Ceremonials. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. 16mo. pp. 378. Price \$1.

We find in this very handsome volume a series of sensible lessons on the four subjects referred to in the title; and we have glanced over them with entire satisfaction. They are admirably adapted to the use for which they were intended; and it is to be hoped that those for whom they were written will heed their teachings.

The name is derived from the widely-known *Bazar*, published by the Harpers, in the pages of which the contents of the volume have already appeared.

22.—*Mrs. Jerningham's Journal*. New York: C. Scribner Co. 1870. 16mo. pp. 145.

A novel in verse, and not a very remarkable one at that. It is the story of an ill-matched couple; of feminine flirtations and masculine estrangement; of repentance and nominal forgiveness; the whole completed by an accident, a sick-room, and a complete conversion, on either side, to the proprieties of life.

We see nothing in it which entitles it to any particular consideration.

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 ROCKWELL. Professor E. F., of North Carolina.
 ROUBAUD. Father PETER, of the Jesuit Mission in Canada.
 SCAMMELL. Genl. ALEXANDER, Adjutant-general of the Continental Army.
 SHEA. JOHN GILMARY, LL.D., the Catholic historian.
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 SIGEL. Genl. FRANZ, of Morrisania, N. Y.
 SILSBEE. Hon. NATHANIEL, M. C., from New York.
 TOWN RECORDS, Columbia, Conn.
 WARD. Governor SAMUEL, of Rhode Island.

Sept. 30

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New Series, Vol. VIII.

No. I.

THE
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AND
NOTES AND QUERIES
CONCERNING
The Antiquities, History, and Biography
OF
AMERICA.

July, 1870.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.:
HENRY B. DAWSON.

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TO OUR READERS.

I.—With this you will receive the first number of Volume VIII. of the Magazine, now sadly in arrears.

In May last, we contracted with Mr. WILLIAM B. BROMELL, of New York, to print that volume for us, and to have perfected and ready for delivery, two numbers per month, during June, July, and August, completing it on or before the thirtieth of August next. Our own part of that contract was provided for and has been carried out; but Mr. BROMELL has encountered the vexatious delays which the fitting up of a new office and the organization of workmen too often produce; and not until now has he been able to complete the first number of the volume, which should have been ready, under the terms of his contract, on the fifteenth of June.

Knowing how earnestly he has labored to avoid delay, we have no censure to throw on him; and we have reason to hope and believe that the remaining numbers of the volume will be completed before the close of September.

II.—The boundary disputes between New Jersey and New York have been so frequent, and so much has been said, so often, on that subject, that we have concluded to transfer to the Magazine, for the convenience of students, the papers produced by the discussion of that subject, in 1865. The opening paper of the series, by the late Attorney-general of New York, is in this number. Mr. Brodhead's contributions to the series will appear in the August number, and Mr. Whitehead's reply to those who preceded him, in that for September. The remainder of the series will appear in succeeding numbers.

III.—Attention is invited to the valuable Naval History of Rhode Island, from the pen of Hon. J. Russell Bartlett, the learned Secretary of State of that State, which is continued in this number.

THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. VIII. SECOND SERIES.]

JULY, 1870.

[No. 1.

1— DUCHÈ'S LETTER TO WASHINGTON.

BY JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, D. D., PRESIDENT OF
WABASH COLLEGE.

The author of this remarkable letter—the Rev. Jacob Duchè—was a native of Philadelphia. He was born in 1739. He pursued his studies at the College of Philadelphia, and finished his education at Cambridge, in England.

In 1759, he was ordained by the Bishop of London, and became an Assistant Minister of Christ Church, in his native city. In 1775, he became Rector of that Church.

The newspapers of the day speak of his eloquence, as a preacher; and the volumes of Sermons which he published, in England, during his forced sojourn there, were much admired.

Certain it is, that, previous to his scandalous letter to General Washington, he was one of the most popular clergymen in Philadelphia, perhaps in America.

In 1777, he was the Chaplain of Congress, for three months; and, not only by his prayers but by public addresses, he did much to inspire his countrymen with enthusiasm in their struggle for independence. He even gave his entire salary, as Chaplain, to the relief of the families of those patriots who had fallen in battle. Sparks says "that so captivating was his eloquence, aided by a harmonious voice and elegance of person, that he was considered by many to "rival Whitefield." When Peyton Randolph, the first President of Congress, died, Duchè pronounced the Funeral Sermon. He also preached "a Fast" Sermon before Congress; and, on another occasion, he preached a patriotic and eloquent Sermon before a Battalion of Volunteers raised in Philadelphia to defend the country.

Thacher, in his *Military Journal*, under date of "December, 1777," furnishes a copy of the famous "first Prayer in Congress." It is in striking contrast with his infamous letter.

The Prayer is in these words: "O! Lord, our heavenly Father, high and mighty King of Kings and Lord of Lords, who dost, from thy throne, behold all the dwellers on earth, and reignest with power, supreme and uncontroll-

ed, over all Kingdoms, Empires, and Governments! look down in mercy, we beseech thee, on these American States who have fled to Thee from the rod of the oppressor and thrown themselves on thy gracious protection, desiring to be, henceforth, dependent only on Thee; to Thee have they appealed for the righteousness of their cause: to Thee do they now look up for that countenance and support which Thou alone canst give: take them, therefore, Heavenly Father, under thy nurturing care: give them wisdom in council, and valor in the field: defeat the malicious designs of our cruel adversaries: convince *them* of the unrighteousness of their cause: and, if they still persist in their sanguinary purposes, O! let the voice of thine own unerring justice, sounding in their hearts, constrain them to drop the weapons of war from their unnerved hands in the day of battle. Be thou present, O! God of wisdom, and direct the councils of this honorable assembly: enable them to settle things on the best and surest foundation, that the scene of blood may be speedily closed; that order, harmony, and peace may be effectually restored, and truth and justice, religion and piety, prevail and flourish among thy people. Preserve the health of their bodies and the vigor of their minds: Shower down on *them* and on the *millions* they here represent, such temporal blessings as thou seest expedient for them in this world, and crown them with everlasting glory in the world to come. All this we ask, in the name and through the merits of Jesus Christ, thy Son and our Saviour, Amen!"

John Adams—September 16th. 1777—wrote to his wife in regard to the services of which this "first Prayer in Congress" was a part. In the regular order, the Collect for that day was the *thirty-fifth* Psalm. He writes to Mrs. Adams: "You must remember this was the morning after we heard the horrible rumor of the cannonade of Boston. I never saw a greater effect upon an audience. It seemed as if Heaven had ordained that Psalm to be read that morning. After this, Mr. Duchè, unexpectedly

"to everybody, struck out into an extemporary prayer which filled the bosom of every man present. I confess I never heard a better prayer, or one so well pronounced. Episcopalian as he is, Doctor Cooper himself never prayed with such fervor, such ardor, such earnestness and pathos, and in language so elegant and sublime, for America, for the Congress, for the Province of Massachusetts, and especially the town of Boston. It had an excellent effect upon everybody here.

* * * * *

"Mr. Duchè is one of the most ingenious men, and best characters, and greatest orators, in the Episcopal order upon this Continent, yet a zealous friend of liberty and his country."

From this, it is evident we have only part of "the first prayer" which Mr. Duchè had written for the occasion; whilst his "extemporary prayer" for the objects named by Mr. Adams, is lost entirely.

On the eighth of February, 1778, Mr. Adams, in a letter to Doctor Rush, shows that his feelings toward Duchè had changed; for he writes that "the idea that any one man alone can save us is too silly for anybody but such *weak men* as *Duche* to harbor for a moment."

In order to appreciate the reasons for Duchè's defection, as also the cruelty of the letter he addressed to Washington, we must remember that the Battle of Cloud's Ford was fought on the eleventh of September, 1777, the enemy holding the field.

The Battle of Germantown was fought on the fourth of October, following—a battle that was preceded by tremendous suffering, on the part of the American troops, for want of ordinary comforts. Washington wrote that "at least one thousand are barefooted and have performed the marches in that condition;" "the strongest reason against being able to make a forced march is the want of shoes." Of the Battle of Germantown, Washington says, "the Americans lost one thousand men, killed, wounded, and missing," "and many valuable officers;" "It was a bloody day. *Would to heaven I could add, that it had been a more fortunate one for us.*"

The British at once occupied Philadelphia.

On the eighth of October, four days after this "bloody day," Duchè wrote the letter which follows, in full. On the sixteenth of October, Washington wrote these words, "I yesterday received through the hands of Mrs. Ferguson of Graham Park, a letter of a very curious and extraordinary nature, from Mr. Duchè, which I have thought proper to transmit to Congress."

Thacher calls the letter, "an occurrence of a very singular complexion," and says, "it occasions much indignant speculation." Washington, in his letter, says, "To this ridiculous

"and illiberal performance, I made a short reply, by desiring the bearer of it—Mrs. Ferguson—if she should, hereafter, by any accident, meet with Mr. Duchè, to tell him I should have returned it, unopened, if I had had any idea of its contents: observing, at the same time, that I highly disapproved the intercourse she seemed to have been carrying on; and expected it would be discontinued."

In a letter to Francis Hopkinson, one of the Signers of the Declaration and a brother-in-law of Duchè, Washington wrote that he feared to retain such a letter without placing it at once before Congress, lest such a course might excite the suspicion that "he had betrayed his country."

On the fourteenth of November, 1777, Francis Hopkinson writes to Duchè a letter, in which he speaks of him with great severity. "Words cannot express the grief and consternation that wounded my soul at the sight of that fatal performance, * * *

"filled with gross misrepresentation, illiberal abuse, and sentiments unworthy of a man of character. You have endeavored to screen your own weaknesses by the most artful glosses." He begs Duchè to re-read his own letter, and "you will find, there, that, by a weak and vain effort, you have attempted the integrity of one whose virtue is impregnable to the assaults of fear or flattery, whose judgment needed not your information." Hopkinson criticises the "fatal performance" in this sharp style and expresses the hope that "notwithstanding your assertion to the contrary, you wrote it with a bayonet at your breast, by order of the unprincipled usurper of your native city." * * *

"I am perfectly disposed to attribute this unfortunate step to the timidity of your temper, and the undue influence of those about you." Many sentences of the letter breathe strong affection for the reverend culprit; but, as a whole, it is crushingly severe.

Mr. Duchè, soon afterward, with his family, went to England, where his preaching was much admired; but he pined for his native land. In 1783, he wrote a striking letter to Washington, explaining his "fatal performance" of the eighth of October, 1777, and pleading with him, in truly pathetic terms, to use his influence to procure him permission to return to America. This letter is dated "Asylum, Lambeth, (Eng.) April 2^d 1783;" and, under date of August 10th 1783, Washington makes a dignified response, leaving the whole matter in the hands of the authorities of Pennsylvania: "if they grant him permission to return, it cannot fail to meet my entire approbation." The desired permission was not granted until after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, when the laws

of Pennsylvania in regard to refugees were repealed. He returned to Philadelphia, in 1790, much broken in health, having had paralysis.

He died in 1794, being about fifty-five years old.

All these facts will give interest to the letter, which is copied in full.

[THE LETTER.]

PHILADELPHIA, OCTOBER 8, 1777.

SIR,

If this letter should find you in Council or in the field, before you read another sentence, I beg you to take the first opportunity of retiring and weighing well its important contents.

You are perfectly acquainted with the part I have taken in this present unhappy contest. I was, indeed, among the first to bear my public testimony against having any recourse to threats, or even indulging a thought of an armed opposition. The torrent soon became too strong for my feeble efforts to resist. I wished to follow my countrymen as far only as virtue and the righteousness of their cause would permit me. I was, however, prevailed upon, among the rest of my clerical brethren, to gratify the pressing desires of my fellow citizens, by preaching a Sermon to one of the City Battalions. I was pressed to publish this Sermon, and reluctantly consented.

From a personal attachment of near twenty years' standing, and an high respect for your character, in private as well as in public life, I took the liberty of dedicating it to you. I had your affectionate thanks for my performance, in a letter wherein you expressed, in the most delicate and obliging terms, your regard for me and your wishes for a continuance of my friendship and approbation of your conduct.

Farther than this, I intended not to proceed. My Sermon speaks for itself, and utterly disclaims the idea of independency. My sentiments were well known to my friends. I communicated them, without reserve, to many respectable Members of Congress, who expressed a warm approbation of them. I persisted in using the public prayers for my Sovereign, and the Royal Family, to the very last moment, though threatened with insult from the violence of a party.

Upon the declaration of independency, I called my Vestry, and solemnly put the question to them, whether they thought it best, for the peace and welfare of the Congregations, to shut up the Churches or to continue the service, without using the petitions for the Royal Family. This was the sad alternative. I concluded to abide by their decisions, as I could not have time to consult my spiritual superiors in England. They deemed it most expedient, under such critical circumstances, to keep open the Churches, that the Congregations might not be

dispersed, which we had great reason to apprehend.

A very few days after the fatal declaration of independency, I received a letter from Mr. Hancock, sent by express to Germantown, where my family were, for the summer season, acquainting me, that I was appointed Chaplain to the Congress, and desired to attend at nine o'clock the next morning. Surprised and distressed by an event I was not prepared to expect; obliged to give an immediate answer without the opportunity of consulting my friends, I rashly accepted the appointment. I could have but one motive for taking this step. I thought the Churches in danger, and hoped, by these means, to be instrumental in preventing those evils I had so much cause to apprehend. I can, however, with truth, declare, that I then looked upon independency rather as an expedient, and an hazardous one, indeed, thrown out *in terrorum*, in order to procure some favourable terms, than as a measure that was seriously to be persisted in, at all events. My sudden change of conduct will clearly evince this to have been my idea of the matter.

Upon the return of the Committee of Congress appointed to confer with Lord Howe, I soon discovered their real intentions. The different accounts which each member of the Committee gave of this conference, the time they took to make up the matter for the public view, and the amazing disagreements betwixt the newspaper account and the relation I myself had from the mouth of one of the Committee, convinced me that there must have been some unfair and ungenerous procedure. Their determination to treat on no other ground than that of independency, which put it out of his Lordship's power to mention any terms at all, was a sufficient proof to me, that independency was the idol which they had long wished to set up, and that, rather than sacrifice this, they would deluge their country in blood.

From this moment, I determined upon my resignation, and, in the beginning of October, 1776, sent it, in form, to Mr. Hancock, after having officiated only two months and three weeks; and, from that time, as far as my safety would permit, I have been uniformly opposed to all their measures. This circumstantial account of my conduct I think due to the friendship you were so obliging as to express for me, and I hope will be sufficient to justify any seeming inconsistencies in the part I have acted.

And now, my dear Sir, suffer me, in the language of truth and real affection, to address myself to you. All the world must be convinced, that you engaged in the service of your country, from motives perfectly disinterested. You risked everything that was dear to you. You abandoned all those sweets of domestic life, of which your affluent fortune gave you the unin-

terruted enjoyment. But had you, could you have had, the least idea of matters being carried to such a dangerous extremity as they now are? Your most intimate friends, at that time, shuddered at the thought of a separation from the mother country; and I took it for granted, that your sentiments coincided with theirs. What have been the consequences of this rash and violent measure? A degeneracy of representation, confusion of councils, blunders without number. The most respectable characters have withdrawn themselves, and are succeeded by a great majority of illiberal and violent men.

Take an impartial view of the present Congress. What can you expect from them? Your feelings must be greatly hurt by the representation from your native Province. You have no longer a Randolph, a Bland, or a Braxton—men whose names will ever be revered; whose demands never rose above the first grounds on which they set out; and whose truly generous and virtuous sentiments I have frequently heard, with rapture, from their own lips. O! my dear Sir. What a sad contrast! Characters now present themselves, whose minds can never mingle with your own. Your Harrison alone remains, and he disgusted with his unworthy associates.

As to those of my own Province, some of them are so obscure that their very names have never met my ears before, and others have only been distinguished for the weakness of their understandings and the violence of their tempers. One, alone, I except from the general charge, a man of virtue, dragged, reluctantly, into their measure, and restrained by some false ideas of honor from retracing, after having gone too far. You cannot be at a loss to discover whose name answers to this character.

From the New England Provinces, can you find one that, as a gentleman, you could wish to associate with, unless the soft and mild address of Mr. Hancock can atone for his want of every other qualification necessary for the station he fills? Bankrupts, attorneys, and men of desperate fortune are his colleagues.

Maryland no longer sends a Tilghman and a protestant Carroll. Carolina has lost her Lynch; and the elder Middleton has retired.

Are the dregs of a Congress, then, still to influence a mind like yours? These are not the men whom you engaged to serve. These are not the men, America has chosen to represent her now. Most of them elected by little low faction, and the few gentlemen that are among them now, well known to be upon the balance, and looking up to your hand alone to move the beam. It is you, Sir, and you alone, that supports the present Congress. Of this, you must be fully sensible. Long before they left Philadelphia, their

dignity and consequence was gone. What must it be now, since their precipitate retreat? I write with freedom, but without invective. I know these things to be true: and I write to one whose observation must have convinced him that they are so.

After this view of Congress, turn to your army. All the world knows that its very existence depends upon you; that your death or captivity disperses it in a moment; and that there is not a man on that side of the question, in America, capable of succeeding you. As to the army, itself, what have you to expect from them? Have they not frequently abandoned even yourself, in the hour of extremity? Have you, can you have, the least confidence in a set of undisciplined men and officers, many of whom have been taken from the lowest of the people, without principle, without courage? Take away those that surround your person, and how very few are there that you can ask to sit at your table.

Turn to your little navy. Of that little, what is left? Of the Delaware fleet, part are taken, the rest must soon surrender. Of those in the other Provinces, some are taken, one or two at sea, and the others lying, unmanned and unrigged, in their harbours.

And now, where are your resources? O! my dear Sir, how sadly have you been abused by a faction void of truth, and void of tenderness to you and your country? They have amused you with hopes of a Declaration of War on the part of France. Believe me, from the best authority, it was a fiction from the first. Early in the year 1776, a French gentleman was introduced to me, with whom I became intimately acquainted. His business, to all appearance, was to speculate, in the mercantile way. But, I believe, it will be found that, in his own country, he moved in a higher sphere. He saw your camp. He became acquainted with all your military preparations. He was introduced to Congress, and engaged with them in a mercantile contracts. In the course of our intimacy, he has frequently told me that he hoped the Americans would never think of independency. He gave me his reasons. "Independency," said he, "can never be supported unless France should declare War against England. I well know the state of her finances. Years to come, will not put them in a situation to venture upon a breach with England. At this moment, there are two parties at the Court of Versailles, one enlisted under the Duc de Choiseul and the other under the Count Maurepas. Choiseul has no chance of succeeding. He is violent for war. Maurepas must get the better. He is for œconomy and peace." This was his information, which I mentioned to several Members of Congress. They treated it as a fable, depending entirely on the intelligence from Dr. Franklin. The truth

of the matter is this, Dr. Franklin built upon the success of Choiseul. Upon his arrival in France, he found him out of place, his counsels reprobated, and his party dwindled to an insignificant faction. This you may depend upon to be the true state of the Court of France. And farther, by vast number of letters, found on board prizes taken by the King's ships, it appears that all commerce with the merchants of France, through whom, alone, the supplies have been conveyed, will soon be at an end, the letters being full of complaints of no remittances from America, and many individuals having greatly suffered on that account.

From your friends in England, you have nothing to expect, their numbers are diminished to a cypher; the spirit of the whole nation is in full activity against you. A few sounding names, among the nobility, though perpetually rung in your ears, are said to be without character, without influence. Disappointed ambition, I am told, has made them desperate; and that they only wish to make the deluded Americans instruments of their revenge. All orders and ranks of men, in Great Britain, are now unanimous and determined to risque their all on the contest. Trade and manufactures are found to flourish; and new channels are continually opening, that will, perhaps, more than supply the loss of the old.

In a word, your harbours are blocked up; your cities fall, one after another; fortress after fortress, battle after battle, is lost. A British army, after having passed, almost unmolested, through a vast extent of country, have possessed themselves, with ease, of the capital of America. How unequal the contest, now! How fruitless the expense of blood.

Under so many discouraging circumstances, can virtue, can honour, can the love of your country, prompt you to persevere? Humanity itself, (and sure I am, humanity is no stranger to your breast) calls upon you to desist. Your army must perish for want of common necessities, or thousands of innocent families must perish to support them. Wherever they encamp, the country must be impoverished. Wherever they march, the troops of Britain will pursue, and must complete the devastation which America herself had begun.

Perhaps it may be said, that it is "better to die than to be slaves." This, indeed, is a splendid maxim, in theory, and, perhaps, in some instances, may be found experimentally true. But where there is the least probability of an happy accommodation, surely wisdom and humanity call for some sacrifices to be made, to prevent inevitable destruction. You well know, there is but one invincible bar to such an accommodation. Could this be removed, other obstacles might readily be overcome.

'Tis to you, and you alone, your bleeding country looks and calls aloud for this sacrifice. Your arm alone has sufficient strength to remove this bar. May Heaven inspire you with the glorious resolution of exerting this strength, at so interesting a crisis, and thus immortalizing yourself, as a friend and guardian of your country.

Your penetrating eye needs not more explicit language to discern my meaning. With that prudence and delicacy, therefore, of which I know you are possessed, represent to Congress the indispensable necessity of rescinding the hasty and ill-advised Declaration of Independence. Recommend, and you have an undoubted right to recommend, an immediate cessation of hostilities. Let the controversy be taken up where that Declaration left it, and where Lord Howe expected to have found it. Let men of clear and impartial characters, in or out of Congress, Gentlemen, liberal in their sentiments, heretofore independent in their fortunes, and some such are surely to be found in America, be appointed to confer with his Majesty's Commissioners. Let them, if they please, prepare some well-digested constitutional plan to lay before them, as the commencement of a negotiation. When they have gone thus far, I am confident that the most happy consequences will ensue. Unanimity will immediately take place through the different Provinces. Thousands that are now ardently wishing and praying for such a measure, will step forth and declare themselves the zealous advocates of constitutional liberty, and millions will bless the hero that left the field of war, to decide this most important contest with the weapons of wisdom and humanity.

O! Sir, let no false ideas of worldly honour deter you from engaging in so glorious a task. Whatever censures may be thrown out by mean and illiberal minds, your character will rise in the estimation of the virtuous and noble. It will appear with lustre in the annals of history, and form a glorious contrast to that of those who have sought to obtain conquest and gratify their own ambition by the destruction of their species and the ruin of their country.

Be assured, that I write not this under the eye of any British officer or any person connected with the British army or ministry. The sentiments I have expressed are the real sentiments of my heart, such as I have long held, and which I should have made known to you, before, had I not fully expected an opportunity of a private conference. When you passed through Philadelphia, on your way to Wilmington, I was confined by a severe fit of the gravel to my chamber. I have since continued so much indisposed, and times have been so very distressing, that I had neither spirits to write a letter, nor opportunity to convey it when written. Nor do I yet know by what means I shall get

those sheets to your hands.

I would fain hope, that I have said nothing, by which your delicacy can be in the least hurt. If I have, it has, I assure you, been without the least intention, and therefore your candour will lead you to forgive me. I have spoken freely of Congress, and of the army. But what I have said is partly from my own knowledge, and partly from the information of some respectable members of the former, and some of the best officers of the latter. I would not offend the meanest person upon earth. What I say to you I say in confidence, to answer what I cannot but deem a most valuable purpose. I love my country. I love you. But to the love of truth, the love of peace, and the love of God, I hope I shall be enabled, if called to the trial, to sacrifice every other inferior love. If the arguments made use of in this letter should have so much influence, as to engage you in the glorious work which I have so warmly recommended, I shall ever deem my success as the highest temporal favor that Providence could grant me—Your interposition and advice, I am confident, will meet with a favourable reception from the authority under which you act. If it should not, you have one infallible resource still left,—negotiate for America at the head of your army.

After all, it may appear presumption in an individual to address himself to you on a subject of so much magnitude, or to say what measures should best secure the interest and welfare of a whole Continent. The favourable and friendly opinion you have always expressed of me, embolden me to undertake it; and, (which has greatly added to the weight of this motive) I have been strongly impressed with a sense of duty, upon this occasion, which left my conscience uneasy, and my heart afflicted, till I had fully discharged it. I am no enthusiast. The case is new and singular to me. I could not enjoy a moment's peace, till the letter was written.

With the most ardent prayers for your spiritual as well as temporal welfare, I am, Sir,

Your most sincere friend and obedient Servant

JACOB DUCHÉ.

His Excellency Gen. WASHINGTON.

NOTE.

This version of Mr. Duché's letter differs from both that contained in President Tuttle's communication and that contained in Sparks's *Correspondence of the American Revolution*, both of which are evidently incorrect. We have used that which was printed, for the purpose of correcting inaccurate copies, with Mr. Duché's authority, in the *Pennsylvania Ledger*; or the *Philadelphia Market-day Advertiser*, No. CX., Philadelphia, Wednesday, December 17, 1777.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

II.—DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF EXETER, N. H. CONTINUED FROM VOLUME VII, PAGE 385.

FROM THE NEW HAMPSHIRE ARCHIVES, NOW FIRST PRINTED.

E.—Reply of the Petitioners to the preceding Objections made by the Agents of the Town.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY BENNING WENTWORTH Esq^r Gov^r & Comand^r in Chief in & Over his Majesty's Province of new Hampshire the Hon^{ble} his majesty's Council & House of Represen^t in Gener^l Assembly Conven'd.

The Reply of the Freeholders and other Inhab^{ts} of y^e Town of Exeter who have Petition'd to be Exempted from paying towards the Support of the Ministry in Said Town—&c. to the Answer of the Agents of S^d Town to their Petition.

May it Please your Excellency & the other the Hon^{ble} Branches of the Legislature The fav^r granted your Petition^r wth regard to an Opportunity of making a written Reply, to the answer made to their Petition in behalf of the Town, gives them Encouragem^t to hope for Success in the matter under Debate, as the merit & weight of w^h shall be Offer'd can in this way be much better Consider'd.

Your Petition^r would beg leave Humbly to Observe in General, that in this affair as they are not Influenced by Sinister Views, Corrupt or Vicious Principles, nor any but Conscientious Motives their Case Claims the Closer attention & greater tenderness—and as they are Sincere in their Principles which relate to this matter, so they would be just in their Reasonings upon it; & Should therefore have been glad to have avoided entering into the Consideration of Several points & matters of fact moved in the Said answer, because they will be a Diversion & Digression from the Main Question, but Could not prevail with the Agents to Wave them. To Come then to the s^d answer, & Reply in as brief & Clear a manner as we can, by following the Several Articles thereof, we must observe their first begins with Charging the Petition^r with a Mistake in Representing that the Town in Settling Mr Woodbridge Odlin proceeded in a hasty & Resolute manner, & then they go on to give an acco^t of y^e affair, the Substance of w^h is that it was carried on wth great Deliberation, & every Step maturely Considered; That every Person Concern'd, acted their part from y^e fullest Evidence & Strongest Conviction of the Expediency of the thing & the Legality of the means, & the Like—But in this acco^t there is nothing Said of the Art us'd first to prepare matters by prevailing on near Seventy Persons to Sign a Petition to the Select men praying a proper Clause might be Inserted in the Warrant

for the Annual Meeting 1743 & so working up the Minds of the Petitioners to favour the thing before it come to be Considered in Public—they also have Omitted to Observe that when the Town was met & about to proceed on this affair, the Non Petitioners or most of them made the Strongest Remonstrances ag^t desiring it might be Suspended for Sometime at least, offering to Supply the Desk if necessary by Subscription as they had done y^e Year before, hoping that a little time, as it would have given greater Opportunity to have advised & proposed, so it would have produced a greater unanimity of Opinion, if not terms of union & peace—they dont say a word of the Contempt with w^{ch} this was Rejected, & how Resolutely they proceeded as well to vote the Raising money as Chusing a Committee to Effect & Carry those designs into Execution which had been Contrived before nor how their proposals at the Second meeting were Rejected—nor that a Church Com^{tee} was chosen to Call assistance for the Ordination before the Agreement made wth the Gentleman to be Ordain'd, w^{ch} with many other transactions too tedious to Recite, prove the thing to be Contriv'd & Determin'd before it came to be Voted, and that those who asserted their freedom & Liberty had Reason to be dissatisfied, the whole being done before the Deacons, & Standing Church Committee had any notice of it only as Inhabitants of the Town, and after the Town had determined the matter & a Com^{tee} chosen to agree the Terms a Proclamation was Issued under the Ministers hand, appointing a Day of fasting & prayer in the Town to Seek Direction, now these proceedings & much more of the like nature were just Causes of Dissatisfaction with this Settlement, & that we might well say it was Resolute if not hasty Especially if we Consider that the Towns Committee (men Chosen no doubt with good Policy was Impower'd to Compleat this agreem^t without making report to the Town, for their Confirmation or Approbation, which is the usual way, for we think a precedent like this cant be found, w^{ch} tho' by virtue of a Particular Law may be barely called Legal, can by no propriety be term'd prud^{nt}, & w^{ch} if it ever was done before, was only done, as we Conceive it was here, to Serve a Sinister End—

But as to what is objected to us, that we had a hand in Calling or Inviting the Gentleman to preach in Town, we conceive there is no weight in it. for Such Invitation is always understood to be in order to Chusing w^{ch} necessarily Implies Refusing—when a Congregation Invite Several Candidates, they are often call'd from other places, where they are upon probation, But it was never Suppos'd that Such Invitation Carried in it an Obligation to Chuse the Person Invited, for where more than one Preaches before the Choice,

all Cant be Chosen, and if but One Preaches, where can be the Choice—unless it be that which we have all heard of—

But we pass on—The Second article of the answer we Conceive is of no Consequence in this Debate, if admitted to be true, for it only proves that Some of the Petitioners are not of the Same mind now, w^{ch} they once were of in this Particular affair. Nor is the third more to the point, for it only Shows the Respondents have assum'd, a power of Judging the hearts of those they there Speak of—and as to the 4th we would only Observe, that if this Settlement was Legal, it will be very difficult, if not Impossible to prove it to be agreeable to the usage of the Churches in this Government—

In their 5th Article we Conceive the Respond^{ts} proceed on fallacious principles, and take for Granted propositions which cant be proved—as that, if this Petition is granted not only this Church, but all the Churches in the Govern^{mt} will be greatly prejudiced—Now where is the Prejudice to the Church, as Such, if these Petitioners were dismissed—there will be a Church Still left, of a Competent number, Invested with the Same powers & Enjoying the Same Privileges as they now Enjoy—and if the Number desiring to be dismiss'd be so Small as is Represented the objection is Still of Less weight— and as to Churches in General how are they like to be affected by it—no other way than they always are by gathering a new Church, when the members belong'd to any other before; and if this is of any weight, it will always be an Objection in that Case, as well as in this; & So there must never but one Church in a Town tho' ever So Large—and the Same argum^t may be always made ag^t Erecting new Pareshes, for the old, must be hurt by the Loss of any of its Parishoners by an Increase of Charge on those that Remain—Again where tis said the granting this Petition would be a manifest breach of the Laws of the Province, the Objection Implies that this Court, are to proceed only on Laws already in force, that they are Restrain'd by them, & are only to put Such Laws in Execution.—which is not the Case the Petitioners ask for a new Law, & apply to those who can make it, the doing of w^{ch} will no more be a breach of the old, than the making any other new Law, & the Same argum^t lies with Equal Reason ag^t making any new Law, for every Instant of that kind in Some Sense alters those before in force—the Question therefore Ought not to be, whether the Law ask'd for will be a breach upon other Lws, But whether they End propos'd by it be good, whether it is fit & Reasonable to be done, & in order to discover that, we beg leave to Observe, that we take it for undoubted truth in w^{ch} all Christians are agreed, that the end of all Public worship is the Hon^r of God & the Edification of the worshipers, that

is, the Improvem^t of their minds in all Christian Graces and Virtues, that these two are never Separated, & therefore the Edification of the worshippers, always Implies the former.—That assemblies, worship &c, are only means to attain the End viz the Edification of those who attend them. That this cant be done, where the worship is not voluntary, for it must be in Spirit & in truth, free & Sincere—That there is a great variety in the fitness of means, arising from many Circumstances, particularly the different Capacities & tempers of Persons, w^{ch} may make means very fit & useful to one Person, not So to another, and that in these Cases, the right of private Judgement is to be maintain'd more than in any, for here every man must Judge for himself & tis Impossible another can Judge for him, and that hereupon he Ought to follow the Dictates of his own Conscience—That tis every mans duty to pursue this End, as tis the Noblest, & highest that can be proposed, by the fittest & best means—from these Principles, w^{ch} are Indisputable, it Evidently follows, that when a man apprehends he can Obtain the afores^d End better in one Congregation than in another, he ought to join to that w^{ch} he judges the better for that purpose, & when a number Sufficient to Embody in a Church order, have the Same Judgm^t as to that point, they ought to Separate & Embody, it then becomes their duty, for it is certainly a duty to use those means we Judge fittest, for obtaining the best End; & the Omission of it is the Omission of a known duty, for which Conscience will Inevitably Condemn—he that denies this must with the Same breath Condemn the Reformation, for upon these & Such like principles the Reformed Church Separated from the Church of Room, who Condemn'd them for it, for She mortally hated Separations—He therefore that will not allow of it in the Cases here put, must if he will be Consistent in his principles, Return to the Mother Church from which the first Reformers Separated—now the Civil Magistrate Ought to be the Minister of God for good to the People, & where their greatest good is Concern'd, ought to give them the greatest Countenance.—If it be said tis Enough for such Separatists to Enjoy their Liberty of Separating without being Eas'd of their taxes—the answer is, that would be making them purchase their Liberty, of those who Enjoy their own freely; & is not Liberty Equally every man's right, who has not forfeited it? if so no man Shou'd be Oblig'd to purchase it at a dearer Rate than his neighbour, and where Such a Separation is made from an apprehension of duty, & in Obedience to Conscience it is So far from being just matter of Reproach or blame to the party, or of offence to others, that it ought on the other hand to Receive that Countenance & approbation justly due to those, who have a sense of dty & tender-

ness of Conscience Sufficient to put them upon the performance of it.—the Respond^t Indeed Say the Petitioners are a Small number of Persons, who Separate thro' unreasonable prejudice, & here again they Suppose that true w^{ch} we deny, namely that we have no Reason for Separating—for it appears to us, to be duly upon Such principles & arguments as have been before mention'd, & therefore think our Selves free from the just Imputation of prejudice, & they have no Right to judge our hearts and to Condemn us for Hypocrites—Besides how Easy is it to Charge, & to Return the Charge of unreasonable prejudice—Every party in Politicks as well as Religion, is Exceeding as apt to think all the opposition to their measures proceeds from unreasonable Prejudice & if men would but open their Eyes they must needs See things as they do and none more apt to run Riot in this Opinion than that party which is uppermost, which always Supposes it Self in the Right—But here it Seems in this Case it is quite plain, there is the opinion & Result of a Council—But we cant think it proper to trouble this Court with those affairs, a particular detail & Consideration of w^{ch} would be more than could be done in a weeks time, nor are they at all proper to be to be discuss'd here—and after all shou'd it be done it wou'd amount to no more than this—Two men differ, each calls in his friend to advise, which they do, but advise Differently, according to their Different apprehensions, & there upon Each man follows & applauds the advice he likes best—In Short wherever a sufficient number agree to go off from a Church, or Churches, & Embody by themselves, & by their outward actions or the General Course of their lives in a Judgment of charity there is Reason to think them Sincere in their pretensions, if they are willing to Support the preaching of the Gospel & other ordinances among themselves, & Especially when their Separation does not break up the Churches they leave we humbly Conceive, & with great deference & Submission would Say they have a Right to demand of the authority, that protection, Exemption, & Countenance whereby they may Enjoy their Opinions & Sacred Rights, on as cheap & Easy terms as their neighbours. So far as the Circumstances of their case will admit.

The Sixth & Last article begins with Charging the Petition^{rs} with absurdity &c In desiring Some allowance for w^{ch} they have paid towards the Settlement of the minist^r &c—as to the Settlement of the Rev^d m^r Odlin the Elder, tis out of the Question but as to the other we see no Such absurdity, for many Reasons, but Especially Considering this was purposely made as Chargeable even to us, as it could be, by making that a Public charge which might have been otherways defrayed, as to other parts of this article

tis Comprized in the foregoing there being no great difference between Saying, *men Separate from unreasonable prejudice*, & Saying it is *evil in Self*, that it is of Evil Example & draws others to do the like differs little from saying it would be of *Dangerous Consequence to the Churches*, all which is only begging the thing Question—for we think it for the Good of the Churches, if by churches we understand the People of the Churches & not the minister only, & if by good, is meant their *Spiritual Edification* & not the great point of maintaining the minister in affluence & Ease—But this they say if done will be a leading Example, & we Say all the better, if it be a thing which ought to be done, which is our apprehension of it, & that not only in this Case but all others so Circumstanc'd—as to other fearful Consequences mentioned, they are merely Chimerical; & Deserve no answer—But here it is worth Considering whether force Compulsion & Restraint, is a likely way to promote the Interests of pure Religion, whether to Compel to Conformity is a likely means, ever did, or ever will make a Sincere Conformist, & what Interest is Such a Conduct likely to promote, unless that of the purse of the parishioners, & the more Comfortable subsistence of the Parson, for the Larger the Parish, the higher the Salary is no false Logick—But those who are ag^t their neighbours Spiritual Benefit from Lucrative or frugal principals do not do as they would be done by, they do not Exercise that Charity which *Seeketh not her own*, and be effectually ag^t Such benefit who prevents or endeavours to prevent, his neighbour from using those means he judges his duty to use, St Pauls Exhortation in this Case is for every man to please his neighbour for his good to Edification.—as to other matters taken notice of in this article of the answer we cant think them of so much Consequence in this debate as to need a particular Reply—the Building a meeting house or not is of no farther moment in this affair than as it argues those who have done it to be in Earnest, & that they think it to be a matter of Some Consequence or they would not have been at that charge—upon the whole it is Humbly Submitted whether the Interest of Religion will not be more promoted? whether any Such pernicious Consequences are like to follow as are Suggested? & whether the Interests of a Considerable number of good & faithful Subjects to the Government will not be advanced by granting this Petition? and Lastly whether the Consequences are not likely to be more pernicious which must follow from a Denial—

By SAM^l GILMAN } In behalf
PETER GILMAN } of the
 } Petitioners

F.—Further prayer for relief, by the opponents to Mr. Olin's settlement.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY Benning Wentworth Esq^r Captain General, Governor and Commander in Chief In and over his Majesties Province of New Hampshire, and To the Hon^{ble} His Majesties Council and House of Representatives Convened in Generall Assembly

THE PETITION of a Number of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Exeter in Said Province

HUMBLY SHEWETH

That there has been a Minister Settled in Said Town of Exeter Contrary to the Minds of many of your Petitioners, who Timely Enter'd their Dissents against it—

That Your Petitioners have Hitherto (Contrary to their Minds) been Compell'd to pay Taxes for the Support of the Said Minister (who Carrys on the Publick Worship in the Old Meeting house in Said Town) Which Your Petitioners Humbly Conceive is Unreasonable and Unjust.

That Your Petitioners have Erected A Meeting house & Settled a Minister at their own Cost, and with the Help of Some Valuable Donations appropriated to the use of the Church, Have Supported the Gospel and Carry'd on the Publick Worship of God in the Said New Meeting house For about Twelve Years last past with Peace and Concord amongst Themselves—

WHEREFORE Your Petitioners Humbly Pray Your Excellency & Your Honours to Take the Case of your Petitioners under your wise Consideration and Grant us Relief, By Freeing Your Petitioners with their Estates, & Such other Persons (and their Estates) as Shall Joyn with us (within a Time to be Limited by Your Excellency & your Hon^{rs} From paying any Tax for the Support of the Ministry in the Said Old Meeting house for the Future; and by Incorporating us and Such Persons, and Investing us with Such Powers, & Securing to us Such Priviledges, or otherwise Granting us Such Aid or Relief as your Excellency & Honours In Your Great Wisdom Shall think Best

And Your Petitioners as in Duty Bound Shall Ever Pray &c

EXETER APRIL 8th 1755.

PETER GILMAN	DAVID THING	JOHN PHILLIPS
ABNAR THUSTIN	SAM ^l GILMAN	JOHN LORD
DANIEL GILMAN	JOHN DEAN	THOMAS DEANE
JOSIAH GILMAN	THOMAS LORD	NATH ^l FOLSOM
JOSEPH ACRES	DANIEL GILMAN	JOSIAH LADD
JONATHAN AMBROSE	NEHEMIAH GILMAN	
SAM ^l GILMAN J ^r	BENJ ^a THING	
ROBERT LIGHT	NICH ^o GILMAN	
THEOPHILUS SMITH	SUMMERSBEE	GILMAN

RICHARD SMITH	ROBERT LORD
JAMES THURSTON JU ^r	RICHARD SMITH
ELIPHALET LORD	WILLIAM HARRIS
SAM ^r SMITH	STEPHEN THING JU ^r
JOSIAH BARKER	JOSEPH STACEY
ABNER DOLLOF	JON ^a YOUNG
SAMLL DOLLOF	BENJEMAN ROGERS
JOSEPH DOLLOF	STEPHEN PALMER
JOHN ROBINSON JUN	JOHN LEAVITT
PETER ROBINSON	JOSEPH SMITH
JOHN HAINS	WODLEY CRAM
JOHN GILMAN JUN ^r	EDMUND LOOGEE
WIDOW MARY GILMAN	NATHANEIL LADD
JOHN LOUGEE JU ^r	JOSEPH SWASEY
EDWARD COLCORD	JOHN BOWDEN
NICHOLAS SMITH	DUDLEY JAMES
JONATHAN JUDKINS	TRUWORTHY GILMAN
JOSEPH MUDGET	THOMAS PIPER
JEREMIAH FOLSOM	ELIAS LADD
THOMAS NEALEY	

own as afores^d Such Determination to be by giving Notice thereof in writing unto the Clerk of the new parish within the S^d three months and in default thereof to belong with the Old parish — That the petitioners be exempted from paying any Taxes unto the Old Parish for this present year or to the Support or maintenance of the minister in the old parish or any thing relating to the ministerial Tax That S^d New parish have power to choose all officers necessary for managing Parish affairs or to raising money for y^r Support and Maintenance of the minister And that the Petitioners have Liberty to bring in a Bill accordingly.

MATTHEW LIVERMORE

—clerk—

In Council September 9th 1755

The within Vote of the House read & Concurr^d

THEOD^r ATKINSON Sec^r

G.—Action of the General Assembly, on the Petition.

PROVINCE OF N HAMP

In Council April 9th 1755

read & ordered to be Sent down

to the Hon^l assembly

THEODORE ATKINSON Sec^r

PROVINCE OF) In the House of Repres upon
NEW HAMPSHIRE) Reading the within Petition,
voted That the Petitioners be heard On the
Said Petition on the Third day of the Sitting
of the Gen^l assembly next after the twenty
eighth day of April Ins^t and y^t the Petitioners
at their own Cost Serve the Selectmen of Exeter
with a Copy of this Petition and of the orders
thereon to Shew Cause if any they have why
the Prayer of the Petition Should not be grant-
ed—

MATHEW LIVERMORE Clerk

In Council Eod^m Die

read & Concurr^d

THEOD^r ATKINSON Sec^r

PROVINCE OF) In the House of Representatives
NEW HAMP^r) Sep^r 6th 1755—

Upon hearing the Petitioners of
the within Petition and the Respondents

VOTED that the Petitioners be set off as a Dis-
trict and Separate Parish from the old Parish
in Exeter with the Estates they do or shall Own
in S^d Town for the time being and for the fu-
ture that when any person or persons Shall
Come into S^d Town to Settle or any Person or
Persons in Town Shall arrive to the age of
twenty one Years, such Persons Shall have the
liberty of three months to determine to which
Parish Such Person will belong together with
the Estates they then do or afterwards Shall

H.— Remonstrance of the Town Agents, while
this matter was pending.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY BENNING WENT-
WORTH ESQ^r. Captain General Governour
and Commander in chief in and over his Majes-
ties Province of New Hampshire and to the
Honourable his Majestie's Council and House
of Representatives convened in general Assem-
bly. We being chosen by the Freeholders and
Inhabitants of the Town of Exeter, to represent
said Town, and on the behalf of our Constitu-
ents to make answer to a Petition prefer^d to
this Honourable Court; by a Number of Free-
holders and Inhabitants of said Town, praying
that they and their Estates may for the future
be exempted from paying to the Support of the
ministry in the old meeting House Seeing they
represent in their petition, that a minister was
Settled contrary to the Minds of many of the
petitioners

IN ANSWER to which WE humbly beg
leave to reply as follows—

1 MANY of the petitioners especially those that
entered their Dissents against the Settlement
of our Minister the Rev^d Mr. Woodbrige
Odlin were those that first invited him to
preach in this place and were the chief In-
struments of his being calld from a remote
place to labour among the People here, Who
had he not esteemed their Invitation to Him,
a Call from God might now have been Serving
the Interest of the Redeemers Kingdom in a
distant Part. But the said Gentleman being
induced by the Importunities of the said Pe-
titioners and others in the Town accepted of
the Invitation to employ his Labours among
them for a considerable Time, at the Expira-
tion of which the Church & Congregation

being sensible of the Infirmities of their aged Pastore tho't an Assistant with him in the Ministry and pastoral Care of their Souls would be for his & their Comfort and having had a long Tryal of our present Minister, By a considerable Majority were well satisfied with Him, and made choice of him in a way agreeable to the Laws of the province. The Town proceeded at their annual Meeting March 28. 1743. To chuse a Committee to agree with and settle the Said Mr. Odlin by a considerable majority And this Committee was further confirmed in their Office by said Town at a Meeting of the Freeholders & Inhabitants June 13: 1743. Those petitioner that entred their Dissents being present and voting with the Town at said Meetings. As to the Validity and Regularity of the Settlement it was agreeable to the Majority of Town & Church approved of and satisfied by a venerable Council called by this Church

2 THOSE who dissented against the Settlement of the said Minister among the Petitioners are many of them such as rent themselves off from the Church covenanter to their Covenant Engagements or Church relation & contrary to the platform of Church Discipline, and their sitting up is disallowed off as being contrary to the known Order of our Churches, and a Council of ten Churches have in their Judgment upon the Case declared their disallowance of those Brethrens withdraw as being very unjustifiable and reproachful to Religion —

3 THOSE petitioners do not profess themselves to be of any different perswasion from the Church they belonged to, but acknowledge they are settled upon Congregational principles and that they could hold occasional Communion with our Minister & Church, and if so why Lot stated? what need of supporting a separate Interest to the prejudice of Religion and the peace & Interest of the Town —

4 WE would inform the Court that there is but about Twenty-five of the petitioners that entred their Dissents against the Settlement of our Minister the rest of them consisting of such persons as have moved into Town or come of Age many of which posses no Estates in the Town and some that were forward for the Settlement at that Time have for what Reasons we know not been prevailed with to join with Them —

5 THE Town has already been divided into so many parishes that we conceive it is unreasonable and what would render it very inconvenient & detrimental to the Town for a Number of persons that dwell in the midst of us

(which have no prospect of being better accommodated (than they might be at the Old meeting House) to be exempted from supporting the Charge of the public ministry, where they with their Families might conveniently attend and we apprehend that we are not at present more than sufficient to support the Charges of one parish with other public Charges —

6 WE apprehend it is unreasonable that the petitioners their Families and Estates shou'd be exempted from paying to our Minister, in that several of their Families attend public Worship at the Old Meeting House and there is no prospect of their being inclined to alter their Sentiments

7 WE conceive that the countenancing a number of persons in Setting up for themselves without sufficient Reasons that are not of different perswasions from those they went of from, will be a tendency to the Subversion of all Order in Churches —

WHEREFORE from the Consideration of the ill Consequences of countenancing them in their irregular proceedings the great Disorder & Confusion that may thereby be introduced with Towns and Churches we conceive will have a tendency to the destroying of all Order and running all into the utmost difficulty if their petition shou'd be granted. Things being in such situation we cannot but apprehend that fixing them on a civil Establishment will be encouraging unwarrantable Separations and destructive to the peace and Order of the Churches in the province.

FOR these & other weighty reasons that might be offered (which will occur to your minds)

WE HUMBLY PRAY That your Excellency & Honours in your great wisdom would dismiss so unreasonable a petition which we conceive tends to the Subversion of Religion —

ZEBU. GIDDINGE
JOHN RICE

I.—*Action of a Council of Churches, concerning the dispute.*

WE THE ELDERS & delegates of the third Church of Christ in Ipswich the two Churches in Cambridge & the third in Gloucester Convened in Council July 29th 1755 in Exeter at the Mutual request of the Pastor & the first Church in s^d Town and a Number of the brethren Called the new Gatherd Church to Judge of all matters of Difference Subsisting between them in order to lead them into a happy Reconciliation & restoration to Christian Communion and fellowship—After humble Supplication to God for direction in this Im-

portant Affair and full hearing the parties Came to the following Result—

- 1st Notwithstanding any Greivances the Brethren of the New Gathered Church (so Called) may have met with or apprehended they had met with from their late Rev^d Pastor and the brethren of the Church yet we Judge their manner of withdrawing Comunion from the Church was disorderly, And that such a conduct tends to destroy the peace and order of these Churches, but we apprehend some Charitable allowances are to be made in favour of these brethren Considering the Circumstances of those times, and their plea of Unacquaint- edness with the order of these Churches
- 2nd We Judge the Reflections of the Seperating Brethren upon the late Pastor & the Other brethren of the Church (Calling them Opposers of the Work of Gods Sovereign Grace &c) to be Unbecoming Expressions, savouring of an Uncharitable Spirit or of too great abounding in their own Sense and Opinion of things, and we should have been glad if they had been more full and Express in Acknowledging the warmth & Severity of their Expressions—
- 3rd With respect to receiving to Comunion the members of other Churches who are under Admonition; we declare that such a practice is utterly Inconsistent with the order and peace of these Churches, and that if this New Gathered Church (So Called) retain any such Members it is Just matter of Offence to these Churches of Christ and in order to any reconciliation with these Churches it is our Judgement that they deny such members any further fellowship in Special ordinances, till they are restored to the Charity of the Churches to which they respectively belong or regularly dismissed—
- 4th Provided the New Gathered Church (so Called) Shall manifest their consent to and acceptance of the Judgement of this Council as above and their readiness to Practice agreably hereto, wee Advise the Pastor and first Church in this Town to forgive their brethren what- ever has been offensive in their late Transactions and Notwithstanding the Exception- ablestepps they have taken toward their being formed into a Church State, Yet that they own them as a Church of our Lord Jesus Christ and their Pastor (so called) as a Minister of Christ, and receive them to Christian com- union in all ordinances and acts thereof as they do other Churches

5th And upon their Complying as above, we re- commend them also to the fellowship & Comu- nion of all the other Churches in the land walking in the faith & order of the Gospel: at the same time Earnestly recomending it to the New Gathered Church (so Called) to pay all due respect to the Churches of Christ, and to Exercise great caution that they avoid every thing which may greive or offend them, and now dear brethren of the new gather d Church (so Called) we have proposed Such terms for your being Accepted into comunion with the Churches as upon a mature Impartial weigh- ing matters we think highly reasonable for you to Comply with and such as we Judge Necessary to secure the Intrest of religion the honour of Christ, and the peace and safety of these churches, we therefore cannot but hope that God will convince you of your duty herein and Incline you to a hearty Compliance here- with—and as to the Rev^d Pastor and beloved brethren of the first Church we cannot but hope that Considering the times which have passed over us, and the present Circumstances of Your Seperating brethren, You will upon their Submitting to and Accepting of our Judgement & advice forgive them, in what- ever has been by them Greivous or Offensive to you & receive them (together with the per- son whom they Acknowledge for their Pastor) in their respective capacities and treat them accordingly by all propper acts of Christian Fellowship & Comunion. And now Rev^d Hon^d & Beloved it will be to us matter of Joy and thankfulness to see the people of God in this place thus United in holy fellowship—and we Earnistly Exhort & beseech you in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ to forgive one another as you hope that God for Christs sake will forgive you and that you won'd Embrace one Another as in times past in the Arms of Love & Charity and that there be a freindly Inter- change of all acts of Christian brotherly Com- union as occasion may call for; and that there be a care full avoiding Every thing in speech or behaviour that may greive or Offend Each other and if there shou'd be some diferent sentiments as to some particular points; that there be a careful preserving the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. Finally brethren farewell be perfect be of Good Comfort be of one mind live in peace and the God of Love and pease shall be with you Amen

EXETER Aug^t 1. 1755

Voted Unanimously

SAM^l WIGLESWORTH Moderator

A true Coppy

Attest SAM^l COOK Scribe

J.—Action of the Petitioners, on the Advice of the Council.

At a Meeting of the New gath^d Church of Christ in Exeter—August 4th 1755

VOTED—

That we consent to and accept of the Judgment and Advice of the Council, mutually chosen by us, and the first Church of Christ in said Town, as is contain'd in their result, dated August 1st 1755—and sign'd by the Rev^d Samuel Wigglesworth as Moderator. And we hereby manifest our Readiness to practice agreeably thereto.

VOTED LIKEWISE—

That a Copy of the above be sent to the Rev^d Woodbridge Odlin, to be communicated to the first Church of Christ in Exeter.

SAMUEL GILMAN	} Ruling Eld ^r in behalf of the Church.
DANIEL THING	
JOHN PHILLIPS	

K.—Certificate of Selectmen, concerning Tax for Mr. Odlin's Salary..

PROVINCE OF) To the Hon^{ble} His Majesties
NEW HAMPSH^r } Council For the Province of
New Hampshire

These Certife That the Sum which was Voted by the Town of Exeter to the Rev^d M^r Woodbridge Odlin, this Present year was For his Salary only, & not for any arrearages due to him from the Town—But as there was Something due to him from the Town at that time, The Same is Included in the Town Rate for the Current Year, and not in the Minister's Rate.

All which is humbly certified by
Your Hon^{rs} Most Hum^{le} Servants

JOSIAH GILMAN	} Selectmen of Exeter
ROB ^t LIGHT	
JONATHAN GILMAN JUN	
CHARLES RUNDLET	

Concurr'd but Care must be taken in the Act to have Provision that the Town may Choose officers to make the ministerial rate—and also to repair the Churches resp^{re}veally—

That all arrearages if any be paid by both as if not Separated —

The act will not Pass without these articles are Incerted —

L.—Prayer for further Relief.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY Benning Wentworth Esq^r Governor and Commander in Chief in an over his Majestys Province of New

Hampshire the Hon^{ble} his Majestys Council & House of Representatives in General Assembly Convened Decemb^r 6th 1763.

HUMBLY Shews John Odlin Josiah Samborn & Sam^l Brooks all of Exeter in said Province

THAT By an act Passd in the twenty ninth year of his Late Majestys Reign a new Parish was Incorporated in that part of Exeter Remaining (commonly called the Town) after the Parishes of Brentwood & Epping were Set off which was called the New Parish & Invested with the Powers usual in Such Cases and the remaining part of said Town was made a Parish & authorized to manage their affairs Relating to the Support of the Gospel Ministry Separately and for that purpose was authorized to Chuse assessors of the Parish Taxes Collectors &c which were to be Chosen at the annual Town Meeting for as to Town affairs there was no alteration by Said Act and this was the only matter that could be transacted at the Town Meeting respecting Said Parish—as may at Large appear by reference to said Act

THAT Your Petition^r Suppose it was the design of Said Act that such Assessors should be authorized to call such Meetings of said Parish as there shou^d be Occasion for without any regard or matter to be done by the Select Men of the Town, but that power is not given (unless by a very remote Implication) so that as to any special Business to be done by Said Parish as repairs additions &c to their meeting house they have no method of consulting and Determining but what is drawn into Question & Dispute upon the Doubt about calling the Meeting, nor can they obtain a meeting for the Select Men refuse to call it and the Assessors doubt their authority—

That there is a Necessity of repair^r their meeting house purchasing a Bell & transacting other Parochial Affairs which are all Suspendd by the ambiguous Language of said Act WHEREFORE your Petitioners pray the advisement of the General Assembly thereon and that by Resolve they woud Declare that the said Assessors have Power to call Such Meeting of said Parish ; if it appears to be within the Intention of said act, or to put Said Parish or remaining part of Said Town under a new Regulation & that no Officer of the Town as Such, may have anything to do with said Parish and that Your Petitioners may have Leave to Bring in a Bill accordingly and They shall ever Pray &c

JOHN ODLIN
SAM^l BROOKS

VII.

PAPERS CONCERNING THE RIOT AT EXETER, 1734.

A.—Depositions taken in the Case.

The following Depositions were Taken at Exeter

April 24th 1734. Before

NICH^s GILMAN

JOHN GILMAN

BAR^r THING

JOHN PENHALLOW

} Esq^r
Jus^s of y^e
peace

JAMES PITMAN On Oath S^d (being Sent up by His Hon^r Col: Dunbar to Exeter with Several Others on His Maj^{ty} Service) at the House of Sam^l Gilman in Said Exeter as he was with Some of His Company going to bed about Thirty men broke into the Room, & put Out their Candles, & Immediately fell upon him, Benj^a Dockum, Benj^a Pitman, & Robert Gallaway & Did Then & There Beat us & Dragged us about, & at Length got us to the Head of the Chamber stairs & pulled us down, One over another headlong 'till they got us to the Door & pulled us out then with a Clubb Did knock him down upon the Ground Giving him Several blows, with w^{ch} was in Great Danger of his Life having Rec^d Several wounds, & Lost a Great Deal of Blood, he Endeavored to get away as well as He Could, & James Dudley followed him to the House formerly Stephen Dudleys & told him he would be the Death of him afterwards he was Guarded by Cap^t Gilman to the House of one Marshall where he Lodged — — James Pitman On Oath Said, That being in the House as aforesaid, with Benj^a Dockum & Robert Gallaway in the Kitchen, about 9 of y^e Clock in the Evening three men Bolted into the Room & took Said Gallaway by the Hair of the Head, & were dragging him to the Door, with that he Step^t in to his assistance & Call d Said Dockum, and Dorkum went off, to Call m^r Justice Gilman, who Came in & Commanded the peace, & Order^d the People home, & bid us go to Bed, & we went up in Order to go to bed & Then about 30 men broke in upon us & pulled us Down Stairs headlong & Beat us, & Struck us a great many blows, & Struck him with Clubbs, & being in Danger of being Murthered, he Ran to the House of One Marshall a Hatter & Burst the Door open, & more than a Doz^r men followed him & Swore they would murder him, & being So Terrified he was hid by the woman under the Coverlid, & and the men Came into the House & made Search for him, & Set a Guard Round the House in Order find him.

HENRY MARSHALL made Oath that he & his Wife were in Bed when Said Pitman Came to his House for Safety & Soon followed a great Number of men to Our Great Surprize & De-

manded Pitman but he Denied that he was there, they then threatened him, but their Voices seemed Disguised, & they Continued Round the House Some Hours to Our Great Terrour

ROBERT GALLAWAY Made Oath to what Benj^a Pitman Swore to, of his being assaulted, also that when they were pulling him down Stairs, Some Said Beat him Others Murther him that he might not Come any more for Boards, & after having been much Beaten, Some Said Let him go, & he then made off as well as he Could & they threw Stones after him & bid him tell his master they would Serve him as bad if he Came, & that he made his Escape for his Life having Lost One Shoe & his Hat in the fray, his Cloths being much Torn

JOSEPH CROSS made Oath that being in the Lower Room of the Said House where the fray was in the Chamber Some men Started into the Room & put out the Light upon w^{ch} he Ran into the Kitchen & the men after him in the Dark & they taking hold of him pulled him Out of the Doors, & One knocked him down wth a Clubb & he begged im not to murder him, & Struck him wth their fists, & Kicked him Several times, & then bid him Run, & he got to a fence & Jumped Over where he Lay till the Riot was pas^t —

WALTER OLSTON, made Oath that he went from the House of Sam^l Gilman to the Boat for Snapsack & other things, & Returning he met Several men in the Street who assaulted him & Beat him very much, & one of the men that Struck him was W^m Graves, w^{ch} was done between Eight & nine of y^e Clock Mem^o he was told his Xtian name was W^m —

WILLIAMS STIGGENS on Oath Said that being being below in the Kitchen he heard the Cry of Murther & being afraid of y^e ill Consequences, & Considering he was in Danger he & W^m Tarrat made their Escape out of y^e House & got off in the Crowd, & did not know how it Ended till this morning, & the Woman Hurried us out of the House, who Said Lord help us I am afraid their will be Murther, & my answer was I am afraid there will, & go get away as aforesaid—
WM TARRAT also made Oath to the Truth of what Stiggins Swore to—

NEGRO PETER, Declared That Jerr^e Calf Jun^r Came to him Last Night, & told him to keep out of y^e way for there was a Design on foot to Do Damage—

BENJ^a DOCKUM On Oath Said, that being in the House of Cap^t Sam^l Gilman of Exeter. there was a Disturbance in the Evening by Several people that began a quarrel with him, Benj^a Pitman & Robert Gallaway in the Lower Room.

& Three men Seized Galloway & took him by the Hair & Struck him Several blows & pulled him along the floor, upon which the Said Pitman Interposed & Cryed out help for they will kill the Man, upon w^{ch} he Ran & Called Col. John Gilman who was in the House who Immediately Came & Commanded the peace & ordered the men all out of y^e House Except Those that were to Lodge there, & then told us we ought to go to bed, accordingly about Nine of the Clock or a little after, James Pitman, Robert Galloway, Joseph Miller, with himself were going to bed & went into the Chamber, some of us undressing, (the Doors of the Chamber being Shut), & of a Sudden the Doors were Burst open, & Immediately about Thirty men Sprang in upon us, & Said now you Doggs we have got you & will be the Death of you, & they fell upon us with their fists, beat us & Dragged us about, & to the head of the Stairs, & Tumbled us down headlong, & So out of the Doors, & Others at the Door fell on us with Clubbs & Sticks & Cryed out Kill the Doggs, upon w^{ch} he begged e'm not to Kill him, & One man unknown to him Steped in & took hold of him & Said Run if you Can & I will help you, at w^{ch}, & with his assistance I got off a little way & hid my Self under a wharfe & I heard e'm Say follow, Chase him, you will find him upon the flats & hunt him there, & he Lay under the wharfe till the tide Came up to him & then he Crawled out & Lay under a pile of Boards till day Light, they then being Dispersed he went to Look for his Companions, his hat & pocket book & part of his Jacket all w^{ch} he found Except his pocket book in w^{ch} was between 20, & 30/- Money

JOSEPH MILLER Swore to the Truths of what Dockum Did, of what happen'd in the Chamber & till he was pulled out of the House, & after that they took him by the arms & Leggs, & dragged him to the Bank where was a Pile of Boards over w^{ch} they threw him, & Down the Bank about fifteen foot, by w^{ch} he rec^d a Great hurt in his Back, where he Lay 'till next morning being afraid to be Seen again Least he Should be murther'd, but being hard of hearing Could not understand their Discourse afterwards

Copy

JOHN PENHOLLOW

Jus: p^eApril y^r 25th 1734

On the 22^d of this Instant april as I was a Riding in Company with Simon Gilman of Exeter he asked me Some Questions about Buring of Boards to w^{ch} I answered him I knew nothing of it he then told me he would tell me Something if I would not tell of it again he then began and Sade that the Peppell of Exeter had

hirred three Neatock Indines to kill Collonell Dunbar mr adekeson and my Self as we were Going up to y^e Black Rock mill the Indins had Gote thair mony for thear work all Ready and ware Suplid with a Quart of Rum Each of them every Day by them that Hiered them and that theare was two men Gon up to free town that night wheare y^e Indens wated for thear orders and that y^e two men had Cared up a Gallon of Rum with them to Give S^d Indins that they should not fale of thare work he also aded that y^e Indins as Sune as they have Dun thay are to Go Right away to Neatock whare they wold not be Discoverd

PETER GRELEY

PROVINCE OF }
NEW HAMPSH^h }

PORTSM^e April 26th 1734.
Then the above named Peter Greely made Oath to the Truth of the forgoing Deposition

Cor: JOHN PENHOLLOW

Jus^r p^e*B.—Action of Council on the subject.*PRO: N— HAMPS^r

At a Council held at the House of Mr Gambling in PORTSM^e on Monday May 6 1734

Present

Mr Presed^t WALTON

JOTHAM ODIORNE	Esq ^r	EPH ^a DENNET
HENRY SHERBURNE		JOSH ^a PEIRCE
RICH ^d WALDRON		JOS: SHERBURNE
BENJ ^a GAMBLING		ELLIS HUSKE

Mr Presd^t laid before the Board an order from His Excellcy the Gov to him of the 2^d of the present month, directing him to Convene the Council, to have their advice upon a proclamation relating to a late notorious riot at Exeter which order being read the proclamation which was Sent with the said order was laid before the Board and read also to which the Council did advise & Consent unanimously & order that the same be forthwith made publick in the usual manner

C.—The Governor's Proclamation.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY JONATHAN BELCHER Esq Govnour and Commander in Chief in and over His Majesty's Province of New Hampshire

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS The Surveyor General of His Majesty's Woods on the Twenty Sixth of the last moneth represented at the Council Board

that he had been insulted by a number of armed men, to him unknown, at Copy Hold Mill in Exeter, and that afterwards he had hired ten men to go to the Said Mill to pile & mark with the broad Arrow a Parcel of Boards that were cut out of forfeited* Logs, and that the Said hired men had been beaten & abused by a great Company of men armed with Clubs & Staves to the Number of about Thirty, and that the Boat employed in that Service was cut to Pieces and Some of the Sails Spoiled, & others stolen; and Whereas the Said Surveyor General hath Suggested That there is a Conspiracy against his Life by Some wicked & Evil minded Persons, who have hired divers Indians to destroy him, of which Design he has received a Written Testimony.

I HAVE therefore thought fit with advice of His Majesty's Council to issue this Proclamation; Hereby requiring all His Majesty's Judges, Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs and Constables in their respective Offices, and all other His Majesty's good Subjects to make diligent Search and Inquiry after, and use their best Endeavours for the Discovery of the Persons or any of them who were concerned in the Insults or assaults abovementioned, or in destroying the Said Boat or Spoiling or Stealing the Sails belonging thereto, or in any Conspiracy or design against the Life of the Said Surveyor General, as also to discover the Said Indians, who are Said to be hired to Execute Such villanous Purposes; and I do hereby strictly charge the Grand Jury of the Said Province diligently to inquire into the Premises, That So the Offenders may be brought to condign Punishment; and I do hereby also declare, That whosoever shall detect the Offenders above mentioned or any of them, Shall receive all proper marks of the Countenance & Favour of this Government; And if any of the Offenders Shall deliver themselves up to Justice, they Shall be pardoned, Provided they discover their Accomplices.

And I do hereby further require all His Majesty's Officers Civil & Military, and all other His good Subjects within this Government to be aiding & assisting from time to time as need shall require to the Hon^{ble} David Dunbar Esq Surveyor General of his Majesty's Woods, and his Deputies and assistants in the Execution of their office, and that they strictly observe all acts of Parliament for the Preservation of His Majesty's Woods, and that they endeavour by all proper means that the Violators of the Said Acts be brought to Justice, and more Especially that Prosecution be made against all Persons,

who Shall presume to cut into Boards, or any other Ways manufacture Such Trees or Logs as are by Law forfeited and condemned to His Majesty's Use —

Given at the Council Chamber in Portsmouth this sixth Day of May 1734 annoy Rⁱ Georgii Secundi magna Britannia & c^a Septimo.

J. BELCHER

By Command of His Excellency
with Advice of the Council.

RICH^d WALDRON Sec^{ry}

GOD SAVE THE KING.

D.—Letter from Colonel Dunbar to the Justices at Exeter.

PORTSMOUTH N HAMPSHIRE Sep^r 27th 1735

GENTLEMEN—

After the usage I met with at Coppyhold Mill in april last, and Soone after the Violence offered to ten men hired and Employed by me for his Maj^{ties} Service, to Separate & mark the Boards Decreed to his Maj^{ty} at Severall Mills within your Township of Exeter, and the Township of Dover all within this Province, Which Said ten men were in a verry extraordinary manner assulted & Ill Treated in the Body of the Town of Exeter, whereupon I made my application to his Excell^{ty} Gov^r Belcher upon the twentieth of June last and Since (for want of an answer) upon the 29th of August, that he would be pleased to Order the Sheriffs and Justices in Each Township to go to the Mills where Condemned Boards did lye, & there to oblige men to help me or any employed by me for Common hire to Separate & mark what Boards Should be found there, as far as the Number Decreed & afterwards to Haul them to the next landing place, and there to deliver them to me or my orders upon paying down the usuall prises in the Country for the Severall Distances, his Excell^{ty} has tho^t fit to Send me from Boston his Warrant which the Bearer Charles Gorwood will Shew you, and Deliver you an attested Copy, and in Virtue of it, as well as what has been Printed in the Boston Gazet upon the 26th of August last (which Gazet the Bearer will alsoe Deliv^r to you) I Desire & in his Maj^{ties} name, I Demand of you that Some of you will go with the Said Charles Gorwood to Coppyhold Mill; Black Rock Mill, upper and Lower Tuckaway Mills, Wadlys Mill, the Book Mill, Gilmans Mill & Piscassack mill, which two last are neare New Market in your Township, and there to oblige men for usuall Wages or hire to Separate & mark Such White Pine Boards as may be found at the Said Severall mils, as far as y^e numbers Decreed for his Maj^{ties} use & an attested Copy of Said Decreee may appear, and afterwards I desire, & in his Maj^{ties} name

* The word "picked" in the article on the Riot at Exeter, in the October, 1868, number of the Magazine, page 191, should undoubtedly be "forfeited." W. F. O.

I Demand of you to Impress proper Carriages to hawl Such Condemned boards, planck & Joyst as mentioned in the Said Decree, to the next place of Rafting or Shipping, and there to Deliver the Same to me or my order, upon paying Down the usuall prices for Carriage for the Severall Distances: w^{ch} I am ready and willing to doe; and in case of your noncompliance or delay, I pray you'L give an answer in Writing, to prevent any mistakes or misrepresentations, and in Case of your noncompliance also or Delay I Desier you will hire or Impress a man to go with M^r Gorwood to Copyhold, Black rock & Tuckaway mills to Shew him the way to those Mills, and whatever you Certiffe to me that you promise or agree with Such man I will pay him on Demand I am Gen^l. your humble Servant

m^r Gorwood is now Employed DAVID DUNBAR by me in the roome of m^r. Jacob one of my Dep^s now lying Sick.

Vera Copia attes^t DAVID DUNBAR

To NICHOLAS GILLMAN, JOHN GILLMAN & BARTHOLEMEW THING, Esq^r., Justices of the Peace at Exeter.

E.—The Justices' Reply to Colonel Dunbar.

EXETER 8th 21, 1738

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR

We received your honours Letter of 7th 27th wherein you require Some of us to go with m^r Gorwood the Bearer of S^d letter to Certaine Mills in this Town, there to obledge men to Seperate & mark Severall parcell of Boards &c Decreed to his Maj^{ty} and afterwards to Impress proper Carriages to Hall the Same to the next place of Rafting or Shipping, there to be Delivered to your Self or Order—Otherwise Requiring us to hire or press a man to go with m^r Gorwood to Copy hold, Black Rock, and Tuckaway Mills and Shew him the way to those Mills—as to y^r Hon^{rs} Last request we complied with it, as we acquainted you By m^r Gorwood, and are ready (as we ever have been) to Serve your hon^{rs} in our Stations, But have not yet complied with your other Demands, Nor can we find upon the Most Deliberate consideration any authority to Support us in So doing.

We remaine y^r hon^{rs} humble Servants
NICHOLAS GILMAN BARTH THING.

Superscribed

To the Hon^{ble} DAVID DUNBAR Esq^r
Lieut^{nt} Gov^r &c. at Portsmouth—

Vera Copia attest JAMES JEFFREY N^o Publick
HIST. MAG. VIII., 2.

VIII.

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

A.—List of the Names of those who Signed the "ASSOCIATION TEST," in Exeter, New Hampshire, in 1776.*

JOSEPH SWAZEY	JOSIAH GILMAN JUN ^r
NOAH EMERY	JOSIAH WYATT
JOHN GIDDINGE	HUBARTUS NEALE
JOSIAH WEEKS	JOSEPH GILMAN
DANIEL GRANT	STEPHEN THING
THEOPHILUS SMITH	SAM ^l HARRIS
STEPHEN M CREIGHTON	ELIPHALET GIDDINGE

JOSEPH STACEY	SAMUEL LAMSON
THOMAS DOLLEF	JOHN PATTEN
GERALD FITZ GERALD	JOSIAH BEEL
DAVID SMITH	NATH ^l GORDEN
JOHN BOND	WILL ^m ODLIN
ROBERT KIMBALL	BENJAMIN SWEAZY
BENJA CRAM	BENJAMIN KIMBALL
JOHN GIDDING JU ^r	JOSIAH FOLSOM
ROBERT LORD	WINTHROP THING
SAMUEL QUIMBY	JOS. RAWLINS
KINSLEY H JAMES	JOSEPH THING
EDWARD LADD	JOHN CARTLY
JOSEPH LAMSON	JONATHAN HOPKINSON
THOMAS LYFORD	ZEBULON GILMAN
BENJ ^m MORSE	DAVID GILMAN
THOMAS tyler (?)	SAMUEL FOLSOM GILMAN

BART GALE

DUDLEY WATSON

B.—Account of the Town for the Public Service.

Exeter Account—

To Cap ^t James Hackets pay for his Company to Cambridge in 1775	137 13 10
To ditto his Company to Portsmouth take the Cannon &c	27 11 4
To Cap ^t John Giddings Company to ditto—&c—	19 11 2
To Cap ^t Eliphalet Ladds Acct. do.	6 —
To Eph ^m Robinson Acct. to Cambridge in 1775	3 —
To their Acc ^t for Amunition on Alarms	20 17 6
	£214 13 10

C.—Selectmen's Receipt for monies advanced by the Town for the Colonial Service.

Rec^d of the Committee of Safety for the State of New Hampshire two orders on the Treasurer one for the sum of six Hundred & seventy five pounds for Continental & State Bounties advanced by the Town of Exeter to five Continental Soldiers raised to serve during the war, the

* We have omitted the Printed Declaration, in this case, as it has been given in the Association Test sent to the Town of Claremont. See ante, Volume VII. page 361.—W F. G.

other for the sum of two hundred pounds advanced by said Town to five men raised for the defence of Rhode Island for the current Year for their Bounties & travel^e money—

SAMUEL FOLSOM	} Selectmen for the Town of Exeter
THOMAS FOLSOM	
BENJ ^d BOARDMAN	
ELIP ^d LADD	
JEDIDIAH JEWETT	

Names of the Continental Soldiers John Bartlett
Samuel Lock George Patterson Alex^r Patterson & Richard Cook*

These men were muster'd by Col^o Nich^s Gilman
Must^r M^r

Ex^d J^o JOSIAH GILMAN JUN^r

Copy ex^d J^o JOSIAH GILMAN JUN^r

D.—Exeter's Quota in the Revolutionary Army.

A Return of Soldiers in the New Hampshire
Regiment Inlisted before January 1781, for the
Town of Exeter During the War

Viz^t

DANIEL MORSE—	1	DANIEL SULLIVAN—	15
JAMES NORRIS—	2	JAMES DOCKUM—	16
SAMUEL NORRIS—	3	BENJ ^s MORSE—	17
JOHN WODLEIGH—	4	SAMUEL MARSH—	18
THOMAS WEBSTER—	5	RICHARD COOK—	19
CARTEE GILMAN—	6	GEORGE PATTERSON—	20
JONATHAN FLOOD—	7	ALEX ^r PATTERSON—	21
JONATHAN HILL—	8	MICHAEL GEORGE—	22
ENOCH MORSE—	9	SAMUEL LOCK—	23
MOSES LOOGE—	10	EZEKIEL GILMAN—	24
WILLIAM GORDEN—	11	JOHN WEEKS—	25
JOSEPH GORDEN—	12	ZEPHENIAH DOWNS—	26
JOHN HILTON—	13	JOHN POWEL—	27
HENRY BARTER—	14	WILLIAM NEALY—	28

Inlisted since January 1781 for 3 years.

JOHN EDWARDS—	1	ELIPHALET RAWLINS—	2
EPHRAIM DUDLEY—	3		

EXETER May 25th 1781

Errors Excepted.

DANIEL TILTON	} Selectmen of Exeter
JAMES THURSTON	
EPH ^m ROBINSON	

III.—A NAVAL HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND:—CONTINUED FROM VOLUME VII., PAGE 328.

BY HON. JOHN RUSSELL BARTLETT.

IX.

FRENCH PRIVATEERS AGAIN ON THE COAST. VESSELS SENT IN PURSUIT OF THEM. THE FRENCH BURN THEIR PRIZE. EXTENT OF SHIPPING IN

THE COLONY. FONDNESS OF RHODE ISLAND BOYS FOR THE SEA. QUEEN ANNE CALLS FOR TROOPS AND VESSELS FOR THE INVASION OF CANADA. DEPARTURE OF THE EXPEDITION. NON-ARRIVAL OF THE BRITISH FLEET AND RETURN OF THE FORCES. THE INVASION OF CANADA AGAIN DETERMINED ON, BY THE ASSEMBLY. DEPARTURE OF A NEW EXPEDITION. THEY ATTACK PORT ROYAL, IN NOVA SCOTIA. SURRENDER OF THE FORT AND GARRISON. JOY IN NEW ENGLAND AT THE SUCCESS OF THE EXPEDITION.

In 1708, French privateers again appeared on the coast, which awakened anew the naval spirit of the Colony. "On the eighth of September," writes Governor Cranston to the Board of Trade, "upon intelligence given me by an express from Martha's Vineyard, that a Privateer had chased and taken a Sloop, and chased a Brigantien on shore, upon said island, I despatched (with in three hours of the receipt thereof) two Sloops under the command of Major William Wanton and Captain John Cranston. The enemy fearing a sudden expedition, being well acquainted with our dispatch on such occasions, burnt his prize, and made the best of his way into the sea, so that our people could not get any sight of him." They pursued him for twenty-four hours, when, finding he had changed his course, they gave up the chase.

At this time, there was twenty-nine vessels belonging to the Colony, its trade having increased much within a few years. These vessels were engaged in trade with Madeira, Fayal, the West Indies, and Spanish Main. The cause of this increase was attributed, by Governor Cranston, in his letter to the Board of Trade, "to the inclination the youth on Rhode Island have to the sea." "The land on the island," he adds, "is all taken up and improved in small farms, so that the farmers are compelled to place their children to trades or callings; but their inclination being to navigation, the greater part betake themselves to that employment." The number of inhabitants in the Colony was, at this time, seven thousand, one hundred, and eighty one, of which four hundred and twenty-six were blacks.

In May, 1709, upon the demand of Her Majesty, Queen Anne, an expedition was organized for the invasion of Canada; a war-tax of one thousand dollars was ordered to be levied; and two sloops, the *Diamond* and the *Endeavor*, taken up for the purpose, together with some transports, to carry the troops to Boston. Captain Edward Thurston was chosen Commissary, and was, furthermore, charged with the duty of providing naval stores, arms, ammunition, etc., for the expedition. Two hundred effective men

* Raised in 1779.—W. F. G.

were equipped and drilled for the service, in little more than a month; and, under the command of Colonel William Wanton, sailed for Nantasket, the rendezvous of the fleet, on the nineteenth of June, where they arrived three days after. There they were destined to remain for five months, in the pay of the Colony, unable to move beyond, owing to the non-arrival of the British fleet which was to co-operate with them.

After waiting several months for the British fleet, Colonel Vetch, the Queen's messenger, requested the Colonial Governors to meet Colonel Nicholson, the Commander of the expedition, and himself, "at the most commodious central place of all the said Governments, which," he says, "I humbly conceive to be about New London." Soon after, he appointed Newport as the place of meeting, deeming it to be more convenient. The meeting took place about the twelfth of October; but, for some reason, adjourned to Rehoboth. It was over before the nineteenth, as Governor Saltonstall returned to New Haven, on that day, from the Convention.

With the same object in view that the Convention of the Governors had, a Special Session of the General Assembly of Rhode Island took place in September, at which a Committee of ten persons were appointed to aid the Governor, with full power to act while that body was in session. In the following month, before any meeting had taken place of this Council, news arrived from England of the defeat of the allies in Spain, and the consequent withdrawal of the fleet destined for Canada. An Address to the Queen was adopted, urging, anew, the reduction of Canada.

In October, the subject of invading Canada was again brought before the General Assembly and determined upon. At the same time, an Act was passed for disbanding the troops and withdrawing the transports which had been sent five months before to Nantasket, and which had been waiting the arrival of the British fleet, as before stated. The new Act of Assembly provided for the raising of one hundred and forty effective men for an expedition against Port Royal, in Nova Scotia; and another was passed for issuing five thousand pounds, in Bills of Credit, for defraying the expenses to be incurred. The other Colonies which contributed men for the expedition also issued Bills of Credit to defray the expenses of their levies.

The Council of War now called upon Rhode Island to furnish two hundred men for the proposed expedition for the reduction of Port Royal. The Assembly believed the number greater than her proportion, yet they say, "for the loyal duty we have and do bear to her Majesty, and for the forwarding of so hopeful an expedition, under the commands of so honorable and worthy a General, we do grant the demands of

"the Council of War," etc.; and add that "this Act of granting more than our proportion, is no ways to be construed and drawn up into a precedent in any ways hereafter." The two hundred men were accordingly ordered to be raised, and Lieutenant-colonel John Cranston was chosen to command them. The Council of War were authorized to take up an additional vessel as a transport, and to procure the necessary stores. Having thus made provision for the expedition, the Assembly voted an Address to the Queen, relative to the larger quota of men furnished by the Colony than was due from it, when compared to the forces furnished by the neighboring Colonies.

The fleet for this expedition, which consisted of twelve ships of war and twenty-four transports, sailed from Nantasket for Port Royal, on the eighteenth of September, 1710. Of these, fourteen were in the pay of Massachusetts, five of Connecticut, two of New Hampshire, and three of Rhode Island. Of troops, there were five Regiments, all under the command of General Nicholson. They reached Port Royal in six days. One of the Connecticut transports ran ashore, at the mouth of the river, and was lost; and her crew of twenty-six men drowned. The forces landed without opposition. Subercase, the Governor, had but two hundred and sixty men, and most of these he was afraid to trust out of the fort, lest they should desert to the English. As the army was marching up to the fort, several men were shot by the inhabitants, from behind fences; and, for several days, while the necessary preparations were being made by the English, the French threw shells and shot from the fort, which were replied to by shells from the English bomb-vessels.

On the twenty-ninth, the Governor sent out a flag of truce, praying for leave for the ladies in the fort, who were in danger from the bombs, to take shelter in the English camp. On the first of October, three batteries were opened upon the fort, at one hundred yards distance, the French firing their shot and throwing their shells at the same time. During the same day, a summons was sent to the fort to surrender; a cessation of arms was agreed upon; and the terms of capitulation soon settled. The following day, the Articles were signed surrendering the fort to her Majesty, Anne, Queen of Great Britain. The garrison was permitted to march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating, and colors flying, and to be transported to Rochelle or Rochfort, in France. The English lost but fourteen or fifteen men in addition to those drowned in the Connecticut transport. The name of Port Royal was changed to that of Annapolis Royal. Colonel Vetch was left in charge of the fort, with a sufficient garrison; and the fleet and army returned to Boston, where they

were received in triumph. Great joy was manifested throughout New England, at the success of the expedition, which consisted almost wholly of men and means furnished by the Colonies; and the Assembly of Rhode Island voted a gratuity to Major George Lee, who brought the news. It would appear, from the records of Rhode Island, that one of its Sloops was lost; and an appropriation of one thousand pounds was made for it. Hutchinson, from whom we derive the particulars given, only mentions the loss of one of the Connecticut Sloops.

X.

RENEWED EFFORTS FOR THE CONQUEST OF CANADA.

ANOTHER EXPEDITION DETERMINED ON. RHODE ISLAND VOTES AN ADDRESS TO QUEEN ANNE. MEN RAISED AND APPROPRIATION MADE FOR THE EXPEDITION. ITS DEPARTURE FROM BOSTON. THE FLEET DISPERSED BY A STORM IN THE ST. LAWRENCE. A THOUSAND LIVES LOST. FAILURE OF THE EXPEDITION. GOVERNOR HEATHCOTE MAKES COMPLAINT AGAINST NEWPORT. CAPTURE OF PIRATES AND THEIR EXECUTION, IN NEWPORT.

The success that attended the expedition against Port Royal greatly increased the military spirit which had ever prevailed in New England, and, particularly, in Rhode Island. The leaders of the late expedition, too, were, by their success, encouraged to renewed attempts against Canada. General Nicholson, therefore, who had returned to England after his gallant exploit at Port Royal, lost no time in again bringing to the notice of the Ministry his plans for another Campaign, which should have in view the complete reduction of Canada. His efforts were successful; and he returned, immediately, to New England, to announce the intentions of the Government. A Convention of the Governors, at once, assembled at New London to agree upon a plan for the Campaign; and, ere they had completed their labors, the British fleet of fifteen ships of war, with forty transports, under Sir Hovenden Walker, arrived at Boston. Great was the joy manifested throughout New England, on this occasion. The several Legislatures were called together; and the most prompt and energetic measures determined on. The General Assembly of Rhode Island voted an Address to Queen Anne, rendering to her Majesty "the most hearty thanks for her "indulgent care and thoughtfulness of us, in "these her Majesty's Plantations," in the endeavor "to oppress our enemies in these "parts." Thanks were also voted to General Nicholson, for the hearty zeal he had manifested in the cause. At the same time, it was ordered that one hundred and seventy-nine men be raised for the proposed expedition; and that Major

James Brown and George Goulding, with the Commissary-general, be a Committee to buy a vessel for the Colony's service in the expedition, together with the provisions and other necessities for the same. To provide for the expenses to be incurred, one thousand pounds were voted, and an additional six thousand pounds were to be issued in Bills of Credit, a portion of which was for the same service.

With remarkable promptitude, the northern Colonies responded to the call for men and provisions, in which Rhode Island did her part. But a new difficulty, not anticipated, now arose. The credit of England was low; and Bills of Exchange on the Government, to pay for the expenses of the expedition, could not be negotiated. In this emergency, Massachusetts came nobly forward, as she has ever done, on similar occasions, and issued Bills of Credit, a species of paper corresponding to the State Bonds of our day, which were given to merchants who furnished provisions and other necessities to the fleet. After but a month's delay, in furnishing auxiliaries, provisions, etc., the fleet sailed from Boston, under the command of Admiral Walker, with an army of five veteran Regiments, of Marlborough's Army, and two Colonial Regiments, numbering, together, nearly seven thousand men, under Brigadier-general Hill.

New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut furnished fifteen hundred men for the expedition which assembled at Albany, whence they were to operate against Montreal, simultaneously with the attack on Quebec. Eight hundred warriors of the Five Nations of Indians also joined the force, all of which was placed under the command of General Nicholson.

The fleet entered the St. Lawrence in safety, and there waited six days for the arrival of the transports. But, ere they proceeded farther, they were overtaken by a violent storm in which eight of the transports were wrecked and nearly a thousand men perished. Great blame was attached to Admiral Walker for his delay, as he could easily have reached Quebec had he proceeded before the storm occurred. But this disaster broke up the expedition; and, without farther ceremony, the Admiral sent home the Colonial transports, and, with his fleet, sailed direct for England. General Nicholson heard of the disaster before he had reached Lake Champlain, and at once returned with his army.

The Colonies, including Rhode Island, severally adopted Addresses to the Queen, setting forth the exertions they had made in the common cause against her enemies, the French, and urged another expedition against Canada; but the Peace which soon after followed, by which Acadia—now Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the regions around Hudson's Bay—was ceded to Great Britain, rendered it unnecessary.

In 1718, an Act was passed for the encouragement of seamen, by which the enemy's vessels and other property appertaining thereto, taken by vessels legally commissioned by the Governor, should belong to their captors, His Majesty's dues and the charge of outfit alone excepted.

The following year, a letter was written from Newport by Caleb Heathcote, Governor of the Colony of New York, to the Board of Trade, making a complaint against Rhode Island, among other things, for making laws which operated against the King's officers, who, by hindering the Colonists "from a full freedom of illegal trade, are accounted enemies to the growth and prosperity of their little Commonwealth." "And 'tis very wonderful to me," continues the writer, "who am thoroughly acquainted with the temper of the people, that none of His Majesty's Officers of the Customs have been mobbed and torn in pieces by the rabble, and of which some of them have very narrowly escaped; an instance whereof happened in this town, to the present Collector, who having made seizure of several hogsheds of claret, illegally imported, and notwithstanding he had the Governor's Warrant, and the High Sheriff, besides his own officers, to assist, and took the claret in the day time, yet the town's-people had the insolence to rise upon them, and insult both them and the civil officers; and having, by violence, after a riotous and tumultuous manner, rescued and possessed themselves of the seizure, set the hogsheds ahead, and stove them open, and with pails drank out and carried away most of the wine, and then threw the remainder into the streets."

"No sooner was the tumult over, than John Wanton," continues Heathcote, "who uses the sea, and is Master of a Sloop, a Magistrate of the people's choice (as may be reasonably supposed), for keeping up the rage and humor of the mob," issued his Warrant for arresting Mr. Kay, the Collector, under pretence of his taking greater fees than the law allowed. In bringing the matter before the Governor, Kay was discharged; nevertheless, Wanton caused him to be arrested again; refused to admit him to bail; and hurried him off to prison, amid a crowd of spectators.

Piratical vessels had lately made their appearance again on the coast; indeed, they had not ceased with the termination of the late War, but continued to commit great depredations, along the whole American coast and in the West Indies. On the eighth of May, 1723, two of these vessels, named the *Ranger* and the *Fortune*, which had committed several piracies, and were well known, captured the ship *Amsterdam Merchant*, John Welland, Master. The next day, they plundered her of money and a consid-

erable amount of stores, after which they cut off the Captain's head, and then sunk the vessel. A month later, they took a Virginia Sloop, and, after rifling her of her valuables, let her go. The following day, this vessel fell in with His Britannic Majesty's Ship the *Greyhound*, commanded by Captain Solgard, of twenty guns, to whom they related the particulars of their capture and release. Learning that the pirates had sailed to the northward, in the direction of Block-island, the *Greyhound* made sail in that direction, in pursuit, and fortunately came up with them, three days after, near the East end of Long-island. The pirates, taking the *Greyhound* for a merchant vessel, immediately gave chase, and engaged her in battle. The contest continued pretty warm for an hour, when the pirates discovered that they had mistaken their antagonist, and, instead of an unarmed merchant vessel, had encountered a British man-of-war. As they were getting the worst of it, they now attempted to make their escape. The wind being light, Captain Solgard got out his boats and oars, and followed in pursuit. A second engagement took place, during which the *Greyhound* got between the pirates, and, after a while, succeeded in disabling one of them, when they called for quarter. The other vessel escaped. In the action, seven men were wounded on board the *Greyhound*, and a larger number on board the piratical vessel. The latter was taken to Newport, together with her crew of thirty-six men.

Such a capture naturally created a great sensation in the Colony, which suffered much from the depredations of pirates, for many years; and the General Assembly ordered a military force to guard the prison where the pirates were confined. In July, an Admiralty Court, of which William Dummer, Lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts, was President, assembled in Newport, to try the prisoners. The other members of the Court were Richard Ward, Register; Jahleel Brenton, Jr., Provost Marshal; Governor Cranston; the Collector of Rhode Island; four members of the Massachusetts Council; and some others. The trial, which occupied two days, resulted in the conviction of twenty-six of the pirates, who were sentenced to be hanged. The execution took place on Gravelly-point, also called Bull's-point, "within the flux and reflux of the sea," opposite the town of Newport, on the nineteenth of July, 1723. The bodies were buried on Goat-island. Only one of these men was a native of Rhode Island; all the others were foreigners, chiefly Englishmen. Their trial was published in Boston, in a pamphlet. It was also reprinted in Bull's *Memoirs of Rhode Island*, which appeared in the *Rhode Island Republican*, in 1832 to 1836; and again in the *Newport Mercury* for July, August and September, 1858.

In the month of October, 1758, four other pirates were tried, condemned, and executed at Newport.

XI.

WAR WITH SPAIN, 1739. BATTERIES ARMED AND WATCH-HOUSES BUILT ALONG THE COAST. AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SPANISH WEST INDIES DETERMINED ON. TWO HUNDRED MEN RAISED FOR THE PURPOSE. THE COLONY'S WAR-SLOOP "TARTAR," HER PRIZES. GENERAL WENTWORTH CALLS FOR TROOPS. EXPEDITION TO CUBA. ITS FAILURE. SPANISH PRIZES BROUGHT IN. PROPOSED EXPEDITION AGAINST LOUISBOURG.

The War between Great Britain and Spain awakened, anew, the desire of King George's subjects to "annoy His Majesty's enemies," as there was a fair prospect of remunerating themselves for this service, by the capture of valuable prizes. In 1739, the General Assembly authorized the Governor to grant privateers' Commissions against the subjects of Spain, "as 'he shall think needful and necessary, pursuant 'to His Majesty's Warrant.'" Furthermore, this body also passed a vote to lend to Godfrey Mulbone, John Brown, and George Wanton, "so 'many of the Colony's small arms, pistols, cut-lasses and great shot, as they have occasion 'for, for fitting out their private men of war, 'upon their giving sufficient security to the 'General Treasurer to return as many and as 'good as they shall receive, and paying the necessary charges arising thereon, in one month's 'time.'" Steps were taken, soon after, to place the Colony on a war footing, by passing an Act "to make necessary preparations for the defence of the Government." Fort George, at Newport, was put in repair; ten additional cannon were mounted; a large quantity of ammunition was placed there; and a Company of soldiers, under Colonel John Cranston, enlisted for its defence. Another detachment was enlisted, for six months, and sent to Block-island, where six great guns were mounted for its defence. Captain Edward Sands and Nathaniel Littlefield were charged with the duties at the island. Watch-houses were built on Brenton's-point, Scahuest-point, Jamestown, Point Judith, and Watch-hill. Such were the safeguards provided on land. To protect the Colony by water, a war-sloop was ordered to be built, "in the 'the best shape."

But the active and restless spirit of Rhode Island was not satisfied with protecting themselves against the enemy and acting merely on the defensive. They determined, next, to act on the offensive; and, in an Act passed by the General Assembly, they expressed their desire "to distress and annoy the Spaniards in the

"most effectual manner." For this purpose, it was determined to make an attempt upon "some of the most considerable of the Spanish 'settlements in the West Indies." Troops were next ordered to be raised, and every inducement offered to such as would enlist. A bounty of three pounds was to be given to every able-bodied man who enlisted, and an exemption from all military service, for the space of three years after his return, except in cases of the greatest extremity. Transports were further to be provided; and the Governor was authorized to issue his Proclamation, forthwith. The Committee to provide vessels and provisions for the expedition were George Goulding, Peter Bours, and Joseph Whipple.

Colonel John Cranston was appointed Captain of the Colony's Sloop, which was called the *Tartar*, for her first cruise. His instructions were to "detect any illegal traders, and take 'any of the King of Spain's subjects or interest." He appears to have been ready for sea in the Summer of the year 1740.

It would appear that more men had been enlisted than were required for the contemplated expedition against the Spaniards. Two hundred of these were retained, and the remainder were ordered to be discharged "upon the best 'terms they can." The two Captains commissioned for the expedition were Captain Joseph Sheffield and Captain William Hopkins. Three Colonels were ordered to be commissioned; but their names do not appear, and it is doubtful if any such were appointed.

Much disappointment was manifested, by both officers and privates who had been appointed or enlisted for the contemplated expedition, in being dropped. Several of these petitioned the General Assembly to be remunerated for expenses incurred, and their claims were paid. The Assembly also passed a vote that the Commissioned Officers of the expedition "be invited by the Deputy-governor and the Speaker, to dine with the Court." In order that all connected with the expedition might also be properly entertained, this body generously directed, in accordance with the custom of the time, "that the other officers and soldiers be 'treated by the Sheriff with liquor, to the 'value of fifteen pounds, at the charge of the 'Colony."

The *Tartar* war-sloop was not destined long to remain inactive. Information being brought to Newport that there was a French vessel on the coast, engaged in illicit trade, the *Tartar* was ordered out in search of her. Captain Cranston was successful in his cruise; he captured the Schooner; brought her into port, where she was condemned by the Judge of Vice-admiralty; and the proceeds of her sale distributed among her captors.

An application upon the Colony for aid to the King now came from another quarter, although she had already been making preparations for such a contingency. The British had, in the year 1741, made an attack upon Carthagena, where they were repulsed, in addition to which they met with great loss of men, by the yellow fever. With a view to recover their fortunes, another attempt was determined on by General Wentworth, the Commander of the land forces. This officer, on the twelfth of August, 1741, addressed a letter, from his Camp, on the island of Cuba, to Governor Ward, of Rhode Island, which he sent to Captain William Hopkins, requesting the Colony to raise troops for his aid, "either to fill the vacancies in the old Corps "and in the Marines, or to form another Battalion." But General Wentworth was not to be satisfied with having further levies of troops; he was out of money and had no means of supplying his recruiting officers with means, and therefore requested Governor Ward to draw upon the Paymaster-general, in England, for the expenses incurred. He further desired Governor Ward to "take proper measures for transporting the "troops to Cuba," to support which charge, he flattered himself, "the respective Provinces will "make a provision." This, was indeed, a modest demand; nevertheless, Governor Ward, by order of the General Assembly, issued his Proclamation, offering a premium or bounty of five pounds, of the old tenor, and a watch-coat, to every soldier who should enlist, in addition to the Royal bounty of two pounds.

Peter Bours, George Goulding, John Cranstons, and Joseph Whipple were the Committee to procure men, to man the Colony's Sloop, and all the necessaries for the voyage. The Sloop was also directed to take a cruise of three months, after she had landed the transports; but this order was subsequently countermanded.

The expedition which had been organized by General Wentworth was intended to operate against Santiago; but it seems that, after a reconnaissance had been made of the works, the plan was abandoned, to the disgrace of the British commanders. Rhode Island, for the aid she furnished for this Spanish expedition, subjected herself to an expense of five thousand, eight hundred, and sixty-eight pounds, five shillings, and eight pence, which sum was reported by the Committee to which all the accounts connected with the expedition were exhibited.

It would appear that the Colony had Privateers out at this time; although no mention is made of them, in the records, beyond the authority given the Governor to commission them. In one instance, the Assembly voted to pay the cost of the board of Francis Lorenzo, Captain of a Spanish Privateer, "which had been

"brought in by Captain Norton, in his Privateer Sloop, the *Revenge*." At another time, the passage home of Spanish officers, who had been brought into the Colony, were ordered to be paid; and, again, we find, in 1744, the number of Spanish prisoners brought in by our Privateers were so numerous that an Act was passed to regulate their maintenance, allowing each one fifteen shillings a week, and making further provision for their return.

The attention of the Colony was now turned in another direction, for the purpose of operating against the French possessions at the North, as will appear from the following letter from Governor Shirley of Massachusetts:

"BOSTON, Jan 29, 1744-45.

"SIR:—Though I doubt not that the interest "of the common cause of New England will "sufficiently animate your Government to exert "themselves vigorously in the intended expedition against Louisburg, yet I beg leave to add "that the exposed situation of your Colony, by "sea, and the resentment of the enemy against "it, on account of the activity of your Privateers, make it probable that you may have a "sudden visit from the French, this summer, if "Cape Breton is not reduced.

"The gentlemen who will deliver you this, "will apprise your Honor how essential it is, towards our proceeding in this important affair, "that we should have a naval force before Louisburg, by the middle of March, at the farthest, "to cut off the enemy's provision-vessels, and "intercept Mr. Davison, who is expected with "recruits for that garrison; which latter event "must be so killing a blow to the people of the "town and garrison, that it would not fail of "being decisive; and they will also let you know "what this Government has done, and what applications I have made towards providing such "a naval force. I hope, therefore, you will not "fail to exert yourself in this respect. They "will further inform you how necessary it is "that we should have a proper train of artillery, "which should be from pieces of eighteen "pound shot, to twenty-four pound, of which "sort we have not sufficient in our castle; and "I therefore hope you will contribute your quota "in this respect.

"I doubt not an united force, vigorously exerted on this occasion, in conjunction with "His Majesty's other neighboring Colonies, will "meet with success, which I hope will be the "event of this expedition, and am, Sir,

"Yours Honor's most obedient servant,

"W. SHIRLEY,

"To the Hon. Governor GREENE."

XII.

SEAMEN SENT TO COMMODORE WARREN. FALL OF LOUISBURG. LETTER FROM CAPTAIN FONES OF THE "TARTAR" SLOOP. RHODE ISLAND'S PART IN THE CAMPAIGN. COMMODORE WARREN CALLS ON RHODE ISLAND FOR MORE TROOPS AND PROVISIONS. URGENT DEMANDS BY GOVERNOR SHIRLEY ON RHODE ISLAND.

The General Assembly of Rhode Island promptly complied with the call from Governor Shirley, by passing an Act, at their June Session, for the raising of seamen and marines, to serve on board the ship *Vigilant*, which "Peter Warren, Esq., Commodore of His Majesty's fleet "at Cape Breton, has taken from the French." Two hundred able-bodied seamen were ordered to be enlisted, to whom a bounty of seventeen pounds, old tenor, was to be paid by the Colony. For the more effectual securing of these men, it was ordered that no ferryman, boatman, or other person, should transport any seamen from off Rhode Island or Conanicut, during a certain period, under penalty of twenty pounds, unless it was to land the latter at Newport. The soldiers stationed at Fort George were directed to stop all sloops, boats, and canoes, from going out of the harbor of Newport, without a special license from the General Assembly. Not content with these efforts to secure men, the Governor issued his Warrant to impress forty seamen at once. One half the men required were obtained within six days and sent to Boston, there to embark for Cape Breton.

The prompt measures of Governor Wanton gave great satisfaction; and Governor Shirley issued a Proclamation, placing these levies on the same footing with other seamen in the fleet.

A Brigantine, called the *Success*, belonging to Ellery and Tillinghast, was chartered to transport the three Companies of soldiers, which had been ordered to be raised in March. The seamen required were doubtless raised; as forty pounds were voted to Messrs. Ezekiel Hubbard and Seth Harvey, each, "for their extraordinary trouble in enlisting seaman for manning "the *Vigilant*." Massachusetts raised four hundred and Connecticut two hundred men to reinforce the troops at Cape Breton.

At this time, there seems to have been many French and Spanish prisoners of war, in Newport and Providence, as Commissioners in each place were appointed, and provision made for their keeping. In what way these men were taken it does not appear; but, doubtless, by the Privateers from the towns referred to. The expenses incurred by the Colony, with copies of all the Acts, Votes, and Proceedings relative to

the expedition to Cape Breton, were ordered to be made, and sent to the Agent of the Colony, in London.

On the sixteenth of June, after a siege of forty-nine days, the fortress of Louisburg capitulated. At this time, eleven ships-of-war had assembled and arrangements were in progress for storming the place. The besiegers had suffered so much from colds and dysentery, that, at one time, fifteen hundred men were unable to do duty. The news of the fall of Louisburg reached Boston on the third of July, and caused the greatest rejoicing, for the whole of the land-forces were from the New England Colonies, and consisted of undisciplined mechanics, farmers, and fishermen.

The last troops raised in Rhode Island did not, of course, reach Louisburg, until after it had fallen; nevertheless, they were required to remain there during the Winter that followed. During the progress of the siege of Louisburg, the Rhode Island Sloop *Tartar*, Captain Fones, was sent out to intercept a large party of French and Indians, who were on their way, from Annapolis Royal, to the relief of that fortress, in consequence of which they were deprived of the honor of being present when it capitulated. The following letter, from Captain Fones, written before he knew of the fall of Louisburg, explains the reason of his absence, and relates the particulars of an exploit which is not mentioned in the official Reports:

"SLOOP *Tartar*, IN THE GUT OF CANSO, }
"26th June, 1745. }

"HONORED SIR: I suppose you have, ere now, "received my letter of the 7th instant, "wherein I informed Your Honor of being "stopped by a Council of War, of sea and land "officers, in concert. The reason of my being "sent to the Bay of Vert was to intercept a number of French and Indians that were to join "the forces at Cape Breton. On the 15th instant, the *Tartar*, with two other Sloops, under "my command, met the enemy, as near as we "could guess, twelve hundred in number, in "Femme Goose Bay. Their fleet consisted of "two Sloops, two Schooners, one Shalloway, "and about fifty Indian Canoes; but we, with "our consorts, gave them so warm a reception, "killing some and wounding others, that we "caused them to retire with precipitancy up "creeks, out of our reach, and have been "cruising for them, ever since, so that we hope "we have stopped them from going to Cape Breton.

"I have, this day, dispatched one of the Sloops "to Cape Breton, and hope, in a few days, to "hear that the place is taken. I am mighty "uneasy that I have no news from your Honor,

"and would beg you to write me the first opportunity. Through God's goodness, I have lost none of my people.

"I am, honored Sir, &c., &c.,

"DANIEL FONES.

"Governor WANTON."

For the brilliant exploit of the taking of Louisburg, an affair wholly projected in New England and effected by her troops, General Pepperell was created a Baronet, the first instance in which this honor was conferred upon an American Colonist. Warren, who commanded the fleet, was promoted to the rank of Admiral; and Governor Shirley, who originated and planned the expedition, was made a Colonel.

Rhode Island was awarded less credit for the part she took in the seizure and taking of Louisburg, than she deserved. In the first place, the Volunteers raised by Colonel Malbone, being paid by Massachusetts, were reckoned as her troops; while the second levy of three Companies, being incorporated in a Connecticut Regiment, under General Wolcott, were equally lost sight of, in the official reports.

Of the French prisoners taken on the occasion, seven hundred were sent to Boston, while two thousand more remained on board the fleet, at Louisburg, awaiting an opportunity to be sent back to France. But it was necessary to make strong efforts to hold the place, and to take precautions to prevent its recapture by the French, who, it was believed, would not let so important a fortress remain quietly in the hands of the English. A garrison of four thousand men, with a fleet of ten large and many smaller vessels-of-war, were, therefore, required to garrison and defend it; and, in accordance with this determination, Commodore Warren addressed the following letter to Governor Wanton.

"SUPERBE, IN LOUISBURG HARBOR,

24th June, 1745. }

"SIR:—I now have the pleasure to acquaint you that we are in quiet possession of the town and garrison of Louisburg, and the territories thereunto belonging; and that it is my duty to apply to you and the different Governors on the Continent, for such provisions and men as I may want; and I never had more occasion for your assistance than at present, in order to keep possession of a garrison that is a key to all the French settlements upon the Continent, and of which possession every Colony will feel the good effects, I therefore hope you will send, with all speed, your quota of men, armed and victualled for at least seven or eight months, to remain here, for the support of this garrison, till His Majesty's pleasure is known; till which time I shall continue here."

* * * * *

"I make this application to all your neighboring Governors, and have begged them to recommend the consideration of my request to their different Legislatures, who can't, in any manner, give greater proofs of their loyalty to His Majesty, their love of their country, and their care of posterity, than by assisting me with the means of keeping possession, till His Majesty can make provisions for it, of a Garrison and a Colony, that, in its consequence, will be the means of extirpating so dangerous an enemy as the French are, out of the Continent," * * "I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

P. WARREN.

"TO THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND."

Under the same date, Governor Shirley wrote to Governor Wanton, stating that the siege of Louisburg had quite exhausted the magazines of powder; and, as it was uncertain what further demand there might be for it, he desired that an embargo might be laid upon all the powder lying in the stores and magazines, so as to secure it, at the market price, in case it should be wanted. On the third of July he again wrote to Governor Wanton, at greater length, on the surrender of Louisburg, urging him, in the strongest terms, to send men, ammunition, and provisions for the garrisoning and provisioning the place, till His Majesty shall order troops from Great Britain. He apprehends this to be the most critical juncture for securing it from the attempts of the enemy to recover it; as it cannot be doubted that the French King will soon send a strong force of ships and troops to reduce it. "Massachusetts," he adds, "is already drained of men, provisions and ammunition." Governor Shirley, therefore, hopes that the General Assembly of Rhode Island will, in duty to His Majesty and in regard to the common interests of North America, make provision, at once, to supply the soldiers, ammunition, and provisions required. He farther suggests that provisions be sent to the West Indies, as is customary, until the wants of the forces at Louisburg are supplied

[TO BE CONTINUED]

IV.—THE NORTH EASTERN BOUNDARY OF NEW JERSEY.

[The subject of the boundaries between New Jersey and New York is one which is well known to all who are at all acquainted with the histories of those States. It has occupied the attention of the world and produced angry discussions during nearly two centuries; and it is still one of the questions which neither time, nor discussion, nor negotiation has been able to determine.

In 1865, one of the many actions in law which the dispute has produced was brought before the District Court of the United States, in New York; and Judge Shipman decided the case in favor of the claim of New Jersey. The Attorney-general of New York, by whom the suit was conducted for that State, soon after, called the attention of the New York Histor-

ical Society to the subject, in an elaborate historical paper which he had prepared for that purpose; and the great principles which were involved in the discussion and the manner in which the Attorney-general presented those principles arrested the attention of thinking men, both within and without the Society.

Our attention having been called to it, we solicited a copy of the paper referred to, for the purpose of publishing it; and the Attorney-general having kindly complied with our request, we printed it in *The Gazette*, a weekly newspaper published in Yonkers, N. Y., and edited by us, on the first of July, 1865. As we expected, this publication of the Attorney-general's paper was widely welcomed; and Hon. J. Romeyn Brodhead, the distinguished historian of New York and one of the Secretaries of the Historical Society, supplemented it with copies of his remarks before that body, after the reading of the paper; and he also furnished copies of a correspondence, on the same subject, with William A. Whitehead, Esqr., of Newark, also widely and favorably known as a student and writer of American history and Secretary of the New Jersey Historical Society. This ample presentation of the facts on which New York had relied, called forth as elaborate a reply, in behalf of New Jersey, from Mr. Whitehead, whose honorable position as an officer of the New Jersey Historical Society was calculated to give unusual weight to his statements; and, at the urgent request of the learned Attorney-general and of several other gentlemen, although contrary to our own inclination, we were induced to follow Mr. Whitehead, in a lengthy review of the main question, without paying much respect to what either of those who had preceded us, in the discussion, had already said on the subject—indeed, we inclined to the belief that the root of the matter had not then been exposed by either of them.

In the course of our argument, we conceived it to be our duty to call the attention of our readers to certain irregularities, of which Mr. Whitehead, as a professed writer of the history of the subject in dispute, was evidently guilty; and we denounced those irregularities and exposed what seemed to be the purpose of their inventor and publisher, as we shall continue to denounce whatever, like the irregularities of which we write, shall be found, at any time, to be secret and unauthorised mutilations of or additions to records and documents which shall be offered as evidence, to determine a question which shall, at that moment, be under consideration and undetermined. Mr. Whitehead followed, in a second argument, which is noticeable, chiefly, because of its historical looseness and extreme bitterness of tone; and the discussion having been thus turned into a new channel, we conceived it to be our duty, no less to ourselves than to the truth of history, to follow that gentlemen, with an examination of his argument and authorities, to which he has not yet responded, except in that private and bitter malignity which only such as he, when most severely wounded, will ever employ. The Attorney-general closed the discussion, if we except a *Post-script* which a more recent operation of Mr. Whitehead has called from our own pen.

This discussion—angry and personal as it was—was closely watched by the leading minds, both of New York and New Jersey; distinguished jurists did not hesitate to employ the material collected, as well as the arguments of the disputants, in framing their judgment, on appeal; and an equally distinguished historian, while noticing the inter-State relations, has included the village newspaper which contained the several articles, among the standard authorities to be consulted, on the matters referred to, by those who shall hereafter desire to examine them. Besides, the files of that newspaper are not common; and those who have desired to refer to them, even in the vicinity of the village where they originally appeared, have found them only with considerable difficulty.

We have determined, therefore, to re-produce, in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, the entire series of papers which this discussion produced; and, in doing so, we shall present them in exactly the form which their several authors left them, at that time. We commend them to the careful attention of our readers, especially to that of such of our readers as are Jerseymen or residents of New Jersey.—H. B. D.]

I.

GENERAL COCHRAN'S PAPER.

READ BEFORE THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AT ITS JUNE MEETING, 1865.

MR. PRESIDENT:

A litigation, conducted by the State of New

Jersey, in the Courts of the United States, directed to the water-boundary between her and the State of New York, has been, to me, in my official capacity, the occasion of extended research among the records of the earliest colonial periods. The results of these labors, I am inclined to believe, will not be destitute of interest to the general mind, and, although produced by proofs within the knowledge of the historian, yet, so little understood are they, that I venture to communicate them to the Historical Society of the State of New York.

The efforts of New Jersey to neutralize the commercial advantages of New York and to promote her own aggrandizement are notorious. Few, however, are cognizant of their original recklessness and the persistence of their subsequent prosecution.

It will be remembered that the Patent of Charles II. to James, Duke of York, of the twenty-ninth of June, 1674, conveyed to him the proprietary and jurisdictional right to the whole country from Connecticut-river to the Capes of the Delaware, etc.

Exactly one month thereafter, James, Duke of York, enfeoffed Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret of all that land thereafter to be called Nova Cæsarea, or New Jersey, "adjacent to New England, and lying and being westward of Long Island, and bounded on the East part by the Main Sea and part by Hudson's River from a point in forty-one degrees latitude." The two primary Patents of the twelfth of March, 1664, and twenty-fourth of June, 1664, between the same parties, expressed these same boundaries.

It is here then, to be remarked, that the Patented New Jersey was thus originally limited, on the eastern border, by the western shore of Hudson's-river and by the Main Sea. No vicissitude of conflicting events nor fluctuation of royal caprice ever disturbed these bounds. They withstood both the attritions of individual exasperation and the casualties of national change, till an act of our own deliberation, in 1833, prepared a Treaty, which, by its subsequent ratification, receded them, easterly, from the westerly margin, to the middle, of the Hudson. In the interval, however, of a century and a half, the avaricious desires of New Jersey had not lain torpid. Carved, surreptitiously, from the side of New York, under the opiates of one, Captain John Scott, artfully discharged upon the drowsed senses of James, Duke of York, from the hour of her separation to the present, she has formed her national life to the rugged career of incessant competition with her parent State.

No one, however, familiar with the history of the past, will entertain as singular, this conduct of New Jersey. She has had successful imitators in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire; and, if something has been shorn from

the lusty proportions of the primitive New York, the conduct of these "Pelican daughters" has neither abated her strength nor irritated her sedate consciousness of superior power.

The earliest recorded evidence that I have discovered, disposes the initiation of New Jersey's enterprising encroachments, systematized under the Patent of 1674, at the year 1681.

The Proprietors of East New Jersey had projected Perth Amboy, then the capital of the Province, to be a Port of Entry. Efforts, though of adverse event, had previously directed merchandise to that place. The Port of New York still, however, maintained its exclusive control of trade and repressed all attempts to rival and impair its commerce. It was then, on the twenty-eighth of March, 1681, that the Lady Elizabeth Carteret, survivor of Sir George, one of the original Patentees, wrote to Secretary Bollen to present a claim to Staten-island; and, thereupon, in the language of contemporaneous history, "the people of East New Jersey pretended a right to the River, so far as the Province extends, which is eighteen miles up the River, "to the northward of this Place." (*Manhattans.*)

Quakers, in considerable numbers, had settled in East New Jersey. Their desires, habitually chastened and restrained, seem, now, to have been inflamed by the prospect of goodly gain; and the annals of the times declare them to have been "especially vigorous with their pretensions "to Staten-island."

We are here necessarily reminded that Staten-island, from the period of the cession of the entirety of New Netherland, by the Dutch, to Charles II., by the Treaty solemnized at Westminster, on the nineteenth of February, 1674, had been possessed and occupied under the authority of the Crown. The Patent of Charles to his brother James, Duke of York, had transferred to him, on the twenty-ninth of June following, this right of possession and occupation, included in the general Grant; and the Duke, even after his Patent to Berkeley and Carteret, of New Jersey, continued to possess Staten-island, as part of his Province of New York, and that undisputed, until the interposed claim of the Lady Elizabeth Carteret, in 1681.

It will be readily understood, that, as long as the water-boundary between New York and New Jersey, described by the Patent on the western shore of the Hudson's-river and the Main Sea, should be conceded to embrace Staten-island within the limits of New York, the waters which separated that island from New Jersey would be authentically ascertained the waters of Hudson's-river. But, such a concession would have fatally terminated the pretensions of Perth Amboy to the capacity of a Port of Entry, by removing her virtually from the sea. Therefore the claims upon the Island and to the waters which surround

it being concurrently necessary for the purposes of New Jersey, for the first time since the discovery, in 1609, were they formally announced, in 1681, as the basis of that controversy with New York, which, with various events, has survived even to our day. The reflection is here apposite, that the right of property in, and of jurisdiction over, Staten-island, being essential to the maintenance, by New Jersey, of her right to the waters which flow about the island, through the Kills, to the sea; by the authority of that right, also, would the waters of Hudson's-river, in their progress to the sea, be restrained to the single passage at the Narrows. But the demonstration that the waters of the Hudson, in their seaward current, debouch through both the Narrows and the Kills, would not only have exposed the futility of New Jersey's pretensions to Staten-island, but have effectually disposed of her commercial rivalry with New York.

Unquestionably, the proximity of the times which witnessed the Lady Elizabeth's preposterous claim, to these earlier days, the history of which abounds with its triumphant refutation, accounts for the dormant interval of more than a century, before its resuscitation, in 1806. Then recommenced, under the sanction of legislative authority, the active prosecution by New Jersey, of her claims to the waters of the Hudson and to Staten-island. New York resisted. The Courts were resorted to; the acts of chicanery prevailed; and the Courts were abandoned. Commissions were created. The Commissioners convened and failed. At length, in 1833, a final effort proceeded from New York. It was reciprocated by New Jersey; and an agreement was the result, which, under the action of subsequent Legislative ratification, ultimately, in 1834, assumed the solemnity of a Treaty. Its first Article comprehending all of its provisions necessary to the purpose of this paper, I content myself with quoting it, alone:

"ARTICLE FIRST—The boundary line between "the two States of New York and New Jersey, "from a point, in the middle of Hudson River, "opposite the point on the West shore thereof, "in the forty-first degree of North Latitude, as "heretofore ascertained and marked, to the "main sea, shall be the middle of the said river, "of the bay of New York, of the waters between "Staten-island and New Jersey, and of Raritan-bay, to the main sea, except as hereinafter "otherwise particularly mentioned."

It is not to be suspected that either B. F. Butler, or Peter Augustus Jay, or Henry Seymour could, on the part of New York, which, as a party to the agreement, they represented, have trafficked the interests of the State, or have compromised them, by relinquishing to New Jersey a moiety of the unquestioned rights of New York.

Evidently, their impression that the Hudson communicated with the ocean only through its single mouth at the Narrows, founded such serious doubts of the tenability of New York's right to the entire waters of the Kills, outward to the ocean, as induced the relinquishment of a portion of them, in consideration of the secure enjoyment of the remainder and of Staten-island and other smaller islands with them. Recourse to the arguments submitted on this subject, on behalf of this State, and recorded at various times, within the present century, amply confirms this supposition. In these, it is unequivocally admitted that the water-boundary between the two States pursues its southerly course along the western shore of the Hudson, across the Kills to the easterly shore of Staten-island, and, thence, directly over the intervening waters, to Sandy-hook. Nevertheless, the unblenched truth remains, that the Treaty which parted with whatever portion of these waters, inconsiderately sacrificed some of the best interests of the State.

This ill-advised compromise has also produced its legitimate fruits. It will have been observed that the line which distinguishes the boundary of the coincident States proceeds through the centre of the waters of the Hudson, of the Bay of New York, of the waters between Staten-island and New Jersey, and of Raritan-bay, to the main sea. Although it admits of no reasonable dispute, that the main sea is continuous with a line drawn from Prince's-bay light-house, on Staten-island, to the mouth of Matteawan-creek, in New Jersey, and restrains, at that point, the disintegrating force of the Treaty, some miles to the westward of Sandy-hook, yet, the State of New Jersey, contending that the main sea flows only without Sandy-hook, asserts, by an extension thereto of the central dividing boundary line, her right to the southerly one-half of the "Lower-bay" of New York, inclusive of a substantive section of the ship-channel to the Harbor of New York.

The determination of this claim of right has already received juridicial judgment; and will, doubtless, require the ultimate decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. Should it be repressed, as there is no good reason to doubt that it will be, an important enquiry would ensue into the rights of New York, in the "Lower-bay," from the mouth of Matteawan-creek to Sandy-hook. Having originally been within the jurisdiction of James, Duke of York, if never conveyed by him, as part of New Jersey, to Carteret and Berkeley, evidently it would still enure to New York. Besides, therefore, the service rendered to geographical verity by a collocation of the authorities which attribute the waters which surround Staten-island, exclusively to Hudson's-river, the establishment of the fact

is essential to the validity of the tenure by which New York shall, in the future, retain possession of her ship-channel.

Through this prefatory narrative, therefore, have I, at length, attained the subject to which your attention is invited, but which will, perhaps, be the better adjusted to the historical evidence hereafter adduced, if submitted in the form of a proposition. Accordingly, I propound that THE WATERS BETWEEN STATEN-ISLAND AND NEW JERSEY—THE KILL VAN COLL, THE SOUND, AND RARITAN-BAY, OR BY WHATEVER OTHER BAPTISMAL NAMES THEY OR THEIR PARTS MAY HAVE BEEN, OR ARE NOW, DESIGNATED—TOGETHER WITH ALL THE WATERS WHICH LAVE STATEN-ISLAND SHORES, WERE, FROM THE PERIOD OF THEIR DISCOVERY, KNOWN AND ACCEPTED, AND SHOULD PROPERLY NOW BE CONSIDERED, THE WATERS OF HUDSON'S-RIVER.

When Hudson, carefully consulting his soundings, "went in past Sandy Hook" on the evening of the third of September, 1609, he moored the *Half Moon* in "The Bay." A boat's crew proceeding upward to the North, on a subsequent day, (*September 6th*,) we are told that they passed through the Narrows, into a commodious harbor, "with very good riding for Ships." In their further progress, northward, they discovered the Kills, in "a narrow river to the Westward between two Ilands." The exploration of this river disclosed to them "an open Sea," now called Newark-bay. When the *Half Moon* first left her anchorage in "The Bay," (*September 11*,) Hudson cautiously passed through the Narrows, "went into the River," and again found moorage, near the mouth of the Kills, in "a very good Harbour for all windes."

This simple statement of Hudson's discovery, purges, effectually, the clouded medium of subsequently distorted narrative; and our neutral vision has direct access to "the bay," the "harbor," the "western river," and "the open sea," unperturbed into unnatural lineaments by the false names imposed by accumulating ignorance or design; and representing them as they lay, and as, unchanged, they lie, in physical aspect—the only distinguishable "bay," below; the "narrow straits," above; the estuary, roadstead, or "harbor," within; "the river," conducting the upper waters to the West; and, beyond that, the "open sea," in the distance. If now we apply to this fluvial system, the nomenclature adapted to it by the proper names since borne by the river which originated it and the ports on its banks, "the bay" becomes the "Great Bay of the North River;" "the Harbour," the Harbor or Port of New York; and "the narrow river to the westward" and "the Narrows," at the South, the mouths through which the waters of the Hudson discharge themselves, through "the Great Bay," into the main sea.

Here, then, is probably the most fitting place for the remark, that the confirmation of this hypothesis will be the explosion of the injurious theory upon which the Treaty of 1834 ceded to New Jersey one-half of the rights of New York to the waters of the Hudson and of those which separate Staten-island from New Jersey, together with the lands under them, upon the very common error of mistaking the harbor of New York for the bay of New York, and of imposing the name of Raritan-bay on a portion of the waters of "the Great-bay of the North river."

I proceed now to the proofs that apply to the hypothesis,

At page 336 of the first volume of Brodhead's *Colonial Documents*, and at pages 19 and 22 of the fourth volume of O'Callaghan's *Documentary History of New York*, will be found a fragment, entitled, *Information relative to taking up of land in New Netherland*. By Cornelis van Tienhoven, Secretary of the Province. Translated from the Dutch. 1650. I extract from it, the following passage: "In the Bay of the North River, about two miles from Sandy Hook, lies an inlet or small bay. On the South shore of said bay, called Neyswesinck, there are right good maize lands."

Says Brodhead, (*History of New York*, i. 525): "The patroon" [Melyss] "now went" [August 5, 1650] "to his Colonie at Staten Island, for 'the greater security' of which, Van Dincklagen had just before purchased from the Raritans, for Van de Capellan, the lands 'at the south side, in the Bay of the North River.'"

Staten-island having, in 1630, and while New Netherland was held by the Dutch, been ceded by the Indian owners to Michael Pauw, and by him reduced to possession, Governor Lovelace, after the English conquest, and on the thirteenth of April, 1670, purchased the same for the Duke of York, from the Sachems and proprietors of the island (*Book of Patents*,—Office of the Secretary of State,—iv, 62.) The Patent is from Aquepo, Warrnes, Minqua-Sachemack, and others, "true Sachems," &c., "proprietors of "Staten island," and grants "all that Island lying & being in Hudsons Ryver, Comonly called Staten Island, & by the Indians "Aquehonga Manacknong, having on y^e South y^e Bay & Sandy point; on y^e North y^e Ryver & y^e City of New-York on Manhatans Island; on y^e East Long Island, & on y^e West y^e Main land of After Coll, or New Jersey."*

At page 661 of Leaming & Spicer's *Collection*, will be found the Monmouth Patent, issued by Governor Nicholls, on the eighth of April, 1665,

to Goulding, Spicer, Gibbons and others. It was extinguished by the Dutch conquest of 1673; but, was subsequently, on the ninth of November, 1674, revived by Governor Andros. In both 1665 and 1674, the boundary of the Patent ran "from Sandy Hook, along the Bay, to "land across the mouth of Raritan River," etc.

A description of New Netherland, translated from *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld*, etc., door Arnoldas Montanus, (Amsterdam, 1671,) appears on pages 73 to 76 of the fourth volume of O'Callaghan's *Documentary History of New York*, wherein this passage occurs: "Adriaen Blok and Godyn soon discovered here divers "coasts, islands, harbours and rivers. Among "the rivers is the Manhattans or Great River, "by far the most important, which disembogues "into the Ocean by two wide mouths, washing "the mighty island of Matouwacs. The south "entrance was called Port May or Godyn's "Bay: midway lies Staten Island, and a little "further up, the Manhattans, so called from the "people which inhabit the mainland on the east "side of the river."

Governor Dongan, when writing to the Lord President of the Council, on the twenty-second of February, 1686, says, (Whitehead's *East Jersey under Proprietary Governments*, i, 218,) "We in this Government, look upon that Bay "that runs into the sea at Sandy Hook, to be "Hudson River."

The Proprietors of East New Jersey having petitioned the King to make Perth Amboy a Port of Entry, by an Order in Council, dated the twenty-fifth of October, 1697, the same was referred to the Board of Trade, for their opinion thereon. Subsequently, and on the twenty-fifth of November of that same year, the opinion of the Board of Trade, having been laid before the King in Council, his Majesty approved the same, and thereupon was pleased to dismiss the Petition of the Proprietors of East New Jersey. Among the reasons assigned by the Board of Trade, adverse to the prayer of the petitioners, and which reasons were approved by the King in Council, at the Court at Kensington, are these, viz.: "That at the separation of the Jerseys from the Province of New Yorke, the "city of New York was the Common port for "both. That it is in no place that we know of, "either in England or elsewhere, usual, to "have two ports independent on each other in "one and the same River or within the same "capes or outlet into the sea: such a practice "being manifestly liable to great inconveniences. That Perth Amboy lies on one side of the "the mouth of the same river which runs by the "by the city of New York (that river being "divided by an Isld called Staten Island,) and is "within the same capes." (*New York Colonial Manuscripts*, xli., 135.)

*This Deed, carefully printed from the original manuscript, in the Library of the New York Historical Society, may be found in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for December, 1866. EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

On the seventh day of December, 1700, Lord Bellomont, then Governor of New York, ordered Colonel Romer "to measure the distance across the Narrows, and to sound the depth of water there, as well as in a second arm of Hudson's River called the Coll, between Staten Island and East Jersey, and to ascertain whether any ships and bombketches could come around by Amboy and consequently attack the city of N. York.

"Item, to select a couple of places both at the Narrows and the Coll, where suitable fortifications could be erected and the enemy be thereby forestalled in his undertakings." On the thirteenth day of January, 1701, Colonel Romer, after reporting the accomplishment of his Instructions respecting the Narrows, proceeds; "In regard to the other branch of the Hudsons river called the Coll, between Staten Island and East Jersey, I have sounded it from Amboy to Tampusons point and Elizabeth town, and find from Amboy to the above-named points, 8, 7, 6, 5, and 4 fathoms of water," etc., etc., (*Colonial Documents*, iv., 836, 837.)

Impregnable as is the uniform tenor of record evidence, it is confirmed by the testimony of ancient maps.

The earliest map of New Netherland, which has been preserved to our times, is the celebrated *Carte Figurative* which was annexed to the Memorial presented to the States General, on the eighteenth of August, 1616, by the "Bewindhebbers van Nieuw Nederlandt, praying for a special Octroy," etc. It was discovered at the Hague, in 1841, by the energetic and capable historian of our State, Hon. J. Romeyn Brodhead, and a fac-simile thereof is to be found in the *Colonial Documents of New York*, i, 13. However imperfect the delineations, this map represents unmistakably the River Mauritius (now Hudson) as it washes the margin of Manhates-island, and, enlarging thence its course to the ocean, swells into an expansive bay, which encloses Staten-island, and ultimately passes at "Sand-punt," into the main sea.

Nicholas Visscher's map of *New Belgium, New England, and also a part of Virginia*, first published in 1656, and periodically issued, from time to time, till 1682, may be seen at the State Hall, in Albany. On this map, no name is given to any other river than the Veische (Fresh or Connecticut) and Maquas (Mohawk) rivers. The course of other rivers, however, (the Hudson, Raritan, &c.), is described. The waters South of Staten-island are named thereon "Port May of Godyn's Bay." This having been the Dutch method of expressing an alias, it is construable as Port May or Godyn's-bay, in conjunctive honor of May, one of the earliest Dutch navi-

gators, and of Godyn, one of the most ancient of the New Netherland patroons.

Whitehead, in his *East Jersey under Proprietary Governments*, prefixes to the title-page, of the volume (Edition of 1846) a copy of A. van der Donck's map of 1656. Neither the Hudson-river, nor the Kills, nor Newark, nor Raritan, nor New York-bays are nominally inscribed upon it. But the entire waters adjacent to Staten-island, on the southerly side, are denominated Port May or Godyn's-bay; and Sandy-hook rejoices in the appellation of Sant-punt or Godyn's-punt*.

In the same volume, coincident with page 88, Mr. Whitehead furnishes the copy of a map of the settled portion of New Jersey, projected and described in the year 1682. It confines the name of Raritan to the river now known as such; but represents none for the waters from its mouth to Sandy-hook. It is inscribed with this note: "The great Grant from Gov. Nichols extended from Sandy Point, up the Raritan, some distance, and twelve miles to the Southward. 1665." As will be recollected, this Grant, herein before cited as "The Month Patent," bearing the date of 1665, was bounded "from Sandy-hook, along the Bay, to and across the mouth of the Raritan River," &c. The map of 1682 thus singularly concurs with the Patent of 1665, in protecting "the Bay" from the infectious waters of the Raritan.

On Cadwallader Colden's Map of the Hudson and Mohawk-rivers, in 1719, no name appears for the waters that surround Staten-island, though the Raritan-river is named.

Brodhead's *History of the State of New York* furnishes a prefatory map of New Netherland, according to the Charters granted by the States General, on the eleventh of October, 1614, and the third of June, 1621. I can refer to no higher or more reliable authority than the solemn judgment, deliberately expressed, of this distinguished author; nor can I more appropriately close this series of citations than with that imprinted with the recommendation and assurance of his superior caution and diligence. This Map inscribes the waters, at their length, which lave Staten-island, on the North-west, with the name of "the Kill van Koll;" those washing it on the South are denominated "Port May" and "Coenraet's-bay;" while Sandy-hook presents the names of "Colman's-point," "Godyn's-point," and "Sand-hoeck," in exemplification of the periodical nomenclature of the varying times.

* The Attorney-General was evidently unacquainted with the fact, noticed in another part of this discussion, that what he supposed to be "copy of A. van der Donck's map of 1656" was only a mutilated copy, which Mr. Whitehead had imposed upon his readers as a fair and accurate copy of the original. —EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

From the *Calender of Land Papers*, at Albany, may be collected indisputable proof that the rights to, and the jurisdiction over, the waters by which Staten-island is surrounded, were ascribed to the Province of New York.

On volume xii., page 18, occurs the Petition of Adoniah Schuyler, in 1736, to the Colonial Council, praying a Patent for a Ferry from the nearest part of Staten-island (right across the meadows) to Elizabeth-Town-point, in East New Jersey; and on volume xiv., page 82, under date of the fifteenth of September, 1750, is entered the Petition of Jacob Corson, praying for a Patent for a Ferry between his land, on Staten-island, and the shore of Bergen, in East New Jersey.

Error has been charged to the Commissioners of the Treaty of 1834, in having mistaken the harbor of New York for the bay of New York. The designation of the waters of the Hudson, within the harbor, as the "Bay of New York," and the application of "Raritan-bay" to those beyond the Kills, are the inherent errors which the Treaty furnishes, as will now be shown, of this mistaken view of the Commissioners.

It has been, I think, satisfactorily proved that what is now, erroneously, though, popularly, termed the "Lower-bay," is the true "Bay of New York." Still, evidence may be multiplied till the truth becomes conspicuous, that the baptism of "the Bay" never was conferred on any other portion of the waters of the Hudson, till the habitual corruptions of the vulgar tongue enticed and betrayed an intelligent community into the injurious conversion of a roadstead or estuary of the sea, into the "Upper-bay" of New York.

When Michael Pauw, on the twenty-second of November, 1630, purchased "Ahasimus," now called "Horsimus," and "Arusick," they were described as "extending along the river *Mauritius*" [*Hudson*] "and Island of Manhat-tan, on the East side; and the island of Hoboken Hackling, on the North side; and surrounded by marshes, sufficiently for district boundaries." As his purchase, including the whole neighborhood of Paulus Hook, or Jersey City, was bounded, on the East, by the river, it is evident that, in 1630, no "Bay" had yet made a northerly progress to that point.

I have come now, at last, in the chronological procession of historical facts, to the consideration of the not inconsiderable part which the perverted sense entertained of the phrase, "Achter Cull," has enacted in this chapter of errors.

The word *Coll* is Dutch, and signifies a Bay. The knowledge of the name having been accessible to all participants in the usual fund of information, the common theme of every neigh-

borhood, at all times, it was inconsiderately applied to those waters most immediately visible, whose body did not derogate from the popular idea of the dignity of a Bay. We have seen that the port or harbor of New York was the victim of the delusion; and "Achter Cull," the early designation of Newark-bay, was readily and naturally rendered into the "After-bay" of the English, relatively to its position behind the upper Bay of New York. But the term "Achter," or *After*, was predicted only of localities in the interior and behind those bordering the sea-coast: and, while redressing the prevailing error which, generally, has referred the signification of the *Dutch Kills* to their relation to either Newark-bay or to an upper Bay of New York, if the uninterrupted current of authority attributes, as we have seen that it does, the "Kill van Cull," or the "River of the Bay," to that mouth of the Hudson which, through the Kills, discharges its waters into "The Great-bay," then will we have no difficulty in determining that the "Achter Cull" was named from its position "behind" the same "Great Bay."

Indeed, so important an object in the landscape of the early New Netherland was "The Bay," and so grateful to our adventurous ancestors were its geographical magnificence and commercial prominence, that, not only the inland waters of Newark-bay but, also, the Hackensack country, and even the wide spread New Jersey, were known only, with reference to it, as the land of "Achter Coll." In the *Journal of New Netherland within the years 1641, '42 '43, '44, '45 and '46* (*Colonial Documents*, i., 179-183) Hackingsack is spoken of as "Achter Coll;" and, at a meeting of the Honorable Council of War, holden in Fort Willem Hendrick, on the eighteenth of August, 1673 (*Colonial Documents*, ii., 576), Deputies are recorded to have come into Court, from the towns of Woodbridge, Schroasburg and Middletown, situate at *Atcher Coll*; while Captain John Berry, William Sandfort, Samuel Edsall and Laurens Andriessen appearing before the Council, "requested such privileges as were granted and accorded to all other, the inhabitants of *Achter Coll*, lately called New Jersey."

It will also be remembered that the Patent, of the thirteenth of April, 1670, from "the true Sachems and proprietors of Staten-island," to Governor Lovelace, herein before quoted, bounds the island, on the West, "by the main land of *Achter Coll*, or New Jersey." While thus not only Newark-bay, but Hackensack and all New Jersey, reposed in the shade of the Great-bay, how probable it is, that still another Bay, in the upper Hudson's-river, would have also been pronounced an *Achter Coll*? That it was not, is an authentic denial of the supposed existence of any such Bay.

I have now concluded the detail of the earlier historical evidence which directs, unequivocally, to the conclusion that the Hudson-river empties itself, through its two mouths, the Narrows and the Kills, into the Bay of New York, which flows past Sandy-hook into the sea. The introduction of two additional authorities, however, is requisite, not only to the symmetry but to the completeness of the proof.

The one is that of a name of diffused reputation, everywhere held in reverential observance. I mean the name of Judge Egbert Benson; and I cite from his *Memoir*, at page 93: "The Dutch called the Bay, bounded 'on the South by the Ocean, on the East by 'Long-island on, the North partly by the 'mouth of the Hudson and partly by the shore 'of New Jersey, and the West wholly by the 'shore of New Jersey, and Staten Island considered as lying within it, 'The Great Bay of New 'Netherland,' and so-called, as van der Donck 'expresses it, *propter Excellentiam*, eminently, 'the 'Bay.' Newark-bay, from its relative situation 'to the Great Bay, they called 'Het achter Cul,' 'literally, the 'Back-bay'—*Cul*, borrowed from 'the French *Cul-de-sac*, and also in use, with 'the Dutch, to signify a Bay. 'Achter Cul,' 'found in very early writings, in English, referring to it, corrupted to 'Arthur Cull's Bay;' the 'passage from it, into the Great Bay, they called 'Het Kill van het Cul,' the Kill of the Cul, 'finally come to be expressed by 'the Kills.'"

The other authority is that of the historiographer of our State. "'Achter Cul,' or 'Achter Kol,' now called 'Newark-bay,' was so 'named by the Dutch because it was 'achter,' 'or behind, the Great-bay of the North-river. 'The passage to the Great-bay was known as 'the 'Kil van Cul,' from which has been derived the present name of the 'Kills.' The 'English soon corrupted the phrase into 'Arthur Cull's bay.'" (Brodhead's *History of New York*, i, 313, note.)

I may now, I trust, be permitted to think that the proposition submitted, that all the waters which surround Staten-island are the waters of the Hudson-river, stands substantiated by abundant proof. To be sure, they receive important contributions from Newark-bay and from the Rahway and Raritan-rivers of New Jersey. I do not contend that they drain the same basin through which the Hudson and its tributaries pass, nor, that their systems are the same. Still, have these rivers no more efficacy in the creation of Bays, by the discharge of their affluence into the Hudson and the Great-bay, at its mouth, than has been attributed to the York, or the Rappahannock, or the James-rivers, or cutting, at their mouths, from the Chesapeake-bay, subsidiary Bays of their own. The affix of Raritan-bay, therefore, to any portion of the

waters of the Great-bay of New York, I submit, should be expunged from the map at the biblioplists' and expelled from our physical geography, as a New Jersey heresy, crept into our orthodox waters, only to fret and divide them.

New York, not once only, but twice, and thrice, and again, has yielded of her cardinal rights and of her imperial proportions, to the construction and establishment of independent States, as, I think, she unwisely, in 1834, parted with a moiety of her right to her way of access to maritime wealth. The irrevocable past I would not seek to reclaim; but, surely, its lessons should engraft, in the future, vigilance, wisdom, and resolution.

JOHN COCHRANE.

New York, June, 1865.

V.—STONEWALL JACKSON AT FREDERICKSBURG.*

A LETTER FROM MAJOR-GENERAL J. A. EARLY,
C. S. A.

DRUMMONDVILLE, ONTARIO, CANADA, }
December 10, 1868. }

EDITORS SAVANNAH MORNING NEWS:

The communication to your paper, over the signature of "A VIRGINIAN," in reference to Pollard's statement that General Jackson "once recommended a night attack to be made by as-sailants stripped naked and armed with Bowie-knives," with your comments, I have met with in another journal; and I trust it will not be considered obtrusive, on my part, to make a statement of facts, coming within my knowledge, and going to show that there was no foundation either for Pollard's statement or that of your correspondent.

Of what little is left us, there is nothing which we should guard with more care than the sacred memory of our fallen heroes; and, in the case of General Jackson, it is more necessary to protect his reputation against the commentaries of injudicious friends, than from even the assaults of open enemies.

I served under General Jackson, from the beginning of the battle of Malvern Hill to his death; and I was personally present, as a Brigade or Division Commander, in every battle in which he participated, during that period, from the beginning to the close of the engagements, except the battle of Chancellorsville, proper, at which time I had a separate duty assigned me at Fredericksburg. I served with him longer than any other General Officer of his command; and I was a Division Commander

* From *The Lynchburg Daily News*, of December 22d, 1868, with corrections by the author.

in his Corps longer than any who survived the War. It will, therefore, be seen that it is not inappropriate that I should say something, when statements are ostentatiously put forth, which, however intended, are calculated to bring discredit on the great and pure soldier and Christian who gave his life to his country's defence.

I have not seen Mr. Pollard's article, in *Putnam's Monthly*; and all I know of it is what I see in the communication to your paper, and your own comments. I can undertake to assert, with the most perfect confidence, that General Jackson could not have made such a proposition as that mentioned by Pollard, because it was a moral impossibility for him to have done it. Gladiators, in ancient times, or the members of the prize-ring, in modern times, might strip for their brutal contests; but there is a sentiment among all civilized, Christian people, which would prevent a decent man from being as brave, when stripped naked, as when his nakedness is concealed by his usual covering. A naked sword is more terrible than a sheathed one; but there is no reason why a naked man should be more terrible than a well-clad one; and, certainly, at the battle of Fredericksburg, in the middle of December, a body of naked assailants would soon have become so paralyzed by the cold, that the enemy would have had no trouble in dealing with them.

General Jackson not only could not have made so foolish, so absurd, a proposition, at Fredericksburg, or anywhere else, for these reasons; but he could not have done it for the simple and conclusive reason that, at no time, were the Bowie-knives to be had. In the very beginning of the War, some men carried with them, into the service, Bowie-knives; but they were never very plenty, and the only military use I ever knew to be made of them, was in aiding to throw up a slight entrenchment, the day after the fight at Blackburn's-ford, on Bull-run. After that time, they were generally abandoned, or, if used at all, used only for chopping beef. I don't think that, in General Jackson's entire Corps, enough could have been found to arm one Company; and there were certainly none in the Ordnance Department.

Your correspondent states, as corroborative of Pollard's statement, that, at Fredericksburg, on the night of the thirteenth of December, 1862, after the enemy's repulse, a Council of War was held by the Confederate chiefs, at which General Jackson "suggested that the Artillery "of the First and Second Corps, his and Long-street's, should be collected upon the hills, "directly in front of the town, and a heavy fire "opened upon it; and that the men of his "Corps be stripped to the waist, to distinguish "them from the enemy, and, under cover of

"the artillery-fire, force their way into the "town and bayonet all who were not similarly "attired." This suggestion, your correspondent says, was adopted, but not carried out; and, he further says, "it was afterwards told by men "of the Second Corps, that they had received "orders to strip to their waist." Your comments on Pollard's statement are very just, though you seem to concede the correctness of that of your correspondent.

Not doubting the sincerity of your correspondent's belief, in what he states, yet, if he has no better authority for it than the uncontradicted statement of some Army Correspondent, or a camp rumor, I will say that he has very bad authority. There were numerous erroneous statements, which found their way into the newspapers and went uncontradicted, as there were many false reports in camp, which obtained credence, sometimes even from officers. General Lee never thought it consistent with his position to contradict any of the many erroneous statements put afloat during the War; and he discouraged everything of the kind, on the part of his officers. I knew his views on that subject, because, on one occasion, when I had corrected a misstatement of a Correspondent, in regard to some of my own operations, he gave me, privately, a gentle rebuke, which disclosed his own views and effectually prevented me from repeating the indiscretion. The reasons which govern military men, especially such military men as Generals Lee and Jackson, are very different from those which govern politicians in dealing with newspaper statements. Nothing, therefore, is to be inferred in favor of the truth of an anonymous statement in regard to the military operations in the Army of Northern Virginia, because it has gone uncontradicted.

The statement of your correspondent, if true, shows either that General Jackson proposed to commit a very great blunder, or that General Lee was guilty of an unpardonable negligence. I think there is as little truth in that statement as there is in the one made by Pollard; and I will state the following facts to show why I think so:

At the battle of Fredericksburg, I commanded a Division in General Jackson's Corps (the Second), and my Division met a part of the enemy, who had broken through our lines on the right, and drove him back into the plains beyond—a fact which will be well recollected by some of your readers, as a Georgia Brigade (Lawton's, afterwards Gordon's) led to the attack and greatly distinguished itself. Two of my Brigades, which had met the enemy and aided in his repulse, then occupied portions of the front line, for the rest of the day; and it was very apparent to us that, while the enemy's

attack had been repulsed, he had a very large force that had not been engaged, which still threatened another attack on our right. Late in the afternoon, General Jackson did determine to attack the enemy after the repulse of the attacks on our left; and I was ordered to lead, in the proposed attack, with my Infantry, preceded by Artillery, while General D. H. Hill followed me, with his Division, in support. Everything was got ready for the attack; and the movement was begun, but the enemy opened such a terrible fire from his artillery, which swept all the wide plain in our front, that General Jackson, who was out with the advance, countermanded his orders, because, as he says in his Report, "the first gun had hardly moved forward from the wood, a hundred yards, when the enemy's artillery reopened, and so completely swept our front as to satisfy me that the proposed movement should be abandoned." It was getting dark when this movement was abandoned; and it was well that it was given up, for the enemy had an immense force of Infantry, that had not been engaged, massed in the road which ran through the middle of the river-bottoms, behind the high, thick, and solid embankment of earth which served as an enclosure for the adjacent fields and furnished a breastwork co-extensive with our whole front, on this part of the line, and much stronger than the famous stone-wall, at the base of Marye's-hill. There was a similar embankment on the other side of the road, forming a second line; and the front one had been pierced, in numerous places, for artillery, so that, from behind it, a storm of cannister and rifle-balls would have belched forth, that would have rendered it utterly impossible for anything to live while passing over the open plain of about a mile in width, between us and the road. However, ready as they were to obey the orders of their General, to advance, there was not a man, of all the force ordered forward, whether in the front or in support, that did not breathe freer when the countermand came.

Much has been said, in unofficial quarters, about General Jackson's supposed proposition to drive the enemy into the river; but it will be seen, from the foregoing statement, that he did make the attempt and was compelled to abandon it. I did not hear of any other proposition to attack the enemy, on that occasion.

A little after dark, on that occasion, I received an order from General Jackson, to take my Brigades to the rear, to enable them to get rations and rest, preparatory to their taking position, on the front line, for the next day, which I was not able to do because no troops came to my relief. About midnight, another order came for Jackson's old Division, then under Brigadier-general Taliaferro, and mine, to relieve A. P.

Hill's Division, on the front line, at moonrise, which was then after the middle of the night, as the moon was in its last quarter. Taliaferro did move up — my Brigades being in front — and our former position, on the second line, was taken by D. H. Hill, while A. P. Hill retired to the rear, to rest and recruit his men. There was no order to make the men strip to the waist for an attack, nor for any attack; but our orders were to await the renewal of the enemy's attack, next day. The first I have ever heard of the proposal your correspondent mentions, is his statement of it. I think that if there had been any order for the men to strip, I would certainly have heard of that.

There was a silly story, published in some of the papers, that, at a Council of War, held that night, General Jackson fell into a doze, and, when waked up and asked what his opinion was, he replied, "Drive 'em in the river; drive 'em in the river;" but no one who knew the General's exemplary piety and very temperate habits, it is to be presumed, gave a particle of credence to that story. I heard of no Council of War, at all, either then or afterwards, except from the foolish report alluded to.

It is morally impossible that the statement of your correspondent can be correct, for these reasons: Burnside's Army consisted of three Grand Divisions, each an Army of itself, under Sumner, Franklin, and Hooker, respectively. Franklin's Grand Division had attacked our right, and Sumner's our left; while Hooker's remained, comparatively, inactive. After Sumner's repulse, the whole of Hooker's Grand Division crossed over to the support; and, though a small part of it made another advance against Marye's-hill, the greater part remained, intact, to cover the reformation of the troops that had been engaged. Franklin still remained, confronting our right, and in such strong force and position as to have compelled General Jackson to desist from his attempted attack, from that flank. The Second Corps would have had to march more than five miles to get to Fredericksburg, by any route open to it; and there was not the first preparation made for such a march. To have moved that Corps from the right, would have been the abandonment, to the enemy, of all that part of the line and to stake everything on the proposed attack, for, if that failed, the left was untenable with the enemy in possession of the right. The difficulties of advancing upon the enemy, in Fredericksburg, from the hills, in rear, were even greater than on the right, because of the impracticable character of the ground. There was no such evidence of the demoralization of the enemy, as that mentioned; for, though his assaulting columns were repulsed with great slaughter, they always had many reserves to fall back on. The

expedient of stripping to the waist would have been a very shallow one, as the night was very dark, in the fore part, and, in the latter part, when the moon rose, a heavy fog overhung the river-bottoms, including the town, while our men did not wear white shirts, and in the dark, at a little distance, it would have been impossible to tell a man without a jacket from one with a jacket. If this had furnished the means of telling the men, apart, the advantage would have been all with the enemy, who would have awaited the attack, in compact form, while our men would have had to separate into innumerable parties, to get through the streets. In an attack of this sort, it would have been impossible to preserve any control of our men; and they would have gotten into inextricable confusion. A large portion of our men (more than a third) had no bayonets, as the greater part of their arms had been picked up, on previous battle-fields, without bayonets. Our men always dreaded night-attacks, from the fear of encountering each other; and none knew of this better than General Jackson.

I do not believe that General Jackson made the proposal; and I am perfectly satisfied that the attack, if attempted, would have resulted in a terrible disaster to us—greater, perhaps, than would have attended an attack from our right. General Jackson's Staff, at that time, with the exception of his two Aids, was afterwards my own Staff, for a considerable period; and I never heard an intimation, from any member of it, that the proposal had been made. Burnside's Army was in such a condition, that he did propose a renewal of the attack, next day, and was only induced to desist from it by the earnest protest of his officers—not because of the demoralization of the army, but because of the strength of our position. To have abandoned that position would have been to yield our advantage.

There is another reason, which, to me, is a most potent one; and that is, because I know that the boldest man, in his strategic movements and his tactics on the field of battle, in all the Army of Northern Virginia, Stonewall Jackson not excepted, was General Robert E. Lee. Yes, under that calm and dignified exterior, there beat one of the boldest hearts and dwelt one of the most daring minds that ever inspired the Commander of an Army. He required no Council of War to urge him to deeds of boldness; and I never heard of a Council of War, during the whole history of that Army, under his command. It is true, that he often conferred with his Corps Commanders, and, sometimes, with subordinates entrusted with special duties; but it was not to catch inspiration from their counsels, but to instil into them a portion of his own daring spirit. General Jackson had his confidence, in a pre-eminent de-

gree, because he was always ready to second, with alacrity, the plans of the commanding General; and no one felt the loss of that invaluable Lieutenant more than General Lee himself did.

To satisfy any one of what I say, in regard to General Lee, it is only necessary for him to examine the yet unwritten history of that unparalleled Campaign from the Rapidan to the James, of the operations on the line of defences around Richmond and Petersburg, and of the retreat for more than a hundred miles to Appomattox Court-house—a place that will remain forever famous, not as the scene of triumph for the invader with his untold legions, but, as the scene of the struggle of that great heart and that great mind which so reluctantly surrendered the small remnant of less than eight thousand of the Army of Northern Virginia, with arms in their hands.

General Jackson did enough to establish his reputation on an enduring foundation, as one of the greatest soldiers, heroes, patriots, and Christians, ever produced by any country or age. Let his fame, therefore, rest on his deeds, and let not his pure name be connected with wild and absurd propositions and schemes, either for the purpose of adding to his glory or obscuring that of any of his compeers.

Who is it that claims to have known his secret thoughts and purposes? If he had any fault as a Commander, it was his extreme reticence, that often left his immediate subordinates in ignorance of his purposes, until they were called upon to act. Was it likely that strangers, to him, personally, should know more of his views than those who immediately surrounded him? The wild schemes with which his name is sometimes identified, are calculated to do as much damage to his character, as a soldier, as some of the exaggerated accounts, in regard to his religious devotions and opinions, are calculated to do to the earnest, truthful, and spotless nature of his Christian character.

J. A. EARLY.

VI.—OUR HISTORICAL WRITERS.—*Continued.*

JOSHUA V. H. CLARK.*

Biography, like history, needs the crystalizing action of time, to enable any one to write, impartially, of the dead. The little minutiae of everyday life are too familiar in our memories, to talk of, freely; the public acts are of too recent date, to have their full force measured. The partiality of friends often gives too glowing a picture; and the detractions of enemies have not had the opportunity to lose their

* We are indebted for this article to Henry C. Van Schaack Esqr., of Manlius, N. Y.

sharpness, until the daisies have blossomed and faded on the grave of the departed, many, many times. To choose the neutral or the medium course, between the two extremes of those who love and admire and those who hate and condemn, is not, always, the proper course. Occasionally, both extremes are right, but, often, both are wrong; and he who shall have that faculty of discernment to select the fair and the equitable, possesses a gift that is not often found, and one which we honestly fear we can lay no claim to. With the Scylla of religious intolerance, on the one hand, and the Charybdis of political animosity, on the other, it will, indeed, be strange if we sail in safety.

It would have suited us, far better, to have been the eulogist of our friend rather than his biographer; but his express wishes preclude the possibility; and, as it was his desire that no funeral pomp should take place over his remains, and as simple a sketch of his life as could possibly be written should be all that should follow him, we try to comply; but where so much could be said, it is harder to condense than to elaborate.

The first ancestor of the family, in America, was Thomas Clark, of Plymouth, who came in the *Ann*, in July, 1623. As most of those who came, at that time, were friends of those who came in the *Mayflower*, in 1620, we conclude he was from England. He was a Carpenter by trade; a Representative of the town, in 1651 and 1655; removed to Harwich, in 1670; and died on the twenty-fourth of March, 1697, aged ninety-two years. The line of descent is through six generations, Joshua being the seventh. Thomas Clark, the father of Joshua, came from his home, in Conway, Massachusetts, and engaged as a school-teacher, in Lafayette-square, in the Winter of 1801 and 1802.

On the tenth of February, 1802, Thomas Clark was married to Ruth Morse. She was a descendant of Samuel Morse, who emigrated to New England, in 1635, and settled at Dedham, Massachusetts, in 1637. This name, now distinguished in the realms of science, was originally Mors, (Fr. *Death*,) and was a surname bestowed upon a Norman Knight, by William the Conqueror, to perpetuate his prowess in battle. After his marriage, Thomas Clark settled in the town of Cazenovia, near the Northwest corner, where, on the sixth of February, 1803, Joshua was born. He remained here but two years, when he removed about two miles, North, on to the old Seneca turnpike, a few rods East of our County line, in the town of Sullivan, where he continued to reside the remainder of a lengthy and useful life.

It was here that Joshua passed his infancy, boyhood, and early manhood, in that noblest of occupations, the cultivation of the soil; and

we have the best evidence that he loved the pursuit, for its nobleness, independence, and the opportunities it gave him for self-instruction, which were fully appreciated and rarely neglected.

His teaching was such as the District Schools of fifty years since afforded, with the exception of a short time at Pompey Academy, and six months at Geneva Academy. Education, with him, did not consist merely in what is gathered from text-books, alone; but he sought every occasion to store his mind with useful knowledge, and from every source. He was ever considered an excellent scholar by those who were scholars with him; an adept in the mechanical, as well as the theoretical, management of a farm; an earnest searcher after agricultural knowledge; and a contributor to the agricultural periodicals of those days.

It is not known how early in life he commenced to write for the agricultural papers. Perhaps his first effusions appeared in the *Plow Boy*, the first agricultural paper in America, if not in the world; but, later in life, the columns of the *Genesee Farmer* bear many tokens of his labor; and the *Albany Cultivator* was often enriched with his Essays, entertaining and instructive. He preserved the volumes with scrupulous care; had them handsomely bound; and often referred to them, with pleasure and profit.

He remained upon the homestead, until he was twenty-five years of age, when he removed to Eagle village, where he resided until 1838, when he removed to Manlius village, where he continued to reside, and cultivated a large farm, until within the last ten years, with scientific skill and financial success.

It was not until his removal to Manlius that his taste for historical reading and research began to develop itself, which finally culminated in that indispensable work, the *History of Onondaga*. His only other volume, *Lights and Lines of Indian and Pioneer Life*, a work founded entirely upon historical facts and data, is one that ought to have had far greater circulation than it ever attained. The only critical notice that we ever saw of it was in the *London Times*; and, as near as we can recollect, now, the reviewer thought it a very interesting work, one in which the legends had the stamp of genuineness, without revealing the interpolations of the interpreter or the translator. His Essays and historical researches, for the last ten or twelve years, have been published in the *Syracuse Journal*, although a few have been sent to the metropolitan press. They are of great value to the future historian; full of facts; and rich in instruction.

For his many and varied labors, in literature and the promotion of education, he was the re-

cipient of many honorary testimonials; being elected Corresponding Member of the most distinguished literary and scientific Societies in New York, New England, and the West. As early as 1848, previous to the publication of *Onondaga*, Geneva College conferred upon him the honorary title of A. M., for his useful and assiduous labors.

On account of his intimacy with the Onondaga Indians and his devotion to their welfare, he was elected and duly installed an honorary civil Chief, in January, 1850, with the title of Go-yah-de-Kae-na-has, signifying, "the friend and defender."

But Mr. Clark's usefulness was not confined, by any means, to his literary labors. He took a deep interest in the cause of universal education; and his best efforts were given for the perfection of our Common School system, the glory of the State. He was, for nearly thirty years, a prominent and efficient Trustee of Manlius Academy, and Secretary to the Board, most of the time.

He was a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church, for forty years, and Vestryman and Warden, at different times. He was sincere in his belief, and thorough as an officer. He was a member of the New York Legislature, for the year 1855; and, in consequence of his civil relation to the Six Nations, he was made Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs. His Reports upon the condition of the Indians of New York and the Anti-Rent question, then agitating the minds of our distinguished men, are remarkable for their clearness and erudition. He was, for several years, the President of the village corporation, and, in every way possible, gave his aid and influence to make Manlius one of the prettiest villages in Central New York.

He was the first President of the Manlius and Pompey Agricultural Society; one of its earnest supporters; and ever active in advancing its interests. His Inaugural Address was the best we ever listened to, filled with sound practical knowledge and language suited to the capacity of his hearers. It ought to have been published in the *Transactions of the New York State Society*.

He was the first President of the Onondaga Historical Association, and re-elected four times. The interest he took in this infant, but growing, institution was honest and earnest, and continued till his death. He made greater sacrifices than any member of the Board of Directors, to attend their meetings; often visiting the city to find no quorum present; and returning, in the night, ten tedious miles. His donations to the library were many and valuable—some of the volumes quite rare, and none that they would willingly part with. His Farewell Address to the Board, when declining health prevented his longer attendance, is one

of marked ability, showing that he felt deeply the importance and objects of its mission, and held its success one of the greatest hopes of his life. The Resolutions passed by the Association (not the Board of Directors) were not all that we could wish, for we honestly believe him to be entitled to the appellation of the "Historian of Onondaga;" and, as such, his name should be held in grateful remembrance.

The chief, the crowning, glory of a useful life, and the one by which the name of Mr. Clark will descend to posterity, honored by those who have any interest in the events that transpired in years gone by, and respected by those who have none, is his incomparable *History of Onondaga*. This, to be sure, may not be written with the beautiful precision of a Bancroft, nor the extreme minutiae of a Prescott, with the profundity of a Gibbon, nor the fascination of a Hume; but for those for whom it was intended, his fellow-men, nine-tenths of whom were farmers, like himself, who could readily appreciate the difficulties under which he labored, nothing could be in better taste, nothing more worthy of their acceptance.

When it is considered that these two large volumes were gathered and arranged at intervals, amid the toils and perplexities of a farmer's life—not the hours of idleness of a wealthy gentleman, who is a farmer only in name, but an actual worker, one who held his own plow and led his laborers in the field—the result is remarkable, although it be the labor of seven lengthy years.

His long and friendly intercourse with the Onondaga Indians rendered it peculiarly appropriate that he should be the vehicle by which their legends, traditions, and historical matter should be given to the world. The mass of matter that he rescued from oblivion, in traditions, and the little facts of history, snatched like brands from their Council-fires, when age and fast-approaching dissolution were making fearful havoc with the frames of those Chiefs, Captain Frost and Abram La Fort, will long endear his name to those who now have no fear that their traditions will be lost; and, for it, too, he will ever deserve the thanks of all lovers of the beautiful, whether it be the creation of the imagination and fancy or the records of the actual and real.

His many translations from French authors, concerning the Missions of the Jesuits and their occupation of the country, may have been more interesting to us, who was reared upon their old corn-fields, and whose infantile playthings were the relics of those who lived two hundred years before us, than those who never had anything to excite their curiosity concerning such things; but that they were very valuable, none can deny, and they who neglect to read them,

fail to comprehend one Chapter, at least, in our history.

Mr. Clark was a pioneer in local history. He searched with assiduous care the manuscript records which had to be turned, page by page, as there were no indexes, and the only catch word "Onondaga," to call his attention to something worthy of his notice. Consider this, and the reader can hardly fail to award him the praise of a patient, persevering, painstaking man. His searches after matter, in all available sources, from the libraries of New England, as well as our own State, prove his assiduity and earnestness; while his labors in collating, comparing, and correcting, stamp, at once, his honesty of purpose and the desire to be reliable.

That portion of the *History of Onondaga* which had to be gathered from the memories of men and women, in all parts of the County, is the only portion we have ever heard any fault found with; and the most we ever heard is summed up in the words, "My grandfather was 'an old settler and his name is not mentioned.'" We listened to these complaints with some patience, until we learned that Mr. Clark advertised, in all the County papers, for a great length of time, for just such material. That there may be some things omitted that are really essential to a complete history, there is no doubt; but we have gleaned in the field twice, and have not found enough grain to make a band to bind one of his sheaves.

That he faithfully and earnestly sought to do full justice to all men and all localities, we have no doubt: that he sometimes was misled and deceived, would be no more than could be expected. His compilations of facts and figures, that embrace hundreds of proper names and thousands of dates, was done with as few mistakes in transcribing and printing as any work in the world.

His biographical sketches of Indian Chiefs and prominent men must, necessarily, have been written from the conflicting testimony of those who knew the individuals better than himself; but they seem to have been written in candor, with the desire to be impartial; and their truthfulness we have never heard questioned by any fair-minded man.

Of all Mr. Clark's public acts, the only one that we have cause to regret, is the one in relation to the legend of *Hi-a-wat-ha*; and this we consider an error of omission rather than commission.

When Mr. Schoolcraft published his *Notes on the Iroquois*, without giving Mr. Clark due credit, in our opinion, Mr. Clark should then have brought Mr. Schoolcraft to the bar of public opinion; and the only excuse he could have had for not doing so, was that Mr. Schoolcraft had a great reputation, while his own was limited. He

supposed, undoubtedly, that he could soon do the next best thing, which he did, in a Note on Page 80 in his *History of Onondaga*, in which he claims that he furnished Mr. Schoolcraft with the manuscript from which he framed the legend in the *Notes*.

It is not to be supposed, for a moment, that Mr. Schoolcraft did not see the *History of Onondaga*. He was one of the most influential men in the New York Historical Society; had been in correspondence with Mr. Clark; knew that he was preparing a history; and was deeply interested in all that pertained to the aboriginal inhabitants; and the volumes were placed upon the shelves of their library, as soon as published.

The *History of Onondaga* was, to the best of our knowledge, the first local history in the State; and not only attracted attention, at home, but was eagerly sought for, by every Historical Society in the land, from Maine to Minnesota. It was on the shelves of the library of the New York Historical Society, four years, in the presence of Mr. Schoolcraft, every day, until he published his large work, *History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes in the United States*; and to ignore its existence is simply ridiculous. Upon the publication of this large work, Mr. Clark had another opportunity of demanding justice of Mr. Schoolcraft. We regret that he failed to do so; but why, we know not.

When Longfellow published his *Song of Hiawatha*, the curiosity of the public was considerably excited, in relation to some of the legends. Mr. Clark presented his claims, in a long letter, to the *New York Tribune*. Very unfortunately for Mr. Schoolcraft, he replied to Mr. Clark, and imputed motives to him, unworthy of a gentlemen. Mr. Clark, in a rejoinder, produced the proofs and convicted Mr. Schoolcraft of plagiarism, if not of untruthfulness. Mr. Parkman, a New England historian, has recently exposed Mr. Schoolcraft "striking unfitness, either for historical or philosophical inquiry."

History is not invented: the facts must be taken as they occur; and, if harsh features show themselves, like rugged rocks, by the wayside, the polite historian will soften their roughness with beautiful language, as a landscape gardener would train a delicate vine over the unsightly rock and beautify its deformity. Mr. Clark, undoubtedly, found many things in his researches that had a roughness he could not hide; but, wiser than he who attempts to conceal, he has not brought such things within the scope of his picture. In this, he did well; for, in every neighborhood, there is some foul blot upon some individual, that his meaner neighbor would gladly have perpetuated.

Local bickerings, disputes, and jealousies will creep and crawl through every community.

Every good man will have enemies; and the more anxious he is to do good, the more he will be, and the more he should expect to be, abused. We have the best of reasons for believing that Mr. Clark met many such in the County, sometimes between individuals, frequently between neighborhoods, and sometimes whole villages. That attempts were made to enlist him in these quarrels, we are very confident, but that he steered his little craft among the rocks, skillfully, and "run the rapids" without a wreck, the record he has left for us shows, conclusively.

Mr. Clark had something in his composition different from most men. He was strong in his likes and dislikes, and felt a slight or an injury keenly, which, although free to forgive, he did not easily forget. He had his peculiarities, which, to many, were not agreeable, and may have made, in the course of his life, some enemies—it would be strange if he did not; but, to our knowledge, he did make many, many friends.

The last five years of Mr. Clark's life were rendered sad by a cancerous affection, which attacked his face, and, for the last year, put him in mental and physical torture, almost continually. He bore his sufferings with a heroic and Christian fortitude, refusing assistance from any but his family, until almost his last hour. His strength of mind was such that it sustained his feeble frame, far beyond anything that is ordinarily expected; and he was confined to his bed, absolutely, but two days.

His countenance, that had, for months, been tortured with disease and pain, until his best friend would not have known him, a few moments before his final dissolution, resumed its mild and cheerful expression; and his spirit passed quietly and peacefully away. He died on the eighteenth of June, 1869, in his sixty-seventh year.

As a farmer, Joshua V. H. Clark was sagacious, scientific, and successful; as a public man, he was honest and upright; as a Christian, zealous and hopeful; as a friend, devoted and firm; as a neighbor, kind and obliging; as an essayist, instructive and entertaining; as a historian, faithful and truthful; and, take him all in all, we shall not often look upon his like again.

VII.—MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY OF MACHIAS, MAINE.

FROM THE TOWN RECORDS.*

I.

Action of the Town, on the proposition to separate Maine from Massachusetts, as communicated by the Selectmen to the President of the Portland Convention, November 20, 1786.

The proceeding of the Convention of Dele-

gates assembled at Portland, Sept. 6th, 1786, was received by the Selectmen and laid before a legal meeting of the inhabitants of this town, warned to assemble for that purpose; and, after mature deliberation, it was voted, unanimously, that this town does not think it expedient, at this present period, that a separation from the Commonwealth should take place, as you may observe by the inclosed copy of their proceedings, and appointed us a Committee to transmit the same to you, and inform you, as President of the Convention, the reasons which actuated them not to vote for it. We, therefore, according to the directions of the Town, beg leave to state some of the reasons that influenced the inhabitants in this measure.

They conceive that what the Hon^{ble} Convention state as Grievances are only inconveniences or Burthens that are natural to all States, and will, always, in some cases, operate more powerfully in some part of the State than in others. We are not under the least apprehension but that the Legislature will always be ready, when proper steps, which the Constitution point out for that purpose, are jointly directed to them, to remove those inconveniences or burthens, so far as it is possible or consistent with the good of the whole, and, although, some of the acts of the General Court may operate against the three Eastern Counties, still the Inhabitants of the Town of Machias do not think that their interests are so different as to be a sufficient foundation for them to seek a seperation, neither do we conceive that the General Court being so large, operates any more against those Counties than the other parts of the Commonwealth. That the General Court is large and, consequently, makes their business more perplexing, we readily admit; but, for the removal of that evil, we look forward to the year 1795, when a revival of the Constitution is to take place, when a full remedy may be obtained by having only three or four members out of a County instead of one from every Town. In application to the Supreme Executive authority, the repairing to the Office of the Supreme Judicial Court and State treasury, in Boston, can be attended with much less expense than those inland Counties, where the suitors have to travel by land, which is more expensive than water conveyance, which is frequent from the Eastern ports.

That a considerable part of the inhabitants in these Eastern Counties are not represented, cannot by any means be considered as a grievance, for we apprehend the fault lies at their door, as the districts and plantations, on a proper application, would, doubtless, be incorporated, whereby that difficulty would be removed. This we are convinced of by our experience; therefore think that cannot be a sufficient reason for seperation. The present mode of taxation by

*We are indebted for this series of papers to our valued friend, J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., of Boston.

Polls and Estates is one of those inconveniencies which will, in all States, operate more powerfully in some parts than others; but we are informed the General Court, at their late session, has lighted that burthen as much as they possibly can, and that they have passed an Act to receive lumber for taxes, if this be true, it will operate more in our favour than it will in favour of other Counties, as it will not be so expensive to send our lumber to Boston, from the Eastern part of the State, to pay our taxes, as it will cost those who have taxes to pay who only live twenty miles from Boston.

The excise and impost Act may be considered in the same light as the article respecting taxation, for that burthen is wholly or in a great measure revived by the excise upon cider, which, we are informed, the Legislature has laid upon that article, the last Session,—the difference of the duty upon deeds they, with all due deference to the opinions of the Hon^{ble} Convention, think too trifling to mention. However, should we be misinformed in respect to the Acts passed the last Session, as is before mentioned,—and we grant that the present mode of taxation, the excise, and duties on deeds, operate more against the Eastern Counties than any other part of this Commonwealth, but still we are of opinion, it cannot operate to such a degree as to make a seperation by any ways necessary.

To support a seperate Government would, in the opinion of this Town, be attended with much greater expense than what these Counties pay towards the present, without any real advantage arising to us. The British have made encroachments on our eastern frontiers and are still endeavouring to extend their boundary line farther west; partly in consequence of this information that these Eastern Counties are wishing to be erected a seperate State, and we would not, in the smallest degree, wish to gratify their inclination, for they have ever boasted that if Government could once be divided with respect to interests, and principles, and territory, they would more readily fall a prey to their wishes. Should a seperation in this State take place, these Counties would not be in a situation to settle the dispute so much to advantage as they will in their present connection and the force of union to support it. The great extent of these Counties and their being but thinly inhabited, and should a war with any foreign power take place, this State, in its weak situation, would probably fall the first sacrifice, and that Massachusetts would not think it so particularly her interest to use their exertions in its defence, as it would in the present connection—neither is it probable the Commonwealth will, in the present situation of affairs, be brought to give her consent, as it would be setting an example for

the Counties of Berkshire and Hampshire to seperate, which they seem inclined to do, and, when a State once begins to divide, it may be attended with many fatal consequences, and Congress, who are bound to support the Constitutional rights of each State, would not give their assent to such a measure. At a time when our affairs are in such a precarious situation—when we labor under so many embarrassments which cannot be remedied by a seperation, but rather increased—when the deluded people in many of the Counties are rising in open rebellion to all law and government, we think it impossible, unwise, and unjustifiable, to further perplex Government in pursuing measures so unwarrantable to obtain a seperation at this time. We observe the Hon^{ble} Convention voted that those towns and plantations that does not send Delegates or send their votes, will be considered as acquiecing in a seperation; this, we beg leave to observe, is a method to collect the minds of the people different from what has been heretofore practised, and a construction put upon their silence not warranted upon any principle of reason—therefore, lest so unjustifiable a construction should be put upon our silence, the Town has directed their proceedings to be transmitted to you. We are &c.,

S. JONES,
JAMES AVERY, } *Committee.*
R. H. BOWLES, }

MACHIAS, 20th Nov., 1786.

To the Hon^{ble} WILLIAM GORHAM,
President of the Convention to
assemble at Portland, in January,
1787.

Attest,
JAMES AVERY, *Town Clerk.*

II.

Petition of the Town to the General Court of the Commonwealth, for a remission of the State Tax.

To the Hon^{ble} Senate and house of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts—the petition of the town of Machias humbly Sheweth:

That the Gen^l Court, in March, 1786, taxed all the settlements in the eastern part of this Commonwealth, among which, this town was taxed £30. The tax act not coming into the hands of the assessors 'till last fall, and all communication being stopped between this place and Boston, during the course of the winter, prevented our making application to Hon^{ble} Court before, we now beg leave to lay before you a true and unexaggerated state of our situation, and the difficulties and burthens we have and still labor under.

In the month of May, 1763, about 12 men and 3 women came to Machias and began to

erect a double saw-mill; and, in the month of August, the same year, the remainder of their families came down; the next year, a number of other families having joined them, they supposing themselves to be within the Jurisdiction of the Province of Nova Scotia, applied there for a Grant of a township; but that government, supposing them not to be within their limits, refused making them any grant. In the year 1766, they having considerably increased in number, made an application to the Government of Massachusetts; but there being some errors in the petition, they failed, but repeatedly renewed their application, until the year 1770, when a grant passed the Legislature; but then the King's approbation was to be obtained before the grant would be valid. During all this time, and till the war commenced, the people were in a state of uncertainty respecting their lands; therefore, devoted the most of their time to lumbering and had made but very little improvements upon their lands when Hostilities commenced, at which time they had not three weeks' provision in the township; and the very early and active part they took in the late contest rendered them very obnoxious to the British commanders, and they had reason to apprehend their vengeance, and for the first year all kinds of business but war was dropt. The next year, attempts were made for improving our lands; but the frequent alarms upon our Coasts embarrassed the people so that but little progress was made; and, in the month of August, one Brig that was loaded in our river and bound to the West Indies, and two Sloops that were loaded by us and bound to Newbury were all taken off the mouth of our harbour, soon after they sailed, by reason of which some people suffered greatly. In the fall of the same year, Mr. Edy came along from Boston, having obtained some provisions by the order of the Genl Court, though not clothed with any authority by them; yet he proposed to carry on an expedition against Cumberland, in Nova Scotia; and the inhabitants of Machias, full of zeal to support the common cause, immediately engaged with Edy and set out for Cumberland, but, finally, were defeated, after the severe season had set in, and had to make a retreat, through the wilderness, upwards of 300 miles through the snow. The next year, an expedition was formed, under the authority of our Government, against Nova Scotia; and to enter that Province, by the way of Cumberland, the grand rendezvous to be at Machias, this the enemy got intelligence of, and, before any considerable number of the troops or any cannon arrived here, a small squadron of their ships, consisting of one ship of 44 guns, three frigates, and an armed Brig, entered our harbour, with a full determination to destroy us; but, by the

goodness of Divine Providence and the vigorous exertions of the people, they were repulsed, with great loss on their part, and upon our side of one man killed, one wounded, two dwelling houses, two barns, and one mill burnt. They afterwards collected in force at the mouth of the river St. Johns and we had frequent alarms and information that they were determined to make another attack upon us, so that all the people's time and attention was taken up in making the necessary preparations of defence, till the season closed, when we were informed the enemy had retired into winter quarters. In the year 1778, we had some little tranquility, and considerable exertions were made for improving the land. But, in the year 1779, we were again thrown into the greatest distress by the enemy establishing a port at Major Bigwadduce. We then expected nothing but subjugation; and the people had no heart to do any thing. After our troops arrived and besieged the enemy, Genl Leod found a reinforcement was necessary, and sent an order for one half of the militia to join him. The draught was immediately made, and set out with Col. Allen, and had got as far as Deer Island, when they received intelligence that the siege was raised. The people then returned home again; but were under considerable apprehension of being subjugated, the British commander having issued a Proclamation denouncing vengeance against all those that did not come, in a short time, and submit themselves to the British government and take an oath of allegiance. Many persons, to the westward of us, were so discouraged as to propose to fall in with the British, so far as to become neuter, and had petitions drawn for that purpose, which were sent to this town to join in the measure; but we refusing, and the steps we took prevented those places who were in favour of it from falling in, whereby the whole of the country eastward of Bagaduce, was preserved. The people of this town were now almost reduced to a state of desperation, but still determined never to submit, until reduced by superior force, altho' all communication with the metropolis and all other parts of the State, from whence we had any hope of relief, seemed to be cut off. Frequent alarms now took place, thro' this and the ensuing year; and, whilst the war lasted, the people were called out for to erect fortifications and keep guard. Great pains was taken by the enemy to bring the Indians upon us; and, in the fall of the year 1779, the noted Major Rogers was actually sent thro', by the way of St. Johns, to Canada, to bring a body of Indians against us, early in the spring, and they came a part of the way, as we was afterwards informed, until the Indians belonging to St. Johns river met them and persuaded them to return, by telling them that the French

and we were brethren, and that to fight against us would be to fight against their father, the French King—but, as we had early intelligence of the business that Rogers was upon, we really expected him, and was at the expense of keeping scouts up the river, to discover the enemy if they approached. Several vessels that were bound here, with supplies, were taken; and one that was loaded with fish, furs, and other valuable articles, and owned in the place, and was taken on her passage to Boston, and others that had property on board belonging to the inhabitants, fell into the enemy's hands. The numerous alarms and the want of provisions very much impeded the improvements of the lands, the remaining years of the war, and kept the people in a very naked situation. When peace took place, in 1783, and goods could be purchased for lumber, they were under the necessity of obtaining considerable credit in order to carry on their business and cloathe their families. The mills, during the war, went to decay and were rotted down; but lumber being now in great demand and commanding a great price, they were excited to rebuild their mills; but were at a very great expense in doing it, as labor of all kinds was exceeding high—had just got under way, and a prospect of discharging the demand against them, when the Navigation Act was passed, which immediately knocked the price of lumber down from 8 to 4 dollars per thousand and now a drug at three dollars. Thus were the people involved in the utmost distresses, for most of them were in debt at the commencement of the war, and, during the contest, had no means of discharging it, even with paper money, which they would not even have wished to have done, had it been in their power; and to those old debts, they had been under the necessity, as before mentioned, of adding a very considerable new debt; and the Navigation Act was followed by two exceeding dry seasons, especially the last, when the drought set in very severe, in July. The mills were soon stopped for want of water, and continued so the remainder part of the season; and winter set in very early, without rain; the crops of potatoes cut prodigiously short; and no credit to be obtained, so that the inhabitants were reduced to greater straits, the winter past, than during any part of the war. They have also been at very great expense in running out their township; laying out their lots; settling a minister, and supporting him for 15 years; building and providing places for public worship; making roads; and many other heavy expenses which arise in bringing forward the settlement of a new Township—As an almost total stop was put to all business, during the war, the inhabitants, in general, were unable to pay the minister, yearly, which obliged him

to run in debt for the support of his family; and, when peace took place, there was nearly nine hund' pounds to be raised to pay his salary, to enable him to discharge his debts, which came very heavy on the people. Add to this, his salary since the peace; £80 a year for a public school; £250 a year we have raised to make and repair roads and highways; and £200 we have raised, the present year, for repairing our meeting-house, with other expenses of the town, make it almost impossible for us to pay any State taxes laid upon us, at present.

And our great desire to support the laws renders it necessary for us to make still further application, which is for a County to be erected in this district, which, if granted, must be attended with very considerable expense; but the necessities of it makes us anxious for the accomplishment of it.

There are many strong and cogent reasons for a County being established in this district, in particular for the punishment of crimes against the public, which altho' they are not numerous, yet there is some, and amongst others those of fornication and Bastardy, also for granting licenses to persons as Inholders and retailers of spiritous liquors, for no person will be at the expense and fatigue of traveling 300 miles, and upwards, thro' wilderness and exceeding bad roads, and when they come they must find friends to be bondsmen for them, which, perhaps, as they are strangers, it will be impossible for them to obtain; and the consequence will be, there will be no licensed persons in this part of the County; liquors will be sold in a clandestine manner; and if one sells, another may, and the matter will be so general that no person can be informed against or punished, and individuals may, thereby, be very much injured by too free use of Spiritous liquors. A county road is also exceedingly wanted, which will not be obtained until a County is established here; in short, as was before observed, our reasons are too numerous to be mentioned.

In the first part of the war, the Genl Court found it necessary to grant the Settlements, on the eastern shore, considerable sums of money to purchase provisions for the inhabitants. This place received with the others and have repaid the whole, since the peace took place, which amounted to near £1200, which we believe is the only place, Eastward, of the Penobscot, that has repaid the public any part of the sums received; neither have they been at the expense of supporting a minister, building meeting-houses, raising money for highways and public schools. We are informed, the Hon^{ble} Court have been pleased to abate the taxes laid on several of the plantations, eastward of Union-river, in consideration of their ina-

bility to pay; and we are fully sensible that this place is the least able (for the reasons before mentioned) of paying of any in the eastern county. At the time we petitioned to be incorporated, several of the members of the General Court informed us that it would not be the means of bringing on taxation any sooner, as they supposed it would be unreasonable to tax us sooner than the other places, adjacent, who were more able to pay, only because we wished to be incorporated to come into better regulations among ourselves. We don't wish to flinch from the public burthen; but, whenever we are able to pay any thing towards it we will do it with cheerfulness. But, from the many difficulties we labored under, during the war; our embarrassed situation, at the time, and since the peace took place; the large sums we have been obliged to raise for the support of minister and other purposes; the punctual manner in which we repaid Government the moneys borrowed; together with our inability, at present, we humbly pray your Hon^{ble} Court to be pleased to take our distressed state into their wise consideration, and be pleased to grant us relief by remitting our State tax, and as in duty bound will ever pray.—

By order and in behalf of the town of Machias—

STEPHEN JONES }
JAMES AVERY } Committee.
JERth O'BRIEN }

Attest JAMES AVERY Town Clerk—

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VIII.—RHODE ISLAND REVOLUTIONARY CORRESPONDENCE.

FROM THE ORIGINALS, COMMUNICATED BY REV. E. M. STONE, OF PROVIDENCE.

1.—Governor Cooke to Stephen Hopkins and Samuel Ward.

PROVIDENCE, August 31st 1775.

GENTLEMEN :

Mr. Ward's Letter of the 10th, inclosing the address and Declaration, and his Letter of the 19th have come safe to Hand.—By a Letter from General Washington I was informed that Three Ships of War and Nine Transports sailed from Boston the beginning of last Week. As the Enemy are greatly distressed for Want of fresh Provisions, I conjectured this Fleet was designed to supply them; and immediately sent a Quantity of Powder, Ball and Flints to Block Island, to enable the Inhabitants to defend themselves, and gave them assurances of further aid if necessary. As this Fleet hath not been heard of on our Coast, I imagine they were destined to the Eastward. Two of the

Men of War were cruising yesterday, and the Day before in the River, and came above Cominicut Point. As it is possible for them to come near enough to fire upon the Town, our Attention is strongly turned to the erecting of a Fortification below. I sometime since forwarded to you a Plan of the River, and should be glad to know the Sentiments of the Congress upon that subject, and whether the erecting a Fortification, which would not be a very expensive one, will be considered as a Continental Expense, as I am clearly of the opinion it ought to be.—As you repeat your Application for the Accounts of the Committee of Safety, I have written to them all and urged them to have their Accounts ready at the opening of the next Session of Assembly, that, after being considered, they may be transmitted to you. About 140 or 150 of the Six additional companies ordered by this Colony have marched to join the Army. Two commissioned officers of each Company are left to recruit. But the Colony hath been so drained of Men by the large Levies already made, that it will be sometime yet before they will be complete. A very heavy firing near Boston was heard the Night before last & Yesterday Morning. The same Night a Detachment of 300 Men marched from Roxbury to Complete the Destruction of the Light House. By some persons who came in here last evening and this morning from Roxbury, we are told that the firing was universal from all the Enemys' Works, Ships and Floating Batteries; and that about 40 Regulars pushed out, forced our Sentries to retreat, and burnt the George Tavern and one other House and Barn. Two of the Party which came out, took that Opportunity to desert. From Cambridge we have a Report that the Enemy under Cover of a Field of Corn had begun an Entrenchment, which they had carried on some Time before they were discovered; that they were attacked by our People with Musketry, and a smart Firing kept up on both Sides; and that the enemy were obliged to retreat.

I am, with great Truth and Regard,
Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and
Most humble Servant,

NICHO. COOKE.

Honble S. HOPKINS &
S. WARD, Esqrs.

2.—Governor Cooke to Stephen Hopkins and Samuel Ward.

PROVIDENCE, Novem^r 27th 1775

GENTLEMEN,

As I am well convinced that the Ministry will act in America next Year with powerful Armies I am under the greatest Appre-

hensions that we shall be deficient in that most necessary Article of Gunpowder.

The Measures hitherto taken to provide it seem to me greatly inadequate to our Demands; and my Attention hath been constantly turned towards a probable Means of supplying them. I have thought of a Plan which if it be possible to carry it into Execution, will answer our warmest Wishes. By late Experiments it appears that Saltpetre may be more expeditiously made, and by a more simple operation, out of Earth taken from under Buildings, than in any other Way. I myself have set some Leaches, and procured Saltpetre of the best quality, from Earth taken from under my Barn, and am confident that the whole Process may be completed in Four Days. I propose that the Congress address the Inhabitants of the Colonies, recommending it, by the most cogent Arguments, and Motives, that the important Subject will afford, to every Farmer, who hath a Barn and Crib, immediately to set up Leaches in Proportion to the Dimensions of his Buildings, for the making of Saltpetre. Let the Congress also recommend it to the several Colonial Assemblies, and Conventions, to give such a Price for it, for a limited Time, as will be a sufficient Encouragement to the undertaker, and to subject to Penalties all those who have Buildings suitable for the Purpose and shall neglect or refuse, at this most critical Conjunction, to make an Article so essentially necessary for the Preservation of their Country. In this Case it will be necessary to appoint Committees in every Town and Parish to take care that the Resolutions be punctually complied with. I suppose that the Farmers, who have large Barns, and Cribs may, to their great Profit, at a small Expense for Leach Hogsheads only, and by the same Fire that keeps them warm, easily make during the course of the winter 30 or 40 Pounds, one with another. I make no doubt that Sulphur, if early Measures are taken, may be imported from the West Indies. I am told that any Quantity may be had at the South Part of Dominica near the Harbor of Roscan, where it is so plenty that Boats may lie alongside the Beach & lade with it. By these Means it appears to me that we may be seasonably and fully supplied with Gunpowder. If the Congress think these hints worthy of Attention the sooner they perfect them the better: As the Southern Colonies may be at Work almost the whole Winter; and in the Northern Colonies we may expect some Intervals of open Weather when the Earth may be got from under the Buildings.

The following is a short account of the Experiment I made. I set Four Molasses Hogsheads for Leaches of Earth taken down as low as Twelve inches in the same Manner they are set to make Soap, excepting that I did not use

Lime; they Stood Two nights and One day. I then drew of the ley, boiled it half away, strained it through Ashes that had been leached before, then boiled it again, until it was of a proper Consistence, (which is determined by putting it in a Spoon or saucer to cool; if it shoots into crystals it is boiled enough) and then set it in a Vessel to cool. The next morning the Saltpetre was made. In the Evening I poured off the ley, put the Saltpetre into a Pail, poured boiling Water upon it, and stirred it until it was entirely dissolved, and set it away to cool. In the morning the Saltpetre was perfectly clarified. I poured off the ley and boiled it again, from which I gained a considerable Proportion of Saltpetre. This was my First Trial. Upon Further Experience I suppose great Improvements may be made in the Process.

I have just seen Mr. Ezra Deane of Cranston who returned from Susquehanna last week. He informs me that he saw at the House of Mr. John Jenkins of Exeter in that Purchase, one Jeremiah Blanchard who shewed them a parcel of Earth, taken as he said out of the side of a Hill, which contained a Vast Proportion of Saltpetre, and told them that any Quantity might be obtained. I inclose you a small Sample of it. Deane who is to be relied upon gives Jenkins a good character but does not speak so favorably of Blanchard. The necessity of obtaining Saltpetre is so great that we ought to take every Chance: And as this matter can be ascertained at a small Expense, I think it will be prudent immediately to send one or more trusty Persons to the Spot to make Examination and Experiments. They ought to be clothed with proper Credentials from the Congress upon account of the unhappy Dispute between Pennsylvania and Connecticut.

We have now in the Harbor of Newport, the *Rosa*, the *Swan*, and the *Glasgow*, with a Bomb Brig and Six Tenders, and a large Scow as a Transport—Capt. Whipple, who sailed last night for Philadelphia, took a Schooner of 30 Tons from Boston in Ballast addressed to G. Rome for fresh Provisions. Capt. Arnold who came Passenger in her, informs me that, when he left Boston, which was Ten Days ago, about 500 Troops had arrived there. All our accounts from the Continental Army agree that the Men re-enlist very slowly. I desire you to procure and send me a particular account of the Process of making Gunpowder, and of the Proportions of the several Ingredients &c

I am with great Esteem & Regard Gent'n
Your most obdt. hble Servt

NICH'S COOKE

Houles S. HOPKINS &
S. WARD Esqrs

3.—*Samuel Ward to Governor Cooke.*PHILADELPHIA 7th Jan'y 1776.

SIR,

We have the Honor of your Letter of 26th last month. The Marine service is of such vast Importance, that we doubt not of your utmost Attention to it in all its Branches. The Ravages committed by the armed Vessels & the continual alarms raised by them must be very distressing to the Colony, but what would not a wise man do or suffer, to preserve his Liberty, the alone Source of human Happiness and only Security for the permanent Enjoyment of it. The Colony has bravely defended Itself, and supported the common Cause of America. The next Campaign, as our Enemies will make every possible Effort against us, will probably require still greater Exertions. We are therefore clearly in Opinion with you, that a Regiment ought to be raised & kept up in the Colony, at the Continental Expense, & shall embrace the first favorable Opportunity of applying for one. If by the Divine Blessing we succeed next Campaign, the Burthen of the War will be over & the Re-establishment of our just Rights and Privileges will be the glorious Reward of this arduous struggle.—The Removal of the Stock is of great Importance, & We are happy to find that proper measures are adopted for that Purpose. We lament that any Person should be so lost to Virtue & the Love of their Country as to attempt to divide us, when our union is essential to our Preservation, but we hope that the wise & temperate & yet spirited Conduct of the General Assembly will prevent the intended mischief & preserve union in the Colo'y. We are concerned for the uneasiness occasioned by the different Constructions of the Resolve of 15th July last. We lately gave our opinion upon it, but horned cattle, sheep, hogs & poultry cannot be exported by it, our extreme Want of Powder occasioned that Resolve No man ought to take the advantage of the necessities of his Country to demand exorbitant Prices for what she stands in need of, nor to abuse a License given by her, to her Injury, or should an instance of that kind happen, others ought by no means to violate her Resolves, for if once the Resolutions of Congress are trampled upon, there will be no Common Bond of union left, no adequate Power to collect & exert the united Strength of the Colonies, Confusion and certain Destruction would soon follow. A moments Reflection must satisfy any man of this, and induce him as he values everything dear to human nature, religiously to support the Resolves of Congress.

We are with great Regard

Sir, Your most obedient

Very humble Servants

SAM. WARD.

P. S.

Mr. Hopkins is so engaged he could not attend to look over the letters & desired me to sign & forward them myself. For important news, refer you to my Letter to the Gov'r & Com'g

This moment an Express from N. York has brought the Kings Speech at the opening of Parliament, which I have inclosed ; It is decisive every man must now be convinced that under God our Safety depends wholly upon a brave, wise and determined Resistance. May infinite Wisdom direct all your measures to the Preservation of America in general & the Happiness of the Colony in particular.

S. WARD.

4.—*William Ellery to Governor Cooke.*PHILADELPHIA Nov'r, 10th 1776.

SIR,

Although nothing remarkable hath occurred since my last ; yet as it is my duty to write frequently I take up my pen to avoid the Imputation of Neglect. Our Army in the middle Department have moved four Miles, to some Heights beyond White Plains. In a private Letter I am told Gen'l Lee hath wrote that the Enemy had but two moves more to make before it would be check Mate, alluding to the Game of Chess. There have been several Skirmishes within 3 Weeks past in all which, We have been successful excepting that of last Monday Fortnight, and in that, although We lost the Ground ; yet the Loss of the Enemy was three Times as great as ours. By the best account I can collect, We lost only about 100 killed and wounded. I have conversed with a Gentleman who was a Spectator of the Fight. He says that our Men behaved with great Firmness and Spirit, that they frequently repulsed the Enemy, who repeatedly reinforced their Detachment from the main Body, which was within a Quarter of a Mile of the Place of action, and so compelled our Men to retreat, which was done in good Order, and without the Loss of their Arms or Field Pieces. He further said that our Musketry was more frequently discharged than but our Field Pieces not so often as those of the Enemy. We have again routed Major Rogers with his rebel Band ; and should have taken Twenty of the Enemy's Light Horse if our Men had not been too eager. A few more Skirmishes with a Battle now and then would learn our Troops, coolness, Obedience, and Discipline. I do not expect a general Battle this Campaign. The Generals seem to be determined not to put any Thing to a Risk. If there should be, barring accident, We shall beat the Enemy. Our last accounts from the Northern Army say, that Carlton was at Crown Point, and that if he should attack our Troops

that We should repel him, and at the worst confine him to the Lakes. Our Armies are well supply'd with Provisions; but they want Clothing. I hope that your Honour and the Gen'l Assembly will expeditiously execute what hath been recommended & requested of you & them by Congress, respecting the article of Clothing and that Care will be taken that our Two Battalions be raised and equipped in Season. Congress have lately passed a Resolve empowering G'l Washington to appoint Officers, where any of the States had not Commr's on the Spot at the Time that he should receive the Resolve, the Time for which a great Part of the Army was enlisted being so near expiring as not to admit of any longer Delay.

I should be very happy to receive a Letter now and then from my Constituents, with the Information I have and may request. I received a Letter from your Honour I imagine by the Contents, without a Signature, and am glad to find that the Report was as I suspected groundless and scandalous. An Emulation among the respective States who shall do most in the glorious Cause in which We are engaged is highly commendable, and would be beneficial; but if it should degenerate into Jealousies, Suspicious and Calumny it might be dangerous.

Your Honour will see in the late Papers an Extract of a Letter dated at Fort Lee giving an account that Six Gent'n who had escaped from the Enemy's Fleet informed that 70 Transports with 3000 Troops were destined for our State. The News Paper doth not mention from what Letter the Extract was made. It was taken from a Letter of Major Gen'l Greene. I don't think We are in any Danger at present. Hereafter when their army shall go into Winter Quarters the Enemy may have Men to spare for that Purpose. It would be well however to be upon our Guard, to let our apprehensions be known to the neighbouring Sister States, and to request them to prepared to assist us when ever We may be invaded. If an attack should be made on Rhode Island I am afraid that some who have subscribed the Test act would immediately discover that they did not think themselves bound by their Subscriptions, and that those who have refused to subscribe and have received Indulgencies would not on that account be less forward to join and assist the Invaders. We ought to guard against our internal as well as external Enemies, and if we can, put it out of their Power to injure us. I hope I shall be pardoned for giving these Hints, and I don't doubt it when it is considered that I have been urged to it by a sacred Regard to the State I have the Honour to represent, and to the United States of America. I continue to be with the sincerest Respect your Honour's

and the Republick of Rhode Island &c. Friend and humble Servant.

W^m ELLERY.

P. S. As I am obliged to write in haste I hope Blurs Blots and Inaccuracies will be overlooked.

W. E.

5.—*William Ellery to Governor Cooke.*

PHILADELPHIA M'h 15th 1777.

SIR.

I have the Pleasure to inform you that, beyond my Expectation, I have procured a Resolve of Congress, in favour of our State, for an Order upon the Auditor General for Two hundred thousand Dollars, upon the Loan Office for Sixty Thousand Dollars, and upon the Treasury for One hundred and forty thousand Dollars to be paid out of the new Emission order'd to be issued. Before Congress left Baltimore, they order'd a Million of Dollars to be deliver'd to the Auditor General subject to Draughts from Congress. The Money is on the Road, and so soon as it arrives the Order upon him will be paid, and your Commis'srs dispatch'd. I received a Letter yesterday from Sam'l & Robt Purviance dated Baltimore March 10th, 1777, inclosing a Letter to Me from your Honour, which they say they had received that Morning by Capt. Timothy Coffin who was addressed to them by our State for a Load of Flour & Bar Iron. That they should load & dispatch him as soon as possible, but from the present extreme bad Condition of the Roads it was very difficult to bring Flour or any thing else to Town, therefore Produce would come in but slowly for sometime,—That you had sent a General Order on Mr. Hillegas the Treasurer for as much as would load the Vessel. Mr. Hillegas says he can't pay it without a Warrant on the Order specifying the particular sum. As this can't be known until the Vessel is loaded, that they shall when that is done transmit me the Order to obtain a Warrant for the Value Shipp'd, and close with desiring me to give your Honour the earliest Notice of Coffin's Arrival. I do it, Sir, with great Pleasure, and shall pay them by an Order upon the Treasurer, who will continue at Baltimore some Time, for so much as the Lading &c., shall amount to, to be paid out of the 140,000 Doll's for which I have an Order upon him asbefore mentioned.

We have nothing remarkable. The President rec'd a Letter last Evening from Col. Wayne at Ticonderoga dated the 2nd of March. Every thing was in Peace. He mentions how the Enemy were posted in Canada, and in doing that says that the famous, now infamous *Paoli* commands at one of them. There are Two British Grenadiers in Town who lately deserted from the Army in the Jersey, they say that the

Enemy were in Want of fresh Provisions & Forage, & that there was a red Fever among the Hessians, which proved very mortal. From this and other Accounts of the Want of Forage, and from the Loss and Incapacity of their Horses for Service for Want of Food I hope and conclude that they will not be able to move from Brunswick until We shall have collected an Army sufficient to attack and demolish them. I am impatient to hear of an attack on Rhode Island. I hope nothing will prevent it. A successful attack there would be of infinite advantage to the Common Cause.

I am in great Haste but with all due Respect,
Your Honor's most obed't, humble Serv't,
WM. ELLERY.

6.—*William Ellery to Governor Cooke.*

PHILADELPHIA, March 30th, 1777.

SIR.

Agreeable to the Directions in your Letter by Messrs Greene & Hoell, I have exerted myself to the utmost of my Power, and have been happy enough, by the kind Offices of the President and others, in Consequence of my application, to Procure a very great Part of the Balance due to the State of Rhode Island, &c., which I wish may go safe to our Treasury. The Commr's will inform you into the unhappy Cause of their Detention; they will also acquaint you with the Monies they paid Messrs Purviances out of the Monies received from the Treasurer in Baltimore, and when it was expected that Capt. Coffin would sail, and with every article of Intelligence. If the Monies paid by them to the Purviances should not amount to the Balance of their accounts, I shall improve that Circumstance to obtain a Resolve for an additional Sum and take the Money along with Me, if I can, when I return to our State. I should be exceedingly glad if the Gen'l Assembly would choose a Delegate early in the first Session after they receive this, and give immediate Notice of their appointment, by transmitting a Copy of their Resolve on that Head to their Delegates in Congress; because after the Expiration of the time for which I was appointed I cannot take a Seat in Congress; and I mean to continue here until I am made acquainted with this appointment; for if I should not be rechosen, I shall take Home with me all my Baggage, only a Part of which I shall be obliged to carry backwards & forwards, if I should be honoured with a Reappointment. It is the Observation of an Author, well acquainted with human Nature, that the least a Man says in his own Praise, is still too much. I will therefore only observe in my own behalf, that if I have not discharged my Duty hitherto so well as I ought to have done, it hath not been owing to a Want of attention to it; and that if

the State of Rhode Island should think proper to honor me with a Reappointment they may rely on my most strenuous Endeavours in its Service.

The Liberty of America I hold dearer than my Life, and shall always feel a Satisfaction, amidst any Sacrifice of Ease and domestic Comfort I may make—when I can contribute towards its Establishment, and the Prosperity and Happiness of the State of Rhode Island &c.

With the warmest wishes for both, if they do not involve each other, and for your Honor's Health & Felicity I continue to be with the greatest Consideration and Esteem

Y'r Honor's most obedt hble Servt,
WILLIAM ELLERY.

P. S.—The Delegate to be chosen will I suppose be chosen for a year, the year to commence at the Expiration of the Time for which I was appointed.

W. E.

I have delivered the Loan Office Certificate for sixty thous'd Dollars to ye Commr's. It is indorsed to you, Sir, for the Use of the State.

7.—*William Ellery to Governor Cooke.*

PHILADELPHIA, April 6th, 1777.

SIR.

You will receive with this a Letter from Messrs. Saml & Robt Purviance, inclosing an Invoice of Sloop *Diamond's* Cargo and an account of Disbursements, by which it appears that there is a Balance due to them of £164. 16. 8. After waiting a convenient Time I shall make a fresh application for the Balance due to our State, and out of the Monies I may receive pay the above Balance. If I should not be able to procure an Order on the Treasury in Season, I have wrote those Gentlemen that I would borrow and transmit them the Money due to them upon the first Notice.

Inclosed is a Resolve of Congress respecting your granting Commissions, which I transmit because in the Multiplicity of the Presidents Business it may be forgot by him. I laid the Paragraph of your Letter which related to that point, before Congress immediately upon the receipt of your Letter. Congress did nothing in the Matter which amounted to an acquiescence. A Day or Two ago a Letter from the President of So. Carolina was read in Congress representing that for the Want of Commissions Instructions &c he had issued Commissions, and desiring that a Resolve might pass which might give Validity to his Commissions. This brought to my Mind your granting Commissions, and induced me to move the Resolve which is now inclosed. If Cont'l Commissions should be wanted you will send for them in Time. It is said that the

Troops, which in a Letter to Commodore Hopkins I mentioned had embarked, and desired him to communicate to you, have disembarked; but in a late Letter from the General he does not mention it. It is his opinion that this City is the great Object of the Enemy and it is too the Sentiment of Gen'l Greene. I wish We may be prepared to receive them. I am greatly mortified to find that the Expedition designed by the Gen'l Assembly hath fallen through. To what Cause this is owing, I know not; but I am sorry that the Militia of this Continent should by the military be considered in a Light so little respectable as it is. I know not what Numbers were collected in Consequence of the spirited Resolution of our State; but I should think that Six Thousand Militia conducted by good officers would be sufficient to expel, destroy or captivate the four thousand said to be on Rhode Island, a Number of whom are doubtless invalids. But this I speak with Submission; for I am unacquainted with the military Walk. I never traveled in it. However, in the present as well as the last War Militia did as I remember, and have done, many notable Feats. I could wish to have this Business taken up again, if it can be done with a good Prospect of collecting a spirited Army of six or eight thousand Men, and some able officer to conduct them. I am not alone in my Opinion of the advantages which would attend such an Expedition, nor of the Prowess of Militia You will excuse these Hints suggested and thrown out from a Mortification I feel in having a handful of the Enemy in Possession of an Island so beneficial to them, when it appears to me that our Militia with the aid of our Sister States could very easily dislodge or destroy them, and from a Love of Country. Mr. Marchant is not arrived. I hope the Request in my last will be complied with. I am with great Regard,

Your Honor's most obedient Servant,
WM. ELLERY.

8.—*William Ellery to Governor Cooke.*

PHILADELPHIA, May 8th 1777.

SIR.

Inclosed is an Extract from a Letter written to the Comm'ee of Correspondence by Arthur Lee Esqr, one of the Comm'rs employed by the Congress at the Courts of France & Spain. By this Extract, the Necessity of destroying the British &c. Forces, on Rhode Island before they may be reinforced fully and strongly appears. Boston, it seems is to be attacked. Which Way it is to be attacked, if attacked, is unknown. The Distance from Providence to Boston is about forty six miles Two Days' March only, It hath been and still is my opinion that, if the Enemy intend to pene-

trate into New England, One of their Routes will be from the Head of our Bay, or near it. If the Assembly should agree with Me in this Sentiment, no arguments will be wanting to them, to comply with the Recommendation of Congress. But should this not be the Case most certainly every possible advantage ought to be taken of the divided State of the British Army to crush and destroy it. In a late N. York Paper was published an act of Parliament lately passed for apprehending, and imprisoning, within the Realm of Britain until January 1778 all Pirates and Traitors. If I should be able to procure the Paper or a copy of the Act, before I close my Letter, I will transcribe & transmit it to you. We must retaliate, and Confine all the Prisoners We take. I fancy, before the Campaign is out, We shall be able to balance Accounts with the Enemy. Recruits have come forward from the Southward very cleverly of late. I hope recruiting goes on in the Eastern States brisker than it did. The quota of our State must not be deficient. The common Cause and our Reputation depend upon our activity. The Enemy have used, and are Still using every Artifice they can, to increase Toryism, promote Desertions, and depreciate Continental Dollars, Persons are employed in every State to propagate the first, Twenty four dollars is offered for every Soldier that will desert and carry with him, his Arms, a Less Sum for a Deserter without his Arms, to promote the Second; and to depreciate our Money it seems they have counterfeited large sums and have sent their Emissaries to spread their counterfeit Dollars through the States. I have seen a thirty Dollar counterfeit Bill. It was badly executed. We ought to be, methinks, as industrious to defeat as they are to contrive. It is high Time to treat Tories with proper uniform Severity, & to watch Strangers and perhaps one another with a jealous Eye. The Enemies of our own House, are more dangerous than external Foes But it is my Business to inform, not to direct. I hope the Gen'l Assembly will attend, if they should not have already done it, to the Letter which I wrote them, desiring the earliest Information after the appointment of Delegates. Our State is not represented in Congress now, and will not be until I shall have received authentick advice of my being chosen, or another Delegate shall have arrived. Therefore let me intreat that it may be done, that the new Delegates may come forward immediately. The Circumstances of my Family require that I should return as soon as possible to make some Suitable Provisions for it, and my long constant attention in Congress demands Relaxation. Our Loss at Danbury turns out to be less than we imagined, and We have killed more of the Enemy; but We have no certain account of

either, Every thing in the Jersey statu quo. I congratulate your Honour on the arrival of the Field Peices. We shall take the Field under greater advantages this, than the last Campaign.

Heartily wishing that the Success of it may be at least proportioned to our superior advantages, that we may give our Enemies such convincing Proof of their Folly, Injustice & Cruelty as may induce them to drop the Contest, and thus this be our last Campaign, I am with great Respect,

Y'r Honor's most Obedt h'ble Serv't,
WILLIAM ELLERY.

9.—*William Ellery to Governor Cooke.*

YORK TOWN, May 3^d, 1778.

SIR.

I take this earliest opportunity to inform your Excellency that a Messenger arrived here yesterday P. M. from France, with dispatches, containing among other Things a copy of the Treaties of alliance and of amity and Commerce entered into between the Court of France and our Commissioners; which will without doubt be ratified by Congress.

The former hath the protection and support of the Independency of these States for its basis, and the latter is founded in perfect equality and reciprocity.

If War should be commenced by Great Britain ag't France it is to be made a common cause.

The Independency of these States is to be supported.

If any particular enterprise should be undertaken, we are to join and act in concert.

No truce to be made without the consent of each, unless our Independency is absolutely acknowledged.

France guarantees our Independency, and all we possess or shall possess at the conclusion of the war, and we guarantee to France her Possessions in America. Admission of other Nations to equal advantages in Commerce.

These are imperfect minutes of some of the principal heads of the treaties as I took them at the Table last evening while they were reading. Hereafter when the treaties shall be ratified, copies of them will be transmitted to the several States.

The Letters from the Comm'rs show a good disposition in the powers of Europe towards us.

Prussia shows a disposition to share in our commerce but will not open her ports to our privateers until the arrangement of Independency shall be made.

The Ambassador of the Duke of Tuscany hath given our commissioner favorable expectations from his Court.

Portugal will accede to the family compact.

The House of Bourbon & all the powers of Europe will soon acknowledge our Independency.

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ency. We are desired to forget any animosities we may formerly have entertained ag't France, & to cultivate a friendship for her.

These minutes were made as the other and must of course be very imperfect also.

The Treaties of Alliance &c were signed the 6th of February; and display a spirit of magnanimity and a soundness of policy scarcely to be paralleled. Instead of pursuing that narrow policy which regards only the present moment and present Interest, and nobly disdaining to take an advantage of our situation, France hath, with but a small variation, acceded to our own proposals, thereby doubtless intending to bind us to them by the indissoluble Ties of affection & Gratitude.

It is reported that Genl Amherst, and Admiral Keppel are arrived at Philadelphia; but by an officer whom I saw this morning, and who came directly from Camp it seems to be only a report. Commissioners are daily expected from Britain with proposals for a reconciliation. Congress will abide by their Independency at all events, and I have no doubt but that it will be acknowledged this Campaign even by Britain herself, provided we bring into the field a respectable army.

She is reduced to the greatest straits. From Germany she cannot collect recruits for their stipulated Troops,—From her own Island but few can be drawn. Her credit is sunk in Holland, and her Stocks are fallen. France hath a large body of troops in Normandy and Bretagne, her Navy in good preparation and is determined to protect her commerce to America. She waits only for Britain to strike the first blow. Rather than do this it is my humble opinion that if our people will but step forth, this campaign as I have said before, She will acknowledge our Independency, and be contented with that part of our commerce which it may suit us to give her.

Mr. Collins will set off in a day or two. He will take with him One hundred and fifty thousand Dollars, and a Warrant on our Loan office for the same sum. I am afraid you will be disappointed; but this was not obtained without difficulty. Unless Comm'rs should be appointed to settle our accounts before you make another demand, and they are adjusted; or you should send your auditor with the vouchers for every article, and direct him to tarry until the accounts shall be liquidated, I am afraid any application would be fruitless. Permit me to desire that two of the Delegates, if they should not have come on before this reaches you, may be sent forward immediately; for my health, and the situation of my family oblige me to quit York Town. I continue to be with great Respect Y'r Excellency's very hble Servant

W^m. ELLERY.

IX.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness, and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.]

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—
EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

INTERESTING LETTERS FROM JEFFERSON AND JACKSON.

MR. EDITOR: A few weeks since, you published a copy of a letter of advice written to a young namesake by that eminent statesman and patriot, Henry Clay. I have in my possession, fac-similes of letters of advice to a boy by those illustrious statesmen, Jefferson and Jackson. Of the genuineness of the originals I think there can be no doubt, from the evidence I have in my possession. They compare favorably with the letter of Mr. Clay; and I think the three letters, together, contain some of the best advice to the young ever written.

The history of the letters is this: Peter A. Grotjan, Esq., of Philadelphia, and his wife, had, for many years, enjoyed a correspondence with Mr. Jefferson. In December, 1832, Mrs. Grotjan wrote to Mr. Jefferson, requesting him to bestow his name on her infant son, and write him a letter of advice, as a legacy. With this request, he cheerfully complied, and wrote the letter, of which the following is a true copy, from the fac-simile. On the eighth of June, 1833, Mr. Grotjan introduced his son, then ten years of age, to General Jackson, and requested him to add his sentiments: he retired to his room, and returned, in a few minutes, with his communication written on Mr. Jefferson's letter.

"Th. Jefferson to Th. Jefferson Grotjan.

"Your affectionate mother requests that I
"would address to you, as a namesake, some-
"thing which might have a favorable influence
"on the course of life you have to run. Few
"words are necessary, with good dispositions on
"your part. Adore God; reverence and cher-
"ish your parents; love your neighbor as your-
"self, and your country more than life. Be
"just; be true; murmur not at the ways of Prov-
"idence—and the life into which you have en-
"tered will be one of eternal and ineffable bliss.
"And if to the dead it is permitted to care for
"the things of this world, every action of
"your life will be under my regard. Farewell.
"MONTICELLO, Jan. 10, '24."

"Although requested by Mr. Grotjan, yet I
"can add nothing to the admirable advice
"given to his son by that virtuous patriot and
"enlightened statesman, Thomas Jefferson.
"The precious relic which he sent to the young
"child, contains the purest morality, and incul-
"cates the noblest sentiments. I can only re-

"commend a rigid adherence to them. They
"will carry him through life, safely and respec-
"tably; and, what is better, they will carry him
"through death triumphantly; and we may
"humbly trust they will secure to all who, in
"principle and practice adopt them, that crown
"of immortality described in the Holy Scrip-
"tures.

"ANDREW JACKSON.

"PHILADELPHIA, June 9th, 1833."

The letter from Mr. Jefferson, it will be observed, was written in the eighty-first year of his age, two years previous to his death, in 1826. It breathes the spirit of one living in view of the eternal world, and in fellowship with its heavenly inhabitants—the spirit of the patriot and the Christian. The writing shows the trembling hand of an old man; but is sufficiently plain to be read even by a child. The strongly marked individuality of Jackson is seen in every line of his penmanship, and the sentiments of his letter are such as we should expect. How happy would it be for our children, could we leave to them the legacy of such examples and precepts as we have received from the founders of our Republic. In these days of official corruption and political dishonesty, is it not well to keep them in mind of such teachings and such examples?—*N. Y. Chronicle.* E. E.

UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF JOHN ADAMS.

The Worcester Transcript has been furnished with the following copy of a letter, written, in 1813, by the elder Adams to Thomas Jefferson, never before published. The allusion to Alexander Hamilton's influence, during President Washington's administration, is particularly worthy of notice.—
Ed. Hist. Mag.

QUINCY, July 12, 1813.

DEAR SIR: I forgot, in my last, to remark a very trifling inaccuracy in yours of June 27th. The letter intercepted in Hitchbourne's trunk, which was reported to glance at Mr. Dickenson, was not in 1776. It was in the month of June, 1775. Had it been June, 1776, the English would have printed it. The nation had then too maturely reflected on the necessity of Independence, and was too ripe and too hot for a Proclamation of it. Neither Mr. Dickenson nor any of his friends would have dared to express the smallest resentment of it, out of their own gloomy circles. The Penns, the Allens, the Chews, and the Willings, in other words, the Proprietary gentlemen of Pennsylvania—I mean those of them who had not run away to the English—would have been silent. The Quakers, instead of producing my Letters, and reading them, and recording them in their General Meetings, and holding me up to the detestation of their whole Society, as the most odious of men, aiming, or, at least, having in contemplation, the possibility of Independence, in any case what-

soever, would have concealed and dissimulated their hypocritical cant. The Pembertons, (even Israel,) the Drinkers, the Shoemakers, and all the rest, would have been silent. The Spirit would not have moved one of them to open his lips.

In June, 1776, my Friends would not have put on long faces and lamented my imprudence. None of them would have wondered, as some of them did, in 1775, that a man of Forty Years of Age, and of considerable Experience in business and in life should have been guilty of such an Indiscretion. Others would not have said; "It was a premature Declaration of Independence;" and Joseph Reed, soon afterwards private Secretary of General Washington, and, after that, Governor of Pennsylvania, would not have said to me, as he did, "I look upon the Interception and publication of that Letter, as an act of the Providence of God to excite the attention of the People to their real situation and to show them what they must come to."

You say "it has been hoped, I would leave such explanations as would place every saddle on its right Horse, and replace on the shoulders of others the burthens they shifted on yours."

Hoped! by whom? They know not what they hope. I have, already, "replaced on the shoulders of" Franklin the burthens he shifted on mine. Shall I replace on the shoulders of WASHINGTON, the burthens that a bastard Bratt of a Scotch Pedlar placed on his shoulders and he shifted on mine?

How many Gauntlets am I destined to run? How many Martyrdoms must I suffer?

Be they more or less, I have enjoyed a happy Life; and I would not exchange Life, Character or Fortune with any one of them.

There are few Men now living, if any, who know more of me than you do. Yet you know but little of the Life I have led, the hazards I have run, or "the light afflictions for a moment," I have endured.

I will conclude this grave solemn Letter with a merry Story; but, as true as it is diverting.

In my Youth, I was acquainted with one of our New England Nobility, Representative, Counsellor, Colonel, Judge John Chandler of Worcester, of whom I could tell you twenty humorous and instructive Anecdotes. He had great Influence in our Legislature. Upon some occasion, there was a complaint against him, as a Justice of the Peace, in the County of Worcester. He arrived in Boston; and the Council sent for him, and interrogated him, and threatened him. When he came down from the Council Chamber, one of his Brother Representatives asked him, "What can the matter be?" "God damn them," said Chandler, "they talk of uncreating their Creator." If you do not

understand this and wish an explanation, you shall have it.

JOHN ADAMS.

To President JEFFERSON.

A CURIOUS DOCUMENT.—In Connecticut, when the news was received of the plot to assassinate King William III., in the winter of 1695-6, there was an association entered into by the members of the Council and General Assembly, of which the following is a copy, taken from the original still preserved in the State Library in Hartford, with the autograph signatures.

"At a Session of the Council in Hartf'd Sept'r 2d, 1696

"Whereas there has been a horrid and detestable Conspiracy formed and carried on by Papists, & other wicked & traitorous persons for assassinating his Ma'tys royall person in order to encourage an invasion from France on England, to subvert our Religion, Laws and liberty; whose names are hereunto subscribed, doe heartily, sincerely and solemnly profess, testifie and declare, that his present Ma'ty King William is rightfull and lawfull King of ye Realms of England, Scotland and Ireland, and that neither ye late King James nor ye pretended Prince of Wales nor any other person hath any right whatsoever to ye same, and we do mutually promise and engage, to stand by and assist each other to ye utmost of our power in ye support and defence of his Ma'tys most sacred person and government, against ye late King James and all his adherents, and in case his Ma'tie come to any violent or untimely death (which God forbid) we do hereby further freely and unanimously oblige ourselves to unite, associate and stand by each other, in revenging ye same upon his enemies, and their adherents, and in supporting and defending ye succession of ye Crown, according to an Act made in the 1st year of ye reign of King William & Queen Mary intituled an Act declaring ye rights and liberties of ye subject, and settling ye succession of ye Crown.

Hartford, Sept. 2d, 1696.

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCILL. — ROBERT TREAT, GOVERNOR, JOHN ALLYN, ASSISTANT; SAMUEL MASON, ASSIST.; NATH'L STANLY, ASSIST.; CALEB STANLY, ASSIST.; MOSES MANFIELD, ASSIST.; JOHN HAMLIN, ASSIST.; ELEAZER KIMBERLY, Sec'y.

"At a sessions of the Gen'rl Court, Octob'r 8, 1696.,

"We, whose names are hereunder written doe testify our entering into and covenanting in the Bill of Association mentioned on the other side and doe solemnly inguage to stand by and to perform all the articles and condi-

"tions therein contained in testimonie of our steady loyalty to the sacred person of his Royall Maje'tie our dread Sovereign Lord King William, and to his government by our subscription.

"ROBERT TREAT, Gov'r ; JOHN ALLYN, Assistant ; ANDREW LEEK, Assist. ; SAMUELL MASON, Assist. ; DANIELL WETHERELL, Assist. ; CALEB STANLY, Assist. ; MOSES MANSFIELD, Assist. ; JONATHAN SELLECK, Assist. ; NATHAN'L STANLY, Assist.

"REPRESENTATIVES.—APRIAN NICKOLS, WILLIAM PITKIN, HENRY WOLCOT, JOHN MOORE, SAM'L FOSKYK, ANDREW LESTER, JAMES HEATON, JOHN ALLING, MATH'LL LYNDE, JOHN CLARKE, WILLIAM CHENEY, JOHN HALL, JOSEPH MINOR, EZEKIEL MAYNE, JAMES JUDSON, JOHN BOOTH, ELEAZER STERIOR, WILLIAM NALTBIE, DAN'LL BRAINARD, JOSEPH FREEMAN, BENJ. BREWSTER, RICHARD BUSHNELL, THOMAS CLARKE, SAMUELL NEWTON, JAMES TREAT, JOHN CHESTER, JOSIAH ROSSETTER, STEPHEN BRADLE, JOSEPH PECK, SAMUELL RIGGS, JOHN HAWLY, SAMUELL BUELL, THOMAS HART, SAM'LL HALE, SAMUELL WILCOCKSON, PETER BUELL, THOMAS JUDD, ELIASAPH PRESTON, JOHN HALL, JOHN BATES, DAVID WATERBURY, JOHN WAGEMAN, ANDREW MESSENGER."

WASHINGTON IRVING'S ANCESTORS.

DEAR SIR: I see, from a paragraph now going the rounds, copied from the *Northern Ensign*, that Mr. Petrie, County-clerk of Orkney, has discovered that Washington Irving, the celebrated writer, is an Orkney man, by descent, Mr. Petrie says :

"Along with other gentlemen, I have been engaged for the last six or eight months in tracing the pedigree of Washington Irving; and we have found, from the manuscripts (most of them in my possession) and other sources, that his father was born in Shapinshay; emigrated to New York about 1760; and died in 1798, leaving a large fortune. The Rev. P. P. Irving was here about three weeks; and carried away with him a table of the family descent, tracing them back to 1422, and subscribed by Sheriff Robertson and myself. The Orkney Irvings are descendants of the Irving of Drum, as appears from the coat of arms appended to Charters, etc."

Some years ago, a weatherbeaten old Shields sailor gave me the following particulars :

"William and Peter Irven or Irvine, brothers, were born in Shapinshay, Orkney, about the middle of last century. William took to the sea; Peter was bred a tailor. The former got on rapidly, and, having acquired a great fortune while yet a young man, settled in New York,

"seventy or eighty years ago. Peter, who remained in his native island, married, and had five daughters, of whom the youngest, Sarah, the only one of the lot who entered the married state, was named after her uncle's wife, in America. She espoused George Fowles, mariner, belonging to Durness, and had seven children, of whom the oldest, Thomas, my informant, now living in Shields, is about sixty years old. The rich American uncle had a son, whom he named after the illustrious patriot, Washington; and this individual is the world-renowned author of "the *Sketch Book* and *Bracebridge Hall*."

In Denniston's *Memoirs of Sir Robert Strange*, some additional facts are given :

John of Irwyn had landed possessions of Holman, in Orkney, in 1438, when the country was still an appendage of the Crown of Denmark and Norway. The Irvines of Sebay are very frequently mentioned, in the times of Robert and Patrick Stewart, Earls of Orkney, and suffered very severely from the outrages of these rapacious nobles. They became extinct, in the direct male line, *tempore* Charles I.; but one collateral branch had, immediately before, settled in the island of Sanday, and another, the Irvines of Gairstay, in the island of Shapinshay. They left the estate of Gairstay several generations back, and sunk down into the condition of mere peasants, tenants of Quhome, where some of them reside at this day. I was there, lately, with Mr. Balfour, the proprietor of Shapinshay, who pointed out the old and modest house at Quhome, where was born William Irvine, father of Washington Irving. Is it not somewhat singular that Sir Robert Strange and the author of *Bracebridge Hall* can be almost demonstrated of the same blood? I guess, if Irving knew his pedigree could be traced, step by step, up to John Irwyn of 1438, he would readily claim and vindicate his Orcadian descent.

The Irvines, Irvins, or Irwins, though seeming to derive their appellation from a place in Ayrshire, are connected with the old mosstrooping Ewewings of the southwestern Scottish march. The latter are enumerated by Sir David Lindsay among the Border Clans :

"Adieu all thieves—
"Taylors, Ewewings, and Ellwands,
"Speedy of foot and light of hands."

A branch of them settled early in the North; and we find that the Irvines, along with the Keiths, Leslys, Forbeses, and other Clans, being at enmity with Huntly and Errol, joined James I., in his expedition into the Highlands. (Robertson's *History of Scotland*, ii., 221.)

A tradition exists which refers the same to a Roman origin. The family, now so widely scattered, has been located, from time immemorial, in the vicinity of the Roman Wall, in Liddesdale and Cumberland; and its founder is said to

have been Paulus Irvinus, the Captain of a Roman Legion stationed there. This, if true,—is exceedingly curious. WILLIAM BROOKIE.

SOUTH SHIELDS, Oct. 11, 1856.—*Gateshead Observer*.

THE AUTHOR OF "HOME, SWEET HOME."—The following, from a newspaper of 1853, gives some interesting incidents in the life of the author of *Home Sweet Home*: "As I sit in my garret here, in Washington, watching the course of great men and the destiny of party, I often meet with strange contradictions, in the eventful life.

"The most remarkable was that of J. Howard Payne, author of *Home, Sweet Home*. I knew him, intimately. He occupied the same room, under me, for some time; and his conversation was so captivating that I often spent whole days in his apartment. He was applicant for office, at that time—Consul at Tunis—from which he had been removed. What a sad thing it was to see the poet subjected to all the humiliation of office-seeking. Of an evening, he would walk the streets. On such occasions, he would give me a history of his wanderings, his trials, and all cares incident to his sensitive nature and to poverty. 'How often,' said he once, 'I have been in the heart of Paris, Berlin, and London, or some other city, and heard persons singing, or hand organs playing, *Home, Sweet Home*, without having a shilling to buy myself the next meal or place to lay my head. The world has literally sung my song till every heart is familiar with its melody. Yet, I have been a wanderer, from my boyhood. My country has turned me ruthlessly from office; and, in my old age, I have to submit to humiliation for my bread.'

"Thus he would complain of his hapless lot. His only wish was to die in a foreign land; to be buried by strangers; and sleep in obscurity. Poor Payne! He died at Tunis. His remains should be brought to this country and a monument erected to him, by the homeless, with this inscription: 'Here lies J. Howard Payne, author of *Home, Sweet Home*. A wanderer in life—he, whose songs were sung on every tongue and found an echo in every heart, never had a home. He died in a foreign land.'"—*Louisville Journal*.

A SOLDIER'S LAST LETTER.—1775. That gallant soldier, General Richard Montgomery, fell at the siege of Quebec, on the last day of 1775. At the same time, his Aids-de-camp, Major John MacPherson, (wrongly printed "McPhunn," in *Lossing's Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*, i., 198,) and Captain Cheeseman, were also slain.

The spot is still pointed out—namely, at the foot of a cliff called Cape Diamond, crowned with the citadel. Of MacPherson and Cheeseman, we are told by Lossing, that "they were brave and accomplished, and gave assurance of future renown; but they fell with their leader, and share with him the grateful reverence of posterity."

The day before the attack upon Quebec, MacPherson wrote a letter to his father, which we shall here give—not only because it is a model of what a Christian soldier would write under the circumstances, but because it has never before been published. It runs thus:

"MY DEAR FATHER: If you receive this, it will be the last this hand shall ever write you. Orders are given for a general storm on Quebec, this night; and Heaven only knows what may be my fate; but, whatever it may be, I cannot resist the inclination I feel to assure you that I experience no reluctance in this cause, to venture a life which I consider is only lent to be used when my country demands it.

"In moments like these, such an assertion will not be thought a boast by any one—by my father, I am sure it cannot. It is needless to tell that my prayers are for the happiness of the family and their preservation, in this general confusion. Should Providence, in its wisdom, call me from rendering the little assistance I might to my country, I could wish my brother did not continue in the service of her enemies.

"That the All-gracious Disposer of human events may shower on you, my mother, brothers, and sisters, every blessing our nature can receive, is, and will be to the last moment of life, the sincere prayer of your dutiful and affectionate son,

"JOHN MACPHERSON.

"HEADQUARTERS BEFORE QUEBEC,
"30th December, 1775."

MacPherson's brother held a commission in the British army; and it is to him that special reference was made in the above. The letter was left with directions to be sent, in case the writer did not survive the assault upon Quebec. Accordingly, General Philip Schuyler despatched it to Captain John MacPherson, the father, with the following missive from himself:

"Permit me, Sir, to mingle my tears with yours, for the loss we have sustained; you as a father, I as a friend. My dear young friend fell by the side of his General, as much lamented as he was beloved; and that, I assure you, Sir, was in an eminent degree. This, and his falling like a hero, will console, in some measure, a father who gave him the example of bravery, which the son, in a short military life, improved to advantage.

"General Montgomery and his corpse were both interred by General Carleton with military honors.

"Your most obedient and humble servant,

"PH. SCHUYLER.

"ALBANY, 14th June, 1776."

Both letters remained among the papers of the MacPherson family, and the copies from which we print are endorsed thus: "The originals of which these are copies were lent to General Wilkinson, when he was writing his *Memoirs*, and never were returned."

"J. M. MACPHERSON."

—*Philadelphia Press*, Oct. 30, 1860.

WHO ATE ROGER WILLIAMS?—Is now a question of much interest, as will be seen from a perusal of the following interesting statement. For many years, it has been the design of the friends of this distinguished man, to erect a suitable monument to his memory. Recently, the matter was newly agitated with success, and work was begun to erect a memorial to the founder of Rhode Island. The place of his burial was found; and the work of exhuming his remains, which had been buried one hundred and eighty-three years, was undertaken. The result of the movement was as follows: In digging down into the "charnel house," it was found that everything had passed into oblivion. The shapes of the coffins could only be traced by a black line of carbonaceous matter, the thickness of the edges of the sides of the coffins, with their ends clearly defined. The rusted remains of the hinges and nails, with a few fragments of wood and a single round knot, was all that could be gathered from his grave. In the grave of his wife, there was not a trace of anything save a single lock of braided hair, that had survived the lapse of more than one hundred and eighty years. Near the grave, stood a venerable apple-tree; but when and by whom planted is not known. This tree had sent two of its main roots into the graves of Mr. and Mrs. Williams. The largest root had pushed its way, through the earth, till it reached the precise spot occupied by the skull of Roger Williams. There, making a turn, as if going round the skull, it followed the direction of the backbone, to the hips. Here it divided into two branches, sending one along each leg to the heel, where they both turned, upward, to the toes. One of these roots formed a slight crook at the knee, which made the whole bear a close resemblance to the human form. This singular root is preserved with great care, not only as an illustration of a great principle in vegetation, but for its historic association. There were the graves, emptied of every particle of human dust! Not a trace of anything was left! It is known to chemistry that all flesh, and the gelati-

nous matter giving consistency to the bones, are resolved into carbonic acid gas, water, and air; while the solid lime-dust usually remains. But, in this case, even the phosphate of lime of the bones of both graves was gone! There stood the "guilty apple-tree," as was said at the time, caught in the very act of "robbing the grave." To explain the phenomenon, is not the design of this article. Such an explanation could be given; and many other similar cases could be adduced. But this fact must be admitted; the organic matter of Roger Williams had been transmitted into the apple-tree: it had passed into the woody fibre and was capable of propelling a steam-engine: it had bloomed in the apple-blossoms, and had become pleasant to the eye; and more, it had gone into the fruit, from year to year, so that the question might be asked, who ate Roger Williams?—*Albany Argus*.

WHO CAPTURED GENERAL RIAL?

[The following interesting letter from General Jeap, throws light on one of the most interesting events of the War of 1812; and we find a place for it with much pleasure.]

WASHINGTON, Sept. 25, 1852.

GENTLEMEN: By an article copied into the *New Orleans Picayune* of the 12th instant, from the *St. Louis Republican*, I learn that a controversy is going on in the public journals as to who captured Gen. Rial, of the British army, in the battle of Niagara. That is not a subject for dispute. Gen. Brown's official report of the battle, states the matter correctly. At the close of the third paragraph of that report, the General says: "The 25th had been thrown to the right, to be governed by circumstances;" and in the paragraph which follows, he says: "The 25th Regiment, under Major Jesup, was engaged in a more obstinate conflict with all that remained to dispute with us the field of battle. The Major, as has already been stated, had been ordered by Gen. Scott, at the commencement of the action, to take ground on his right. He had succeeded in turning the enemy's flank; had captured, by a detachment under Captain Ketchum, Gen. Rial, and sundry other officers," &c., (See Gen. Brown's report in Brannon's *Military and Naval Letters*, page 381.)

The facts are these: When the 25th had turned Gen. Rial's left flank, it was ascertained from prisoners that Gen. Drummond was advancing at the head of a heavy Division. The importance of checking his movement, and keeping him out of action, until Gen. Brown should come up with Ripley's and Porter's Brigades, was obvious. Captain Ketchum was detached with his Company to seize the Niagara Road, with orders to seize all who should attempt to pass, either to the front or rear; the commander of the Regiment at the same time taking a position

with five Companies to support him, and to check the movements of a body of Cavalry not more than a hundred paces from the road.

In about ten or fifteen minutes, Ketchum reported the capture of Gen. Rial, with his escort. While these events were occurring, a detachment, under a non-commissioned officer, which had been sent down the road towards the advancing column, captured Captain Moorson, (I believe that is the name), the British Adjutant-general, on his way with a communication from Gen. Rial to Gen. Drummond, and Capt. Loring, an Aid of the latter General, with a communication to the former. The 25th Regiment was then between the two British Divisions; and it was important to get the prisoners out of the way, that they might not impede its action. It was due to Captain Ketchum that he should conduct them from the field; and he was detached, with forty men, to deliver them to Gen. Scott.

Gen. Brown's report was first published in the *National Intelligencer*, if I mistake not, in August, 1814, and can be referred to by any one having access to a file of that journal. It is due to the memory of Ketchum, as gallant a soldier as ever led American troops into battle; who never hesitated, no matter what the peril, to execute any order given to him; who never made an attack which was not successful, nor received one which was not repulsed; that the facts in regard to the capture should be correctly understood. I therefore ask the favor of you, Gentlemen, to publish this note in the *Intelligencer*, as early as you can conveniently find room for it; and I am, respectfully,

Your Obedient Servant,
TH. S. JESUP.

XI.—NOTES.

THE BATTLE OF SPRINGFIELD, N. J.

*We copy the following report of this action, made by General Maxwell to Governor Livingston of New Jersey, from the original, in the possession of a friend.—ED. HIST. MAG.,

JERSEY CAMP, NEAR SPRINGFIELD, }
14th June, 1780. }

DEAR GOVERNOR: You will find by the inclosed that I had written to your Excellency on the 6th inst. The person who was to have delivered it halted at Elizabethtown, and before daylight was alarmed. We were alarmed also by 12 o'clock, and had marched near your house when intelligence was received that the enemy were landing in force, with artillery and dragoons, and that their number would be at least 5,000. I thought Elizabethtown would be an improper place for me. I therefore retired toward Connecticut Farms, where Col. Dayton joined me with his regiment. I ordered a few small parties to defend the defile near the Farm

Meeting-House, where they were joined and assisted in the defense by some small bodies of militia. The main body of the brigade had to watch the enemy on the road leading to the right and left toward Springfield, that they might not cut off our communication with his Excellency General Washington. Our parties of Continental troops and militia at the defile performed wonders. After stopping the advance of the enemy near three hours, they crossed over the defile and drove them to the tavern that was Jeremiah Smith's, but the enemy were at that time re-enforced with at least 1,500 men, and our people were driven in their turn over the defile, and obliged to quit it. I, with the whole brigade and militia, was formed to attack them, shortly after they had crossed the defile, but it was tho't imprudent, as the ground was not advantageous, and the enemy very numerous. We retired slowly toward the heights toward Springfield, harassing them on their right and left, till they came with their advance to David Meehner's house, where they thought proper to halt. Shortly after the whole brigade, with the militia, advanced their right, left, and front, with the greatest rapidity, and drove their advance to the main body. We were in our turn obliged to retire after the closest action I have seen this war. We were then pushed over the bridge at Springfield, where we posted some troops, and with the assistance of a field piece, commanded by the militia, the enemy were again driven back to their former station, and still further before night. Never did troops, either continental or militia, behave better than ours did. Every one that had an opportunity (which they mostly all had) vied with each other who could serve the country most. In the latter part of the day, the militia flocked from all quarters and gave the enemy no respite till the day closed the scene. At the middle of the night, the enemy sneaked off and put their backsides to the sound near Elizabethtown. Our loss was one ensign killed, and three lieutenants wounded, seven privates killed, twenty-eight wounded, and five missing. The militia lost several and had a number wounded. We have good reason to believe, from the number of dead left on the ground, and from the information of many of the inhabitants where they had their dead and wounded, that they lost three times the number we did. Gen. Stirling is among their wounded and thought to be dangerous, with Count Donop killed, a son or nephew of the General who met the same fate at Red Bank. I am credibly informed that 47 of the enemy, dead were found the next day, scattered through the woods and fields, beside those whom they themselves had buried and carried off the first day. The main body of the enemy now occupy the ground by the Old

point and De Hart's house. Their advanced parties are as far as Elizabethtown Bridge. I am, with much respect and esteem, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant.

WM. MAXWELL.

15th.—N. B.—Your Excellency's family was all well a day or two ago, and had received no injury from the enemy. Your son William was with us all the day of the action.

His Excellency Gov. LIVINGSTON.

AMERICAN COMMERCE, ETC., IN 1761.—From the Introduction of *The American Negotiator; or the various currencies of the British Colonies in America, as well the Islands, as the Continent. * * * * Reduced into English money.* By J. WRIGHT, Accomptant. London: Printed by J. Everingham, Dean-Street, Fetter-Lane. For the Author, 1761, we give the following extract to show the nature and objects of the work.

It contains the names of about two thousand five hundred persons in London and Bristol, subscribers for the work, and, of course, interested, at that time, in the trade with this country.

"The Trade carried on between *Great-Britain* and her *American Colonies* hath been for many Years very considerable, and of late Years greatly increased, and still daily increasing; and is happily in so flourishing a State at present, as to make up a very great Part of the extensive and vast Trade carried on by *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*. The very great Quantities of Goods and Merchandize that are yearly exported to the Colonies, most of them of the Manufactory and Produce of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, and the very numerous Fleets that annually arrive from the said Colonies richly laden with the various and valuable Productions of the western World, which almost every favourable Wind wafts over from the Bosom of the *Atlantic Ocean*, are daily Testimonies of the Importance of the Trade to the Colonies, to such a Degree, as to be the principal Source of the Riches, Grandeur and Power of the *British Nation*, to which it has at present arrived, by the auspicious and benign Dispensation of Prudence; to the Wonder, Envy and Jealousy, of the neighbouring Nations; and our good Neighbours the *French* in particular, who for near a Century past have made repeated Efforts, both by open War, as well as by sly and treacherous Methods, and every Machination in their Power, to deprive us of the Sources of Wealth and Power, which the Trade to *America* so evidently administers to *Great-Britain*. But the joyful Days are come, that the Bonds of *French* Power in that Part of the World are now broke in sunder, and all their Attempts to destroy or

"circumscribe the Bounds of the *British Colonies*, and consequently the Trade thither, happily subverted, overset, and destroyed, by the refulgent Beams of Providence, which have so remarkably shone on the *British Arms*, in the Course of the present War, and has placed the *British Flag* on every Fort and Port of the northern Part of the Continent of *America* (as well as several of the southern Isles) where the *French Flag* waved before; so that it may now be said in one respect of the *British Dominions*, what *Puffendorf*, in the Introduction to his *Roman History* says, of the Extent of the *Roman Empire*, which he says, was only bounded by Nature; having for Bounds on the North the frozen Hyperborean Mountains of *Sythea*, and on the South the burning sandy Desarts of *Africa*. In like Manner, the *British Empire in America* is at present only bounded by the Inclemency of Cold, and uninhabitable Woods and Wilds of *Terra incognita Borealis*, or the unknown Regions of the North. And also on the West of *Canada*, by Countries little known to the Europeans, which, as they lay in temperate and inhabitable Climates, 'tis hoped the *British Nation* will in Process of Time be better acquainted with than at present.

"'Tis certain, the present great extent of the *British Dominions in America* are situated in, and comprehend all the Diversity of Soil and Climate, as is to be found in all the inhabitable Parts of the Globe; and consequently 'tis highly probable, that every vegetable Production, that is now raised in all other Parts of the World, will thrive when transported to a Climate, and Soil, of the same Temperature as the Place of their native Growth.

"The want of new Seeds and Plants, which are hard to be obtained and transported with vegetable Life in them, so far as from the *East* to the *West-Indies*, is a great Obstacle; but nevertheless, may in Time be surmounted.

"The Genius and Industry of the *British Nation* for planting and cultivating new Lands, and raising every Production their Soils and Climates in *America* are capable of producing, promise great Things on this Head, especially as the Colonists are encouraged by the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, by the many Premiums they have offered for the raising new Production in *America*, which Encouragement is said to be seconded by several of the Governments in the Colonies; which makes it more than possible, that in Process of Time, all the vegetable Productions, that are raised in the southern Parts of *Europe*, may be raised in the Colonies in great Abundance. These and other Considerations set before us the pleasing Prospect of the Trade to *America*, greatly increasing

"to the reciprocal Advantage of the Colonies and their Mother Country.

"It is not my Intention here to play the Geographer, or to dip into Politicks, or commence Historian of any Class, either Political or Natural; these Subjects are amply treated of by many Authors of various Nations in *Europe*, in their respective Languages; inso-much, that a Collection of Books wrote on the Affairs of *America* would make a very considerable Library of themselves; and the respective Writers on these Heads, and what is found in Collections of Voyages and Travels, seem to have quite exhausted their respective Subjects, and must wait for new Events, Discoveries and Circumstances, to furnish them with new Materials further to expatiate on their respective Subjects, which no doubt Time will amply supply them with."

We find the Apothecary, architect, army-lace-man, attorney, accomptant, auctioneer, alderman, anchor-smith, agent; Baker, biscuit-maker, banker, broker, brewer, brush-maker, bookseller, block-maker, brazier, brick-layer, breeches-maker, button-man, button-maker, buckle-maker, bacon-cutter, Blackwell-Hall-factor, buckram-stiffner; Carpenter, coach-maker, collar-maker, coach-painter, chair-maker, cabinet-maker, cheese-monger, china-man, coal-merchant, comb-maker, carver, clerk, chymist, cooper, confectioner, chaser, currier, calender, clock-engraver, colour-man, cyder-merchant, copper-merchant, copper-refiner, copper-plate-printer, corn-factor, cork-cutter, carpet-ware-house-man; Druggist, distiller, drum and colour-maker; Enameller, engraver, exchange-broker, engine-maker, esquire-factor, fan-maker, furrier, fell-monger, fish-monger, founder, floor-cloth-painter; Gentleman, gun-maker, grocer, gun-powder-merchant, glass-grinder, glass-seller, glass-merchant, glover, gold-beater, gold-wire-button-maker, gold-smith, gold and silver-flatter, geographer; Hatter, haberdasher of hats, hat-maker, hosier, haberdasher, hard-ware-man, hot-presser, hooper, hop-merchant, hair-merchant; Indigo-maker, ink-maker, iron-founder, iron-monger, inn-keeper, insurance-broker; Joiner, jeweller; Leather-dresser, leather-seller, leather-cutter; leather-dyer, lace-man, linnen-draper, lighter-man; Mason, machine and black-ball-maker, mathematical-instrument-maker, man's-mercier, malt-distiller, maltster, metal-flatter, measure-maker, master of Vaux-hall-garden, mercer, merchant, mill-wright and engineer, musical-clock-maker, meal-factor, milliner; Notary public, needle-maker; Operator of teeth, optician, orris-weaver, oil-man, oil and colour-man, oil-cooper, orange-merchant; Preacher, painter, printer, print-seller, packer, peruke-maker, pin-maker, pewterer, plumber, poulterer, perfumer, potter, pump-maker, pawn-broker,

planisher, paper-ware-house-man, physick-gardener; Refiner, ribbon-weaver, rug-maker, remembrancer; Sausage-maker, saddler to her majesty, ship-chandler, scale-maker, soap-maker, spring-saw-and-plane-maker, silk-man, silk-broker, silk-dyer, slop-seller, seeds-man, shoemaker, school-master, stationer, surgeon, silversmith, saddler, salter, sugar-refiner, sugar-broker, satin-dresser, ship-broker, ship-builder, shipwright, stock-broker, sail-maker, stocking-trimmer, silver-turner, shoe-ware-house-man, shagreen-case-maker, shalloon-maker; Tanner, tobacco-nist, tallow-factor, tallow-chandler, timber-merchant, trunk-maker, truss-maker, toy-man, tea-man, taylor, tin-man, tyre-smith, tabby-wafer, throwster; Vintner, victualler, vestry-clerk; Upholsterer, upholder, undertaker; Weaver, white-smith, worm-maker, wool-stapler, wine-seller, ware-house-man, watch-maker, watch-case-maker, watch-gilder, wharfinger, whip-maker, whalebone-cutter, woollen-draper.

We see here how different branches of business were subdivided. We have tanner, currier, leather-dresser, leather-seller, leather-dyer, leather-cutter; and so of others. We have some employments of which, in this country, we have little knowledge: what acquaintance have we with "fell-monger;" "remembrancer," "calender" "orris-weaver," "throwster," "slop-seller," "haberdasher," etc.?

We infer that there was then, there, as well as here, at that time, very little Coffee used, as it is not mentioned, unless under the general name of Grocer. It is probable that mineral coal, for fuel, had not come into general use, as now; in fact, at first, there was a great prejudice against it, as against many other new things, such as *saw-mills* and power-looms. In the whole list there is but *one* coal-merchant.

There were no dealers in cotton or cotton goods—silk, linen, woollen are mentioned. We miss, too, many kinds of merchandise which have come into use, in the last century,

We would like to see the trades, professions, employments, etc., in London, New York, etc., at the present day, contrasted with this. It would show as great a difference from this of London, in 1761, as that does with ancient Tyre, in the days of the prophet Ezekiel, Chap. xxvii., where he describes it under the allegory of a ship with all its cargo on board, sunk in the sea,

We have now many articles of merchandise, modes of manufacture, means of living, of which the people who lived a hundred years ago never dreamed.

It is worthy of notice how different, too, are the terms then in use for the same trade or occupation, from the present—"oil-man," "oil-and-colour-man," for a dealer in paints and drying oils; "tea-man," is a dealer in that article;

so "toy-man" and "tin-man," and dentistry had not been much practiced when they named the practitioner, "the operator of teeth."

It seems to have been an ancient and eastern practice to use the term *man* for actor, or agent; so "husband-man," for farmer; "ship-man," for sailor; "crafts-man," in the Bible. In the East, in western Asia, they used the term "Barisman," for the keeper of a fortress.

It is a singular fact, that, in all this list of twenty-five hundred names, including above two hundred trades and professions interested in the trade with this country, there is not *one Doctor*, unless the following may be so regarded, "*Geo. Bridges, original Bug doc.*" What this expression means, has puzzled every one to whom we have shown it. We should like to have some of the antiquarian readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE explain it.

STATESVILLE, N. C.

E. F. R.

WITCHCRAFT.—In the year 1692, at Salem, in the Puritan Colony of Massachusetts, accusations of witchcraft were brought against several persons. A special Court was ordered by the Governor for their trial; and the whole community showed the deepest interest in the result. The evidence received was such as may be found in nearly all similar trials in Europe; it was conclusive of the guilt of the accused, to the minds of the Judges; and they were condemned and executed on the gallows, by order of this "Witch-Court."

The excitement increased; many more were accused and held for examination; but the matter being brought before the Representatives of the people, in their annual assembly, the special Court was abrogated, and three months' delay obtained. People grew calm, and reasoned together; and, when the accused, were tried before the Colonial Court, all were released. Belief in witchcraft came to a violent end, for the first time in the world's history. The strong good sense of the Puritans overthrew one of the most deeply-rooted superstitions of the ages.

While the foregoing contains the simple facts of the Salem case, as related by every historian of credit, nothing is more common than for ignorant or malicious persons to refer to the Puritan belief in witchcraft as an evidence of peculiar intolerance and religious fanaticism.

While the Puritans believed in the power of witches and in demoniacal possession, until 1692, it is a fact that they held their opinions in common with the whole civilized world. A belief in witchcraft meets us at the very dawn of authentic history. Instances are recorded in the Old Testament; and Moses commanded

the children of Israel, "Suffer not a witch to live." It was a common faith, in the pagan world, and flourished through the splendid civilizations of Greece and Rome. Philosophers, naturalists, and conquerors, Cicero, Pliny, and the Cæsars, were equally its dupes.

With the common tenacity of error, witchcraft survived the wreck of laws and learning, in the fall of the Roman world; and, gathering strength into the twilight of the middle ages, it was as much a matter of belief, until the beginning of the eighteenth century, as the Christian religion. Not only were both branches of the Christian Church fully committed to it, by the united voices of Popes, Bishops, Clergy, and the Canon Law; but it was unquestioned by the Universities and philosophers and recognized by the Statute Law.

The men to whom the Reformation is due, Erasmus, Luther, Melancthon, and Calvin, could here join their adversaries, on common ground. Belief in human spirits, acting through the human agency of witches, was no superstition, but simple fact, to minds like Shakspeare, Milton, Hobbs, and even down to the time of Locke. Sir Thomas Brown, author of the *Exposure of Vulgar Errors*, testified in Court as to his entire belief in witches. Sir Kenelm Digby and Bruvère are also on record as believers. While men so illustrious, as scholars and philosophers, held the faith, there could be no doubt in the common mind; nor was it safe to be skeptical in England or France, down to the close of the seventeenth century.

In 1670, sixty people were executed at Mobra, in Sweden, as witches, and several of them were children. In 1677, five men were burned at Paisley, Scotland. In France, witches were burned as lately as 1718, and tried as lately as 1765. James II. of England tried some witches himself, and had them put to the torture; and the Act against witches, under which thousands had suffered, was not repealed in England until 1736, forty years after the occurrences at Salem!

Hundreds of instances can be cited to prove, beyond question or cavil, that the Puritans only agreed with the current opinions of the world, opinions not of the ignorant merely, but the learned also, and those of the highest station, including the Sovereign Pontiff of the Roman Church, Kings on all the thrones of Europe, the Judges on the Bench, and the whole body of the Clergy. And it is equally true that the Puritans were among the first who subjected this superstition to the light of reason, and exposed it as a delusion and error.

JOHN E. RUSSELL.

NAVAL.—The *Darien Gazette* says, that there is an old live-oak stump on Mr. Couper's plan-

tation, (St. Simon's,) from which the original stern-post of the *Constitution* was taken. Shortly after the capture of the *Guerriere* by that vessel, a BAY-TREE sprung up from the centre of the old stump, and has continued to flourish ever since; and, as an evergreen, may be seen at all times of the year, constantly increasing in strength and beauty. We presume, therefore, that there can no longer be a doubt that the American *Constitution* will always flourish "like a green bay-tree."—*Commercial Advertiser*, April 30, 1824.

NEW YORK.

W. K.

FIRST THRASHING-MACHINE.—In commending the hand threshing-machines of the present day, as "cheap, and doing their work easily, "expeditiously and well," the *American Agriculturist* says: "The earliest attempts to thrash by machinery were, we believe, with hand thrashers. The curious will find a reference in Washington's Diary, under the date of January 22d, 1790, to his having called upon the Baron de Poellnitz to see his threshing-machine, by "which it is clear that, long before the introduction of horse thrashers, a tolerable effective hand machine was employed."

In this County, the early efforts of inventors of threshing-machines were in the same direction. Mr. Pope of Hollowell was the first to introduce such a machine to the notice of farmers. This was in 1826. His first machine went by hand; and, by turning a crank, a series of mallets or swingels came over upon a table, on which the heads of the grain had been placed by the man tending it, and the kernels pounded out. Afterwards, it was driven by horse power, the power being applied by means of the old cider-mill sweep, the gearing being very rude and simple. These were the beginning of the improvements afterwards so successfully carried out by the Brothers Pitts, and which have rendered their names, in connection with horse-powers and grain-separators, so well known throughout our country.—*Maine Farmer*.

We beg to suggest that, if our friends of *The American Agriculturist* and *The Maine Farmer* will turn to *Proverbs* x., 13, they will find that "threshing-machines," by hand power, were known and, probably, used, long before either Washington kept a Diary or Mr. Pope introduced such a machine to the farmers of Maine.

BRONXVILLE.

DICK.

BOOKS.

I.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

1.—*The New Testament of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. The Common English Version, corrected by the Final Committee of the American Bible Union, Second Revision.* New York: American Bible Union. 1869. Octavo, pp. 498.

The Psalms, The Common Version Revised for the American Bible Union, with an Introduction and occasional Notes. By Thomas J. Conant. New York: American Bible Union. 1871. Octavo, pp. xxi, 211.

Las Escrituras del Nuevo Pacto. Traducción del original Griego. MDCCCLVIII. Duodecimo, pp. 543.

In these volumes, we have three of the publications of the American Bible Union—that institution, in New York, which was organized some twenty years ago, to promote the faithful translation of the Scriptures into every living tongue, that all may read in their mother tongues the wonderful works of God.

The first-named, *The New Testament*, is the New Testament as finally revised and sent out, complete. It is a thoroughly-revised version of the English text; and, in many respects, it differs from all texts, in English, which have preceded it—in none more so, however, than in the substitution of the words "immerse" and "immersion" for the ancient words "baptize" and "baptism" with which the Bible of James I. was disfigured.

With the exception of the instances named, we have seen no change which we do not conceive to be an improvement, because a clearer equivalent, in English, for the original Greek, is substituted: in the cases of "baptize," "Baptist" and "baptism," we should have preferred the simple words "Dip," "Dipper," and "Dipping," both because of their simplicity and of their striking similarity to the words used, for the same purpose, in the Scriptures of the Germans, Netherlanders, Danes, and Swedes.

There is neither Introduction nor Note in this edition; and the naked text, therein, is left to fight its way into the hands of the anxious readers of the Word, on its own evident merits contrasted with those presented in the version of King James.

The second-named, *The Psalms*, is also a revision of the ordinary English Version, rather than a new translation. No other changes have been made than those which were necessary to the clear expression of the sense of the original; and in those cases the true sense of the Hebrew has been given with as little change as possible of the familiar phraseology of the ordinary version. } The form employed is the poetical form of the original; and the text is preceded with a

carefully-constructed Introduction; and brief Notes, illustrative of the text, accompany it, throughout the volume.

Of the fidelity of the revision, we can write only as the publisher of other opinions than our own: it seems to have commanded the earnest respect of all whose judgment in the matter is worthy of attention, whether in America or Europe; and it must, therefore, be found useful, both to the scholar and to the ordinary reader.

The third-named, *El Nuevo Pacto*, is a new translation of the *New Testament* into Spanish. It is represented, by those who are well versed in that tongue, to be a version which possesses unusual merit, both because of its elegance and its fidelity; and the great favor which it has met, both in Europe and America, from those who are best able to determine its character, certainly seems to confirm that judgment.

All these volumes are printed with great care: *El Nuevo Pacto* is truly an elegant one.

2.—*First Annual Report of the Board of Trade of Cincinnati, for the commercial year ending January 1, 1870.* Cincinnati: 1870. Octavo, pp. 128.

If we understand the matter correctly, this Board of Trade is not a substitute for the old Chamber of Commerce, but a newly formed Society in the interest, more especially, of manufacturers, and moving parallel and harmoniously with the other.

This is its first Annual Report; and it certainly seems, as far as we can judge, to be a very creditable one. Its attention seems to have been largely, if not principally, devoted to the Railroads and Canals of the country, to a Convention for the promotion of Trade, and to an Industrial Exposition, in Cincinnati; and on all these subjects, as well as on the coveted "Direct Trade with Europe,"—of which we were wont to hear so much, from the South, years ago—we find Reports in this volume. Elaborate Tables, illustrative of the Manufactures of Cincinnati, in 1868 and 1869; in 1840, '50, '60, and '69; and compared with those of other cities; of Manufacturers, by classes; of Imports and Exports, 1868 and '9; of the same, in 1869, when compared with those of St. Louis and Louisville; of Receipts and Shipments of Grain and Flour, 1869; of Steamboats, Barges, and Canal Boats, enrolled, 1869; of Steamboats inspected and licensed, 1869; of the Trade of the several towns on the Ohio-river, 1869; of the Railroads and Telegraphs of the State; of the taxable property, rates, and revenues, in Cincinnati, 1830-1869; etc., etc., follow; and a list of members, the By-Laws of the National Board of Trade, and several other documents close the work.

There can be no more important volume, con-

cerning a specified locality, than one which illustrates its local industry and the trade which it carries on with other localities; and we welcome all such works, unwelcome as they are to others, as among those which are most useful as well as most interesting.

3.—*Constitution and By-Laws of the West Va. Historical Society. Organized December 30, 1869.* Morgantown: 1870. Octavo, pp. 8.

Circular of the West Virginia Historical Society. Broadside.

We welcome this newly-formed Society into the sisterhood of associations devoted to the cause of American History, and bespeak for it the friendship of those which are older and stronger than itself.

We do not know how much interest there is felt in the subject to which this young Society has dedicated its efforts; but we hope its labors will be productive of a growing respect for the Past of the Republic as well as for that of other portions of the world.

The library of the Society, we believe, is at Morgantown.

4.—*Twelfth Annual Statement of the Trade and Commerce of Milwaukee for the year ending December 31, 1869.* Compiled for the Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce, by William T. Langson, Secretary. Milwaukee: 1870. Octavo, pp. 106.

What we have said, already, concerning the importance of this class of works, is perfectly applicable to this—it is a perfect picture of the business and business-men of the city of Milwaukee, for 1869; illustrated, in detail, by masses of figures relative to almost every branch of trade and every object of commerce.

It is illustrated with an elaborate railroad-map, on which are laid down, in bold, black lines, the various railways which may be said to terminate in Milwaukee, while those which may be said to terminate elsewhere are not as distinctly defined.

The volume is very neatly printed.

5.—*Statement of the Trade and Commerce of Buffalo, for the year ending December 31, 1869. With comparisons of previous years; together with important commercial statistics and statements.* Reported to the Buffalo Board of Trade, by William Thurstone, Secretary. Buffalo: 1870. Octavo, pp. 152.

Another of the annual contributions to the literature of Commerce of which we have already spoken, and by no means the least important.

It is a carefully-written Report, by a well-posted business-man; and its teachings and its suggestions are as honorable to him as they are important to the State and her Metropolis.

The general plan of the work is that which is ordinarily followed; and it is as stoutly supported by masses of figures as can be reasonably desired, by any one. It is, in short, a minute exhibit of the Trade and Commerce of Buf-

falo, during 1869; and when the importance of Buffalo to the every day life of New York City shall be considered, the importance of this volume will be very evident.

It is very neatly printed.

C.—PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

6.—*Iowa: the home for Emigrants*, being a treatise on the resources of Iowa, and giving useful information for Immigrants and others. Published by order of the Iowa Board of Immigration. Des Moines: 1870. Octavo, pp. 96.

Iowa: Het Land voor Emigranten, zijnde een verslag over de hulpbronnen van Iowa, en gevende nuttige informatie met betrekking tot den Staat, ten behoeve von landverhuizers en anderen. Uitgegeven op last van de Iowa Commissie van Emigratie. Pella: 1870. Octavo, pp. 119.

Iowa: Die Heimath für Einwanderer, Eine Uebhandlung über die Hülfsquellen Iowa's, enthaltend Werthvolle und nützliche Unklarungen in Betreff des Staates, für Immigranten und Undere. Beroffentlich auf Unordnung der Immigrations-Board von Iowa. Des Moines: 1870. Octavo, pp. 104.

We have received from the excellent Secretary of the Board of Immigration, the above three tracts which he informs us compose an entire series of the documents which Iowa has, so far, printed for the promotion of emigration to her territory; and we have pleasure in recognizing, in them, three valuable handbooks concerning the history, geography, geology, agriculture and horticulture, education, State-institutions, railroads, lands, etc., of that flourishing young State. Indeed, they form a perfect picture of the present-day condition of Iowa; and such an one, as, a few years hence, will possess the greatest interest to every one who shall desire to learn of the past of that State, in her earnest advance to greatness.

It will be seen that Mr. Fulton's excellent handbook has been presented in the English, Dutch, and German languages.

7.—*State of New York. The University Manual*, 1870. Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1870. Duodecimo, pp. xxii, 296.

There are very few works, of a public character, which are more important, for reference, than the *Manuals* which, year by year, are issued by the Legislatures and other public bodies in the several States; and yet how few there are who seem to care for their preservation.

The volume before us is the *Manual* of the Regents of the University of this State—that venerable and useful, but yet little understood, body, whose origin and particular duties so few are acquainted with, and fewer yet care to ascertain.

It contains the laws respecting the organization and powers of the Board; those concerning the incorporation of Colleges, Academies and Select Schools; those relating to the Trustees of those institutions, their Annual Reports, and the distribution of the Public Monies; those relating to Normal Schools, the State Library, the State Cabinet, the Law Libraries and Li-

braries of Courts, and those relating to the State Records; together with the Ordinances of the Board, lists of Regents, etc., etc.; and it will be seen how useful it is to every one who desires to know of the educational and literary institutions of this State and of the laws and authorities which control them.

The volume is very neatly printed; and it is accompanied with an elaborate Index, the usefulness of which is known to every one.

D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

8.—*The Life of Bismarck, private and political; with descriptive notices of his ancestry*. By John George Louis Hessel, Translated and edited, with an Introduction, Explanatory Notes, and Appendices, by Kenneth R. H. Mackenzie, F. S. A., F. A. S. L. With upwards of one hundred illustrations by Diez, Guinin, Pietsch, and others. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 491. Price, \$3.

In this volume, we find what seems to be a very complete account of the private and political career of the great Prussian statesman, Carl Otto Edward Leopold von Bismarck-Schönhausen, Count, Major-general, and Minister-President of the Kingdom of Prussia, and Chancellor of the North German Confederation. The work is subdivided into five Books, with Appendices, containing "Bismarckia" and the fundamental laws of 1847, besides the National Song, *Ich binsin Preusse, keunt ihr meine Farben*—"I am a Prussian! see my colors gleaming," etc.

The style of the English translation and transposition is, like the German original, compact, almost crude, like the man it represents; and, as a biography, it is rather too detailed and too minute to be digestible for an American reader.

In the Editor's Preface to the English edition, we meet with that constitutional liberalism which characterizes a loyal Englishman, and with that sympathy for a great politician, diplomatist, and statesman, which makes the writer turn sharply on the critic in the *Edinburgh Review*, wherein the personal amenities of the Minister President, are not duly acknowledged. Be this as it may, Bismarck, the man of blood and iron, has made his mark, strong and powerful, for now and forever; and, whether his private character be more brusque and plucky than suave and tender, cannot shake the work already accomplished and the result already acknowledged. To be successful, now-a-days—to steer the Ship of state through the stormy waves of Revolution and war—to avoid breakers ahead and break heads that are behind, demands rather the character of a stern realist than that of a very scrupulous philanthropist.

In the First Book, the learned Doctor leads us back to the ancestors of Bismarck, into the so-called "Alt Marck," a tract of land bordering on the river Elbe, and intersected by the

little river Biese, where the village of Bismarck can be found, to-day. It is, says the author of the book, "an old and famous place, for, South of the town, stands an ancient tower, known as 'the Bismarck louse.' Tradition states that 'the tower received its name from a gigantic louse (!) which inhabited it.'" Here we stop, and offer a substitute, in the form of an old miser, feudal Lord of the Thirteenth Century, whose stitching, biting, and grasping proclivities were exceedingly disagreeable to the wretched serfs who were subject to his Lordship's control.

As to the origin of the family, and the name of the Bismarcks, the author says, page 32: "Bismarck does not, as some assert, derive its name from the Biese, because, in the year 1202, when it is first mentioned in the records, it is called '*Biscopemark*' or '*Bishopsmark*,' afterwards corrupted into '*Bismarck*.' It belonged to the Bishops of Havelberg, who erected a fort here, as a defence of their Mark, on the frontiers of the Sprengels of Halberstadt. From the little town, the noble family of Bismarck has its name. It is a tradition of later times, by no means historically confirmed, that the Bismarcks were a noble family of Bohemia, settled by Charlesmagne, in the Alt Mark, and the founders of the town of Bismarck, which received its name from them." "As groundless is the tradition of the Wendic descent of the Bismarcks. According to this, the actual name of this noble family should be '*Bej-smarku*,' in the Wendic—'Beware of the Christhorn.' Not very happily as the double trefoil, in the arms of the Bismarcks, been identified with the Christ-thorn, as a proof of their Wendic descent. The Bismarcks are rather, as all the families of knightly rank, in the Alt Mark, the descendants of German warriors, who, under the Guelph, the Ascaman, or other Princes, had conquered the Sclavic lands, on both banks of the Elbe, for Christianity and German civilization, and had then settled themselves on those lands, as fief-holders." "Like many other knightly families of the Alt Mark, the Bismarcks gradually spread towards the East, conquering greater space for German Christian culture, subduing the Wends, or driving them back towards the Oder."

We must accept these definitions, although we would not find it very strange if the blood of the Bismarcks were of Slavonic-teuton origin, as the face and character of their greatest representative show rather a particular mixture of *Teutonic pluck* and *Slavonic shrewdness*, which have been so instrumental in his diplomatic and politico-military successes. Nor can we lay much stress on the controversy between the Messrs. Hezekiel and Riedel, having for its

subject the grave question whether the stock of the Bismarcks derived its name from a citizen family of Stendal or from the Castellans of the Episcopal Castle of that name, and whether the circumstance of the Bismarcks of Stendal having belonged to the Guild of Tailors, of that town, justifies the inference of their plebeian origin or not. As the American people are richly blessed with, so called, "self-made" men, and found no fault in raising an original tailor to the highest point of national honor, we would not be very apt to belittle the glories of a Bismarck, who, if not able to use the needle, has, at least, done some stupendous work with the needle-gun.

To show the *animus* of the two learned contestants, in regard to these questions, we quote page 34: "It would be almost puerile, by means of fantastic explanations respecting the races, bearing the name of Bismarck, to deprive the Minister of the rank of *Junker*, and thus claim him as a plebeian" (!!) To this expectation of the author, Mr. Mackenzie, the translator, adds the following remark: "This rank, in Germany, and especially in North Germany, is held to be noble. We have no corresponding title, in English; it is higher than Esquire, but not exactly that of a Knight or Baronet. Perhaps it corresponds to Honorable."

"How inexpressibly rich for His English Honorableness!" *Junker* is not a rank, but a surname. Nor exists that species of humanity, under that name, anywhere in Germany, except in the Northern part. *Junker* is the prototype of a nobleman, raised on bonded estate, representing, in a political sense, a mixture of Southern chivalry and Northern Hunkerism; and the title cannot, therefore, be accepted either as a great compliment or as a special mark of honor. If Bismarck had remained a true Junker, he never would have attained the height of a European statesman.

To our own satisfaction, and, probably, that of our readers, we find the family of the Bismarcks is from a strong and racy stock, rightfully endowed with the title and emoluments of nobility. Divided into different branches, the numerous members of the family exercised a considerable influence, in Germany, during the Middle Ages; holding many different offices under Church and State; and acting as faithful Knights and servants to their superiors.

One, "Rule of Bismarck," seated at Stendal, deserved well of his town as one of the founders of the Common School, in spite of the heavy opposition from the Church. It is even said, that he died under the ban of the Church, which would be a pretty sure argument for his energetic character and reformatory spirit. His son, Claus von Bismarck, on the other side, was

remarkable for his political assiduity and his contest with the democratic party of Stendal, while he, himself, was a member of the "aristocratic" Guild of Tailors. The latter being worsted, Claus became an exile, but was soon rewarded by the Margrave with the Castle of Burgstall, (1345); thus the Bismarcks entered the first rank of the nobility of the Alt-Mark, as Castellans, "or Castle-holders." As a matter of course, the cavaliers of Burgstall were very fond of manly sports, especially hunting: so was a certain Prince, the Margrave John George, their neighbor and higher Lord. Things were, therefore, so managed by the latter party, that the Bismarcks were pressed to a permutating or swapping process, by which John took possession of Burgstall, whilst one branch of the Bismarcks had to accept Schönhausen and Fishbeck (1563), whence arose the title of "Schönhausen," as an affix to that of "Bismarck." In spite of this swapping process and the diminution of their fortunes, the Bismarcks remained a "considerable" family: and not a few of their members, besides the present Minister, gained high positions and extraordinary distinction, especially as soldiers and diplomatists. Ludolph von Bismarck-Schönhausen fought as a Captain against the Turks; his second son, August, participated in the battle of Nördlingen, in 1640, and died as a Colonel, in the Elector of Brandenburg's Army. August Frederic von Bismarck "met 'a hero's death,'" as Colonel and Commandant of the Regiment of Anspach-Baireuth Dragoons, in the year 1742, at the Battle of Chotusitz; and Ludolph A. von Bismarck, after many adventures, rose to the position of a General, in the Russian Army. He died in 1750, at Pultawa. In the year 1783, F. Wilhelm von Bismarck, afterwards so famous as a Cavalry-General of Württemberg and as a military writer, was born. He served in England and, finally, in Württemberg; was Ambassador to Berlin, Dresden, Hanover and Carlsruhe; and received, in 1835, an invitation from the Emperor Nicholas of Russia, to inspect his Cavalry. In 1818, he had been created a Count, by the King of Württemberg; and died on the eighteenth of June, 1860.

Count Otto E. L. von Bismarck's grandfather was Charles Alexander von Bismarck. He left four sons, the fourth and last, *Charles William Ferdinand*, was the father of the present Minister President. He was born on the thirteenth of November, 1771; left the service as a Captain; and was married, on the seventh of July, 1806, to Louisa Wilhelmina Menken, born on the twenty-fourth of February, 1790, and deceased on the first of January, 1839, at Berlin. Charles William died in 1845.

Otto von Bismarck was born at Schönhausen, on the first of April, 1815, and is, therefore,

now in his fifty-sixth year. He was the fourth of six children—four sons and two daughters—of whom the eldest was born in 1807 and the youngest in 1827.

The youth of Bismarck is described, in the Second Book. His earliest days, however, were not passed at his ancestral estate, in the Alt-Mark, but in Pomerania, whither his parents had removed, in the year 1816. By the decease of a cousin, they had succeeded to the knightly estates of Kniephof, Jarchelin, and Külz, in the Circle of Vraugard. At Kniephof, where his parents took up their residence, Bismarck passed the first six years of his life; and to Kniephof he returned, in his holidays, from Berlin, so that the Pomeranian estate of his parents may be regarded as the scene of his earliest sports.

When, after his father's decease, in 1845, the Minister President took Schönhausen, Jarchelin was surrendered to the elder brother. Kniephof was retained by Count Bismarck, until 1868; when, after the purchase of *Varzin*, it passed into the possession of his eldest nephew, Lieutenant Philipp v. Bismarck.

About the Easter of 1821, Otto von Bismarck entered the then renowned school of Professor Plamann, in Berlin. There he remained until 1827, when he left it to pursue his more classical studies at the Frederick William Gymnasium. At this time, he laid the foundation of his knowledge in English and French, which he subsequently brought to perfection. As a characteristic trait, we quote the following, from page 116, "*He also got into many disputes with the French Professor and learnt English in an incredibly short space of time, in order not to be 'submitted to the test of the French Professor.'*"

From this, it seems that his predilection for "French Professors" has not increased with his years; although his perfect understanding of the finesses of "French can not be denied."—"He even, at that time, exhibited a marked preference for historical studies—especially that of his native Brandenburg, Prussia, and Germany. Here he laid the foundation of his eminent historical attainments, afterwards so formidable to his opponents in parliamentary discussion. The style of his Latin Essays was always clear and elegant, although, perhaps, not, in a grammatical sense, always correct. The decision on his Prize Essay of Easter, 1832, was: '*Oratio esulucida ac Latina, sed non satis castigata.*' The language is clear and Latin, but not sufficiently polished."

Bismarck was not seventeen, when he entered the University at Göttingen; nor did he possess that imposing stature and those marked features which characterize him, now-a-days. As his biographer says: "his stature was thin and graceful; his countenance possessed the brightness of youthful liberality; and his eyes

"beamed with goodness." Bismarck has inherited his tall stature from his father, "who, with his fine presence and cultured manners, had been a personage of most aristocratic appearance." A veritable student he was—with all the accomplishments and appurtenances, so common to the high and gay life of a German University—dressed in high boots, short blouse, and "service" cap, armed with spurs and whip, pipe and rapier, singing and drinking, riding and swimming, "posting" and duelling, enjoying all the sports of vigorous, spouting youth, let loose on an "elegant" three years' spree. In 1835, he abandoned University life; passed his examination; and was appointed an Auscultator or Examiner in the Police Court of Justice, at Berlin. It was in this city that he met Prince William, now King William, for the first time. Bismarck was introduced to the Royal Prince, in company with a certain Herr von Schenk, who was as tall as Bismarck and also a legal official. Looking at the two stately forms of these youths, Prince William said, jokingly, "Well, Justice seeks her young advocates according to the standard of the "Guards."

In 1836, Bismarck changed the Department of Justice for that of Administration; and went to the Crown Court at Aachen, (Aix la Chapelle). Here he associated much with Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Belgians; and, in their company, made several excursions to Belgium, France, and the Rhenish Provinces. He was especially the favorite of the English, as they were delighted by finding in him an amiable gentleman, possessing a perfect mastery over their language. These connections, however, "got him into many scrapes"—he quitted Aachen and was transferred to the Crown Office at Potsdam, in 1837. The year following, he entered a Battalion of Jägers, to fulfill his military duty; and was soon transferred, again, to another Battalion, of the same arm, stationed at Greifswalde. In 1839, he entered on the administration of his Pomeranian estates (Kneiphof) where he is said "to have fought chivalrously" against his manifold troubles and vexations, by a strange mixture of wild revelries and earnest studies in history, theology, and philosophy. The less real pleasure he had in this career, the worse it became, so that he earned a fearful reputation among the old ladies and gentlemen, who predicted the moral and pecuniary ruin of "Mad Bismarck." Roving around, on horseback, writing letters, and reading books, or treating his friends with the best champagne he had, the Junker's seat of Kneiphof very soon took the character of a "Kneiphof," i. e. a jolly "treating" establishment, known, "far and wide in the land."

But Bismarck was only mad when shut up in a Pomerian cage, playing Ulan or officiating as a Dyke-Captain (Canal Superintendent). By-and-bye, this solitary Junker's life was changed into that of a good husband (1847). Whilst on a pleasure-trip to Italy, with his wife, he met King Frederick William IV., at Venice, and was at once "commanded" to attend at the royal dinner-table; and his royal master conversed with him, for a long time, "in a gracious manner," particularly concerning German politics. In fact, from this time, Bismarck rose, step by step, until he reached the very climax of political influence, position, and power.

How Bismarck rose gradually from a Pomeranian Junker, a Lieutenant of Ulan, and a Dyke-Captain, to the rank of Minister President and Chancellor of the North-German Confederation, is related in the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Books, to which we refer. There we find him as a Representative in the United Prussian Diet at Cologne, resisting the spirit of liberalism which had grown up in Germany before the revolutionary outbreak of 1848; then, again, in that same Assembly, in the Spring of 1848, as one of the defenders of Conservatism against Revolution; in 1849, as a member of the Second Chamber of the Prussian Diet, speaking against the adoption of the Constitution framed by the German Parliament at Frankfort and adopted in the Prussian Second Chamber, by a vote of one hundred and seventy-nine against one hundred and fifty-nine; again, in 1850, at the Diet of Erfurt; then as Ambassador to the German "Bundestag," at Frankfort, in 1851; to Petersburg, (1859-'62); to Paris, (Briaritz) 1862; as Minister President of Prussia, facing the opposition and preparing his plans to meet a rupture with Austria and the old German Confederation; then at Gastein, in 1865; on the battle-field of Sadowa, in July, 1866; then at Prague; and, finally, on his splendid estate of Varzin, as "Sultan Uilem and Grand Vizier "Bi-Smarcts."

In this survey, our object has been, besides giving notice of a very literary production, to compress into as small a space as possible the more introductory part of the work and thereby facilitate the understanding of the subsequent chapters (Books 3, 4, and 5,) which are full of important facts, sparkling anecdotes, private and official correspondence, speeches, etc.

The book presents itself to the American public as a rare gift of biography and contemporaneous history, well worthy of being bought, read, and studied. In its form and print, and with its masterly-executed illustrations, it deserves our fullest acknowledgement and praise.

F. S.

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THE
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AND

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1871. Oct. 28

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New Series, Vol. VIII.

No. 2

THE
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AND
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CONCERNING
The Antiquities, History, and Biography
OF
AMERICA.

August, 1870.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.:

HENRY B. DAWSON.

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TO OUR READERS.

The September number of the Magazine will contain a very important Report on the discovery and occupation of the North-western Coast of the United States, by Captains Robert Gray and John Kendrick; in addition to which and several shorter papers, Chapters XVII.—XX of the valuable *Naval History of Rhode Island*, from Mr. Bartlett's practised pen, a continuation of the discussion concerning *The North-eastern boundary of New-Jersey*, in a reply to General Coltrane's paper, by William A. Whitehead, Esq., and what remains of the *Correspondence of General Alexander Scammell, Adjutant-general of the Revolutionary Army*, will be found both interesting and valuable.

THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. VIII. SECOND SERIES.]

AUGUST, 1870.

[No. 2.

I.—A JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE TO ALBANY, ETC., MADE BY ABRAHAM LOTT, TREASURER OF THE COLONY OF NEW YORK. 1774.

COPIED VERBATIM, FROM THE ORIGINAL IN POSSESSION OF HIS FAMILY.*

[*Inside of Cover.*] 1774, July 19—

Send Jacob C. Ten Eyck Esqr of Albany a Chest of good Bohea Tea.

Send Gerardus Beekman of Albany a Chest of good Bohea Tea.

[Page 1.] Treasury office New York

Rec^d of Esqr^s Loan offic^s for
County Pounds Shillings, being in
full for the *Third* years Interest money on the
Sum of Pounds put out on Loan in the
said County; the said Loan-officers having de-
tained in their hands the sum Allowed them by
the Loan-office Act, for their Services.

A. L., T.

Anno 1773—Albany paid viz ^t .			
1773 Aug. 10 th	£510 . 2 . 4	Put out £20,000	
Sept. 6 th	260 . 3 . 6		
do 11 th	120 . 6 . 1		
do 24 th	47 . 1 . 3		
	937 13 2		
	2 6 10		remains due.
	£940 0 0		

1774, July 19th, Rec^d the above Ballance in Albany £2 . 6 . 10.

[2] *Memorandums, relating to my voyage of Albany viz—*

1774 JUNE 22^d Left my House at 3 o'Clock and went on board of Capt. Joachim Staats

* We are indebted, for this interesting Journal, to our valued friend, C. C. Dawson, Esq., of New Jersey.

The numbers in brackets indicate the pages of the original manuscript.

[*sloop*] in Company with Wm McDougall Esqr. of St. Croix, Commodore Grant and Capt. Thomas White—

Sailed from the Kings wharf at the North River at a Quarter before four o'Clock P. M. with the flood & a Southerly Wind—Supped about Sundown opposite to Tappan, and the Wind failing & the Tide coming Against us came to an anchor at *Verdrietege Hook*;* where we went To Sleep—

THURSDAY JUNE 23^d This morning the Wind being against us could not make Sail till 8 O'Clock, when we weighed Anchor and proceeded on our Voyage—

Mr McDougall came on board much afflicted with the Gout, but as he got a Comfortable Sleep yesterday [3] and also Slept very well in the Night he found himself much better—

At 12 o'Clock we got at the entrance of the Highlands, it being then high water; but luckily a fresh Southerly Wind took us, w^{ch} carried us against Tide to opposite the old Landing at Poughkeepsie, where we sent on Shore at about 6 o'Clock P. M. and got some Milk of Mr. Paul Schenk, after which, drank Tea, and continued under Sail from thence, with the flood in our favor, and at about 1 o' Clock in the Morning came to an Anchor opposite the Manor of Livingston†—

We had a good deal of Rain from 4, o'Clock in the Afternoon till 4 o'Clock the next morning—

Mr. McDougall was much worse this Day & the following Night, owing to the Southerly wind & Rain: he had an exceeding painful Night of it, with the Gout in both feet & Right hand; however he found himself easier in the Morning—

* *Verdrietege's Hook*.—The bold headland, on the West bank of the Hudson, two or three miles North of Nyack, and known among the old people, in that vicinity, as *The Hook Mountain*. It is a spur of the Ramapo Range which extends along the Northwestern border of Rockland-county; and has always been a notable landmark among the skippers on the North-river.

† *Manor of Livingston*.—Clermont, Columbia-county, where the seat of that ancient Manor is. The "Colonel Livingston," referred to was, probably, Colonel Henry B. Livingston, subsequently of the Army of the Revolution, a brother of the Chancellor.

FRIDAY JUNE 24th The wind being at N. W. & the Tide against us could not proceed till the Flood made—

[4] In the Interim Commodore Grant went on Shore at Col. Livingston's at ab^t 7 o'Clock in the Morning, and returned shortly after with the Colonels compliments to the Passengers, requesting their company at Breakfast: The company returned their thanks, being all Invalids, & therefore could not accept of his kind invitation—The Commodore however went & took Breakfast with Mr. Livingston.

Here we overtook Capt. Groesbeeck who left New York Ten Hours before us with Several Gentlemen of the Law, on board, in order to Attend the Supreme Court at Albany, which is to begin, there on Tuesday the 28th Instant—

About 9 O'Clock, Commodore Grant returned on board with a fat Sheep, being a present from Col^o Livingston to some poor people lately Arrived from Scotland, wth intent to Settle Some part of this Country w^{ch} was a Seasonable relief to them.

About 10 'Clock weighed Anchor & beat it up against Tide to a little about Kinderhook Creek, where the Tide came against us & obliged us to come too.

[5] Here the Captain of the sloop went on Shore at the House of Joh^t Staats within the bounds of Kinderhook, and brought on Board some Bread, Eggs & Milk;—

About 2 O'Clock in the Morning we got under Sail Again, and at O'Clock on SATURDAY MORNING JUNE THE 25th came to an Anchor at Coejeman's,* opposite to the House where Mr. Anthony Ten Eyck now lives—Mr. Ten Eyck being informed who was on board of the Sloop by my Boy Pompey, sent his Compliments and desired the Company to Breakfast with him; Commodore Grant, Capt. White, and myself went on Shore & Breakfasted with Mr. Ten Eyck, Mrs. Ten Eyck & family, who were all very well except Mr. Ten Eyck, who laboured under a severe fit of the Piles, and appeared to be otherwise much indisposed.

We were made very Welcome here and were supplied with Salad & Parsley, and Milk, and indeed we [6] were offered everything we might stand in Need of, to Eat on board.

At About 1 o'Clock P.M. we weighed Anchor, and with a very light Southerly wind got up to the *Hooge Bergh*, at about 8 o'Clock;—

Commodore Grant & self went on Shore here, at the House of Joachim Staats, we found the family Well & were kindly received by them & were pressed to take a Bed—

At Nine we returned on board, when the Commodore & Capt. White resumed the Game of

Piquet (at w^{ch} they had been engaged in the afternoon) and by Ten o'Clock, left off, when Mr. White was 12 Games ahead—

We then went to Bed, and at about o'Clock, on

SUNDAY MORNING, JUNE 26th weighed Anchor, and there being no Wind & but a very Scanty flood were under a Necessity of make use of Oars to get forward.

[7] Mr. McDougall, was very Poorly all yesterday & the Night before, both with the Gout & a Smart Hot Fevir; But on this Morning found himself much easier having had a comfortable Sleep all Night—

About 8, o'Clock A.M. there being no Wind, and the Ebb coming against us, were obliged to come too Again, about 2 miles above the *Hooge Bergh*—Here we Eat Breakfast, after w^{ch} Commodore Grant & Self (about 9 h. A.M.) set off in the Canoe of the Sloop, and paid a Visit to the Widow Schuyler, living about 4 Miles below Albany, who appeared to be very glad to see us; the House is New & not quite finished, owing to the untimely Death of Capt. Cortlandt, but the Situation is very pleasant on the Bank of the River—At about half past ten o'Clock, left Mrs. Schuyler and proceeded Up the River till we came to the House of Mr. Henry Cuyler, Situated on the East Bank of the River, about a Mile & an half from the City of Albany—Here we went on Shore, and found Mr. Cuyler [8] and his Lady both at home, who insisted on our Dining with them, w^{ch} we accordingly did, and remained with them till 5 O'Clock P.M.—when he sent us with his Chair to the Ferry, in our way to w^{ch} called at Col^o. Rensselaer's at Green Bush, but did not find them at home—

We then Crossed over the River, and got into Albany, where I was immediately met by a Number of my old acquaintances and bid welcome.

I first went to the House of Rich^d Cartwright Inholder, and then Engaged Lodgings for myself, at the House of a Mr. Hilton, and for Mr. White & Mr. McDougall I took Lodgings at the House of Mr. Bloodgood, opposite to Mr. Cartwrights—

After which several of my friends called upon me, and at 10 'clock went to Bed at my Lodgings—

MONDAY, JUNE 27th having been a good Deal fatigued Yesterday, did not rise till 8 O'Clock A. M.—went immediately to Mr. Cartwrights, wrote a Letter to Mrs. Lott by Capt. Santvoort, gave her [9] An acc^t of my Arrival, &c—while I was writing, I was told the Sloop was Arrived with Mr. White & Mr. McDougall, upon w^{ch} Sent my Compliments to Col^o. Schuyler, requesting the Loan of his Chariot to bring up McDougall

*Coejeman's.—Coejeman's, a well-known landing, in Albany county, on the West side of the Hudson.

from the Sloop to his Lodgings; w^{ch} he Accordingly Sent down & brought that Gentleman to his Lodgings where he got at about half past 9 A. M. & much better than when I left him, his fever & Gout, being in a great measure gone off

Not being able to get my Shoes on, I bespoke a Pair to be covered with black Cloth—my Gout still easy—

10 h. A. M. bespoke a Dinner at Mr. Cartwrights for our Company & asked Col. Schuyler to Dine with us—

2 h. P. M. Dined at Cartwrights in comp^y with, Ph. Livingston, Mr. Kissam, Cap^t White and Commodore Grant—

8 h. P. M. rec^d an Invitation to Dine wth Col^o. Schuyler, but being pre-engaged could not—

9 h. P. M.—Left Mr. McDougalls Lodgings he being much better of the Gout & fever.

TUESDAY, JUNE 28th—Rose at 6 o'Clock this morning—between 7 & 8, went over to my Companions, found Mr. White very well, and Mr. McDougall, surprisingly altered for the better, being totally clear of the fever, and very little Gouty Pain⁴—

Breakfasted with these Gentlemen—

—8 h. A. M. Rec^d a Letter by Mr. Kearney from Col^o Jas. Robertson of New York inclosing an acc^t of his demands against Th^o Wooldredge Esq^r desiring a Settlement thereof—The Letter is dated New York June 22^d 1774—immediately upon w^{ch} rec^d an answer—

Dined this Day with Dr. Van Dyke in Company with Dr. Rodgers* & Lady Dr. Westerlo; † Col^o Livingston & E. Boudinot‡ Esq^r. of Eliz^z Town & Lady—Here I also drank tea—

Spent the Evening with Mess^{rs} White and McDougall—the Latter much recovered—at 10 o'Clock left them & went to Bed—

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 29th—This morning had three people with me to buy Lands in Clifton Park §—agreed with Nicholas Johnson of Beek-

* Dr. Rodgers.—Probably John Rogers, D.D., Pastor of the Presbyterian church in Wall-street, New York city, as there appears to have been no Minister of that name in the Reformed Dutch Church at that time. He died in 1811.

† Dr. Westerlo.—Ellardus Westerlo, D.D., was educated at Groningen, and served the Church, in Albany, from 1760 until 1790, when he died.—*CORWIN'S Manual of the Reformed Dutch Church*, 16.

‡ E. Boudinot, Esq., of Eliz^z Town.—President of the Continental Congress and a member of the House of Representatives after the Constitution was established. He was the first President of the American Bible Society; and died in 1821.

§ Clifton Park.—then, probably, a portion of the District of Half-moon, in Saratoga-county.

The Patent of "Clifton Park" or "Shannondhol," in which these lands were situated, was originally granted to Messrs. Fort, Ryckse, Quackenboos, and Bratt, on the twenty-third of September, 1708; but, from this entry, it appears that Mr. Lott was, subsequently, also a Proprietor.—*HOWEN'S Gazetteer of New York*, 587.

man Precinct in Dutchess County for Lot N^o. 3 in Lot N^o. 32 in the 3^d Allotment of the Patent—containing 42½ acres—on the following terms, viz^t: He is to give 24/ p^r Acre, one half is to be paid To morrow, for w^{ch} [11] He is to give his Bond with Sufficient Security payable the 1st day of May next with Lawfull Interest till paid—For the other Bond he is also to give Bond with like Security payable the 1st July, 1775, without Interest—He is to Send the Bonds to Mr. Tho^s Hun of Albany to whom I am to Deliver the Deeds to be Exchanged for the said Bonds.

Abraham Buys wanted to buy Lot N^o. 1, in lot N^o. 24, in the 4th allotment of the said Patent g^t 145 Acres—I offered the Same to him at 18/ p^r Acre, payable on the above conditions—He is gone to view the Lands, as also two other Lots and is to give an answer in a Day or two.—

One Mr. Peters from Philipsburgh also wants a Lot of Land in the above Patent but has not fixed on a particular Lot.

—9 h. A. M. Breakfasted with Mr. G. Beekman, who made me promise to Breakfast with him every Day—

Called upon my fellow Travellers & found Mr. McDougall much better; he & Cap^t White had an Airing in Col^o Livingstons Chariot, w^{ch} tho^s Short, proved of use.—

[11*] Dined with my companions at their Lodgings, in comp^y with Rich^d Morris Esq^r—

6 h. P. M.—went to the Dutch Church to hear Dr. Rodgers Preach in English—His Text was Hebrews 12th 2^d verse, first part.—

Supped with Mr. Beekman; after which called upon my Companions, and at 10 o'Clock went to Bed.—

THURSDAY JUNE 30th Slept very well last night—got up at 5 o'Clock; made out Mr. McDougall's money acc^t—and at 6 O'Clock called upon him & paid him the Balance—at Seven Breakfasted with my Companions & at about a Quart^r before Eight O'Clock they left their Lodgings & Set off for the Bath^z, having hired two Wag-gons to carry themselves & Baggage

Mr. Cartwright brought in his Acct. amounting to £3. 3. 0—my ½ of w^{ch} is 21/—with w^{ch} I desired him to Charge me—

At 9 h. A. M. Mr. James Dole called upon me, and paid the Duty on 47 hhd^s Rum imported in the Sloop Middlesex Rob^t Castle from Antigua, and gauged

5198 out 205

205

4993 }

500 { 4493 Gals Net a 2^d £37.8.10

for payment of w^{ch} the said Castle gave his

* Misappaged, there being two of this number,†

† Probably the Lebanon Springs, as we shall see, hereafter.

Bond, w^{ch} on my return must be cancelled.—
[12] Dined with Col^o Schuyler in company with Mr. Smith, his Lady & Gou^r Morris;* The latter of whom Spent the Evening with me at my Lodgings—

FRIDAY, JULY 1st At 8 h. A. M. Mr G. Morris & Self went to Schenectady in Chair; got there about 12—Dined at Mr Clinch's (a good house of Entertainment) at 2 h. P. M. in Co. wth the Rev^d Mr Monro, Missionary at Albany At three O'Clock left Schenectady and took the Road leading thro' *Connistigeone*, w^{ch} is a fertile Vale on the Banks of the Mohawk River Settle[d] with Substantial farmers—The Wheat, Indⁿ Corn, Pease, Flax, Hemp Grass, and in Short every thing the Earth produced, grew here in the most luxuriant manner—great part of the Upland from this Vale, across to Hudson's River also produced Excellent Crops of every kind—So that upon the whole we had a most agreeable Ride from Schenectady to Mr. Minifie's on the Banks of Hudson's River about 5 Miles above Albany—Here we got about 5 o'Clock—Supped—and Lodged very comfortably—

[14] SATURDAY JULY 2nd Arose at 6 in the morning—left Mr Minifies at 7, and got in Albany a little before 8—took Breakfast at the Widow Vernon's at the Sign of the *Kings Arms*, with G. Morris—With whom afterwards Consulted about the Lands claimed by the Heirs of A. Coejemans—

About 10 h. A. M. Mess^{rs} J. & Anthy Ten Eyck called upon me, & shewed me their acc^{ts} as Ex^{rs} of Sam^l Coejemans dec^d—professed great friendship & promised to Shew every paper they are possessed of relating [to] their claim to the Estate of Sam^l Coejemans dec^d—

Dined with the Gentlemen of the Court at Cartwrights—at 4 h. P. M. went over to Green Bush & Drank Tea at Col^o Rensselaer's, found the family all well—

Returned in the Evening, paid a Visit or two—& Supped with Several Gentlemen of the Court &c^a at Cartwrights where I continued till about half an hour after Eleven, & then went to Bed—

[14] SUNDAY JULY 3^d 1774—Arose about 8 h. A. M.—Took Breakfast at my Lodgings—at 10 went to Church & heard the Rev^d Mr. Westerlo Preach, on Romans 8th & 12th—& made a very excellent Sermon—

—Dined with Mr Beekman—went to Church again in the Afternoon & after Church drank Tea at Mr Beekmans, with the Rev^d Mr. Westerlo & his Consistory—

* Gouverneur Morris, of Morrisania.

† Rev. Harry Monro, subsequently so well known from his connection, by marriage, with the Jays and DeLanceys of this State.

—After Tea paid the following Visits—To Mr Swits, Mr Jn^o Barclay & Mr. John Beekman— and then returned to my Lodgings—NB—Yesterday Saw Mr A Duryee, who left New York on Tuesday last, and left my family well—Also called upon Mr A R Lott who left New York the Same Day as Mr Duryee—She appeared very weak—

MONDAY JULY 4th Wrote Mrs Lott, Ph. Lott & James Abeel—Breakfasted wth Mr Beekman—after Breakfast Mr. Jer. Rensselaer & Mr Jessop called upon me, and informed me that there were people who would buy Lands w^{ch} the said Rensselaer petitioned for on Sacandaga River* for 3/ an Acre & pay me Patent fees—w^{ch} I agreed to Accept of, as did Mr Banyar† [15] who I afterwards Spoke to on the Subject—Proposed to Mr Rensselaer to run out the Claim of the Heirs of A. Coejeman's under their Patent of Anno 1673—he replied he could not do it himself but would give me an Answer to morrow

Had some farther conversation with Anth^y Ten Eyck, about the Estate of Mr. Sam^l Coejeman's dec^d but Nothing final was done

Dined at Cartwrights with Mr. Low Mr. Duryee & Several Gentlemen of the Law—at 4 h. P. M. went wth Dr. Van Dyck to pay a Visit and drink Tea at old Mr. Dow, at *Wolf Hook*. The old Gentleman (aged 82,) was exceeding glad to see me, and offered me the use of his house as long as I Stayed in these parts—

Returned to Albany in the Evening—Supped with Ab^m Yates Esq^r.—and went to Bed at 11 h. P. M.—

TUESDAY JULY 5th—Eat Breakfast at Mr. Beekman—Where I also Dined

Mr. Rensselaer delivered proposals for Running out Coejemans old Patent amounting to £203.10.0.

Engaged to Dine wth H Cuyler Esq^r. to Morrow

[16] All the afternoon I employed in Visiting my friends and Acquaintances who all appeared to be glad to see me—Went to Bed at 10 'Clock at Night,—

WEDNESDAY JULY 6th—Took Breakfast with Mr. Beekman—made some Enquiry about Coejemans Claim—at 12 o'Clock crossed the Ferry, took a Ride in the Sulky to Mr. J. Staats's at the *Hooge Bergh*, who was not at home—returned to Mr. Cuylers where I dined wth Mr. Banyar & two of the Mr. Glen's,‡ and also drank Tea—

* Sacandaga-river rises in Warren-county, and after running a very crooked course, it empties into the Hudson, in the town of Hadley, Saratoga-county.

† Goldsborough Banyar, the Secretary of the Province, who, also appears to have been in Albany, at that time.

‡ The Mr. Glens, referred to, in the text, were, probably, the gentlemen of that name who were the proprietors of Glenville, on the North bank of the Mohawk, in Schenectady-county.

Left his house towards Evening—Called at Col^o Rensselaers—and returned to the City—Passed the Evening at Mr^s Schuylers and went to Bed at 10 O'Clock—

THURSDAY JULY 7th—Eat Breakfast at Mr^s Rensselaers, where I also Dined wth Several Gentlemen of the Law, and in the interim examined Several Dutch papers relating to the Dispute about the *Noormans Kill*—The Mansion house of Mr^s. Rensselaer is one of the most Spacious buildings in the Country, and is very pleasantly Situated about a Mile above the City of Albany—At about 4 h. P. M returned to Town—at five attended the funeral of a Child or [q?] Dr. Martins, who [17] is Married to a Daughter of Jacob H Ten Eyck—at about 7, o'Clock rec^d two letters from New York, one from Ph. Lott & the other from I. Abeel; the Latter informed me Gov^r Colden would give a Grant for Lands at *Secundage*, petitioned for by Jer. V Rensselaer & others—w^{ch} communicated to the Said Van Rensselaer, & Mr^s Banyar, interested therein who agreed to get out the Grant with all possible dispatch—

Passed the Evening at Cartwrights, with Justice Livingston,* Mr^s. Kemp† and R Morris, and went to Bed at Eleven O'Clock—

FRIDAY JULY 8th—Breakfasted with Mr^s. Beekman, did a Variety of business—Dined with Mr^s. Ten Broeck—Took an Extract out of the Records from Killiaen Van Rensselaers Deed to Coejemans by w^{ch} find, the Rensselaer Family must Covey [convey] 100 Acres Land to the Heirs of Coejemans, laying at Pichteway, and it is Said that one *Milburn Van Hoesen* lives on the Land

Left Albany at 4 h. P. M. in a Solo—called at Mr. Nicholls's, who informed me that the said Van Hoesen Lived on the Said 100 Acres Land—Left Mr. Nicholl's at 7. o'Clock, and got to Mr. Anthony Ten Eyck's at 8—Passed the Evening [18] with him and Lady, and beginning to talk of old times in New York, did not get in Bed till about Midnight—

SATURDAY JULY 9th—after a good Nights rest, got up at half-past Six—Breakfasted with Mr^s. Ten Eyck—Took a walk to his Mills—Had my Horses Shod, and a Screw put in the Bottom of my Sulky—agreed to Let Ten Eyck know when I returned to Albany, in order to his meeting me there with all his papers relating to the Estate of Sam^l Coejemans Dec^d.—and at 11 O'Clock left his House and went to Mr^s. McCarty's, where I dined with Mrs. Bronck, on Venison, and drank Tea—had a good deal of talk

with Mr^s McCarty about our claim, who gave me Several informations how things had been conducted by the Ten Eycks &c^a—at 5 h, P. M, left Mr^s. McCarty's, for Mrs. Witbeck's at *Achquetok*, and got there at Six—where I found all friends well and greatly pleased with my Visit; took a Walk [19] with Mr. Witbeck about the Farm w^{ch} I found a good one, affording a prospect of an Excellent Crop of Wheat—went to Bed about 10 h. P. M.—

SUNDAY JULY 10th—got up in good health this Morning—left Mrs Witbeck's, at 8 h. A.M —accompanied by Mr. P. Witbeck, with intent to go to Church at Coxhacki, but by the way heard there would be no preaching and therefore Stopped at the House of Mr. Th Hoogteling, who has married the Eldest Daughter of Mrs. Witbeck—got here about half-past 9 o'Clock; Mr. Hoghteling being gone from home to pay a Visit to his Mother near Albany who has broke her Leg—I remained here all Day—Talked to old Hend^t Hoghteling & told him my intention of Running out my Right in Coejemans claim—w^{ch} he approved of and recommended one Jacob Bogardus as a Chain bearer—In the Evening Cozⁿ Thomas came home, had some talk with him about the Eyck's &c^a. but rec^d no new information—Supped & went to Bed at 10 o'Clock.

MONDAY JULY 11th Rose at half-past 6 o'Clock—Breakfasted an hour after.

after Breakfast Mr. Hooghteling [20] Shewed me a Map of Lands granted to his Grandfather in Anno 1697, laying within the Bounds of Coejeman's Grant—Left his house about 9 O'Clock and went to Coxhackie & met with Several people According to Appointment made the Day before, and asked leave for my Surveyors when they came to Run out our Patent to Traverse the Kill to Coxhachi, from the Month to the head—They all consented except one *John Brunk* who said he had no objection to the Surveyors Running as far as the Bridge of Coxhachi, but would not consent to their Running any farther—I told him was a Matter of Indifference to me whether they Run farther or Not, but could wish they would not oppose me—and then left them, at half-past ten O'Clock (after paying 2/ for Toddy drank by the Company) for Mr. W^m Salisbury's at Katskill, where I came about one o'Clock;—Dined here & in the afternoon paid a Visit to his Son Francis, on the North Side of the kill, who is Married to a Daughter of Joachim Staats, of whom I bought a Sorrell Horse for £18. 4.—Drank Tea here & in the Evening returned to his Fathers where I Slept, being made very welcome at both Houses—Informed him of my intentions to Run out our old Patent, at w^{ch} he appeared to be a little Alarmed—tho' said nothing against the Measure.

* Justice Livingston.—Probably Judge Robert R. Livingston, of the Supreme Court of the Colony, and father of the Chancellor.

† Mr^s. Kempa.—Probably Hon. John Tabor Kempe, the Attorney-general of the Colony.

TUESDAY, JULY 12th Arose in good health at half past 7 h. A. M.—Took Breakfast at *Eight*, and at *Nine* left Mr. Salisbury's, and set out for Mr. Fredrick [21] Brandow's—got there at half past Ten—Spoke to his Son William, about the Lands I bought of Mr. Metcalfe, and gave him some directions respecting them, of w^{ch} he is to make report to me in September—I was rec^d kindly here; the[y] would not receive Anything for what I had at the house, altho' Tavern Keepers—Left Brandow's at a quarter past 11 h. A. M. by the way of Tenuis Van Veghten's at Katskill, for *Coxhackie*; where I arrived at three Quarters past one—Dined at the House of a Mr. *Comeyn*, and paid him for Self, Pomp and Horses 3/ and at three O'Clock Set out for *Coxhackie* Landing in order to cross over to *Kinderhook*—Got in the ferry Boat at the Landing at 4 h. P. M. and landed Safe at the *Nutten Hook* on the Eastern Bank of Hudson's River, a quarter of an hour after—from whence proceeded to the House of *Isaac Goes*, on the East side of *Kinderhook* Creek opposite to the Church—Got there about Six, and after resting a little, paid a Visit to the Rev^d Mr. *Fryenmoet*,* with whom passed the Evening & Supped, being made exceeding welcome by him & family—He informed me that he had been at the Bath, and had seen Mr. McDougall & Mr. White there, who were much better than when they went, especially, the former, and that they had both been very kind to him and his Lady—Returned to Mr. Goes's at 10 h. P. M. and went to bed in good health.

[22] WEDNESDAY, JULY 13th—At Six O'Clock this morning arose in good health—Talked with Mr. Goes about the Division of *Kinderhook*, and found that it was totally disregarded every body taking in Lands where they can find it whether they have right to it or not particularly Mr. Van Schaack's family,—Mr. David V. Schaack was told has taken in at least 2000 Acres, and built him a house like a Castle on part of it, near the Town; it is built of Brick, two Stories high, four Rooms on a floor, and a large hall thro' the Middle of it, and is built in a very elegant Taste—Strange doings this on common Lands & forebodes no good on the part of the Van Schaack family towards confirming the partition—

Breakfasted at Mr. Goes's, for w^{ch}, Lodgings &c.,—paid 5/ 6 —left his house at half past 8 h. A. M.—called upon Mr. *Fryenmoet*, who gave me some Green Pease for Mess^r White & McDougall—proceeded from his house, by the

way of Van Alstyne's, from thence to Cap^t V. D. Pool's & so on to the house of one Mr. Demming, at a place in *Westenhook* Patent called *New Canaan* where I stopped at a Quarter past one—being about 16 miles from the Town of *Kinderhook*, great part of the Way being *Hilly, Stony & Rough*—Here I overtook one *Vosburgh* from *Kinderhook*, w^{ch} whom dined, and fed my Horses, for w^{ch} paid 3/.

At half past two left Demming's & at half past four P. M. got to the Bath, where I found my friends *White & McDougall*, much recovered [23] And finding them at Tea, with two Clergymen and two Country Ladies, also drank Tea w^{ch} them—about 6 O'Clock went into the Bath, which refreshed me very much—Supped on Chocolate and went to Sleep at 10 h. P. M.

THURSDAY, JULY 14th Arose in good health at 5 o'Clock in the Morning—at Six went into the Bath, which was very Reviving—Breakfasted at *Eight*—Afterw^{ch} (the several Patients having Bathed) we Stopped Some leaks in the Bath—and then we mounted our Horses & took a Slow Ride about the Country for about 8 miles & returned to the Bath at about 12—at w^{ch} time meeting an old Dutch Woman very lame & with Sore legs, & very Poor, gave her a Dollar—Dined at 2 h. P. M. having a Most excellent appetite as had Mess^r W & McDougall—Towards Evening Bathed again—and about 9, went to Bed—

FRIDAY, JULY 15th Arose in good health at 5 o'Clock—Bathed at *Six*—Breakfasted at *Seven*—mounted our Horses at *Nine*—and went to the Wheat field of one *Dimming*—and Mr. *White* Shott Three Squirrels, w^{ch} which returned to the Bath and had them Dressed for Dinner—Dined at two [24] O'Clock—after dinner took four glasses of old Wine, and then played *Yos* with Cap^t *White* till *five*, leaving off as we began—We then made several repairs to the Bath in order to Stop the leaks—about *Six* a Waggon arrived from *Kinderhook* w^{ch} five people to be cured in the Bath of the Rheumatism—Bathed again at *Seven* as did my friends—At *Eight* another Waggon arrived with some people from *Albany* in order to use the Bath—Supped between 8 & 9 & went to Bed at Ten in good health, after Eating a Supper of Milk & Rusk.

SATURDAY, JULY 16th Got up at a Quarter before 5 h. A. M.—Sent Pomp for the Horses in order to leave the Spring—Breakfasted at *Six*—Gave Cap^t *White* 8/ towards building a Bathing House—4/ 4. to Mr. *McCall*, who keeps the House of Entertainment for my expenses—Rec^d the acc^t of the Death of L^t W^m Johnson* (on Monday the 4th Instant after only

* Rev. Mr. *Fryenmoet*.—Rev. Johannes C. Freyeunmoet was educated in Europe, and Pastor of the Churches of *Minisink* and *Walpeck*, *Smithfield* and *Mahakkemack*, from 1744 until 1756, when he removed to the *Kinderhook*, *Claverack*, and *East Camp* Churches, of which he continued to be the Pastor until 1772.

* Probably Sir William Johnson, who died on the eleventh of July, 1774.

one Days Illness) by Mr. John Fisher of Albany—and left the Bath at a Quarter of Six—I must here remark that the Roads from Kinderhook to the Bath are exceeding Rough, but might be made [25] much better by removing a great Number of loose Stones & Stumps & filling of Deep Ruts—Altho' the Country is Rough, it nevertheless appears fertile, and deserves the Name of a good country, both for raising of Wheat & Cattle—The Lands about the Spring tho' Rough are very good, as is fully Evincod by the Wheat, Corn & Grass it produces—The Spring is the most extraordinary I ever saw for the Quantity of Water it delivers; the Waters have a fat Sulphurous taste, and one of a Purgative Nature—*

At a Quarter after 9 h. A. M. got at the House & Mill of Mr. Schermerhorn called Phillipstown, about 9 Miles from the Spring—The Road for the most part is new & therefore bad for a Carriage but except about two Miles Across a Stony ridge [might] be made very good & the whole distance except the Ridge may be called a very good Country—Fed my Horses here, and paid 10[¢]—and moved forward towards Albany at 10 h. A. M.—At a Quarter past one o'Clock, got to the House of Mich^l Michael's distance from Schermerhorn's about 10 miles but as I Rode it not less than *twelve*—Here I dined on Bread & Butter, with Soft Eggs. There was also some fried Bacon on Table [26] of w^{ch} however did not taste—Dinner &c cost here 4/6—At half after 2 h. P.M. Set off from hence, and at five got to the ferry opposite to Albany; distance from Michaels 11 miles—So that the whole distance from the Bath to the City of Albany is 30, miles—In Albany I put up at Mr. Beekman's who on my coming to his house gave me two Letters, one from R. Morris Esq. enclosing an order on his Brother Lewis Morris for £76—; The other from Ph. Lott, informing me among other things that my family were well on the 8th Instant—

I also met just returned from Johnstown in Tryon County, Gov^r Franklin & his Suit, Mr. Banyar, Mr. Low, Mr. Duryee and Mr. Morton—wrote a Letter to Mess^{rs}. W. & M^c Dougall by Capt. Chapman & sent them a pound of Green Tea, w^{ch} Mr. M^c Dougall forgot to take wth him—Also wrote a Letter to Mr. A. Ten Eyck requesting he would come with all the papers he has about Coejeman's affairs & Meet me on Monday in this place, that I may be enabled to Set out for home.

Supped with Mr. Beekman & went to Bed at 10 o'Clock—

SUNDAY JULY 17th—Arose at Seven in the Morning Breakfasted at Eight—wrote a Letter

* As we have said, already, it is probable that the Lebanon Springs are here referred to.

to Mr. Lott, by Mr. Duryee—and then went to Church—N. B. Gov^r Franklin & his Suit Set out early this Morning for the Bath—Dr. Westerlo's Text in the Morning was 51 Ps—latter part of the 14th Verse—Dined at Mr. Jn^o [27] H. Ten Eyck—went to Church in the afternoon, The [] Preached over the 10th Commandment—Drank Tea with Gysbert Fonda, wth the Dominie and R R Revd (?)—paid Several Short Visits—Supped at Mr. Beekman's & went to Bed at 10, O'Clock.

N. B.—in the afternoon Saw Rich^d Morris Esq. & Judge Livingston just returned from Tryon County—Promised the Judge to send up £150—to his house by his Sloop—All this Day had a Smart purging on me, w^{ch} believe to be occasioned by the Waters of the Bath.

MONDAY, JULY 18th—Arose at half-past Six—Breakfasted wth Mr. Beekman—after w^{ch} had a long conference with Mess^{rs} J & A Ten Eyck—the Substance of which see in the Bundle of Papers—Bespoke my passage to New York wth H. Cuyler & am to set out To Morrow—Dined wth Jacob H. Ten Eyck Esq.—after Dinner Settled with Gysbert Fonda, about w^{ch} See the memorandum—Bought a Horse of Doctor Mantins for £27—and sold Henry Kelly's Sulky to H. T. Eyck for £17—Paid 27/ for a Copy of K. V. Rensselaer's Deed to A. Coejemans in 1706—Gave Mr. John Bleecker the Boundaries of the Indian Deed of 1704—and requested him to let me know how far the Stations therein mentioned would go from Hudsons River? Paid Several Visits—passed the Evening at Mr. Cartwrights, and went to Bed at half-past Ten.

[28] TUESDAY, JULY 19th—Arose at Six, O'Clock—Breakfasted at my Lodgings—wrote a Letter to Joachim Staats & thanked him for the Loan of his Horse—paid some Visits—at Eleven called on the Loan-officers of Albany who paid me on Account £600. 17. 2—Paid Dr. Mantins £27—for the Horse bought of him yesterday, who is to Send him down by some Careful Captain in the Course of a few Days—Paid Rob^t Yates £93. 4. 6—allowed him by an act of Assembly passed in March last—Invited by Dr. Mantins to Dine with him on *Snock* that is *Pike*, but Dined with Mr. Beekman—at 2 h. P.M. left Mr. Beekman's and went on board of a Sloop of Cap^t Harmanus Cuyler and Set off from Albany for New York, having on board Ph: Livingston,* Esq. & Lady, as also one other Woman passenger—At 3 o'Clock got to the *Overstagh*, about 3 miles below Albany, where the sloop got aground as did also Cap^t Sam^l Pruyn in his

* Philip Livingston.—Probably the merchant of that name who resided in New York; was afterwards a member of the Continental Congress; and signed the Declaration of Independence.

Sloop—Drank Tea at 4 h. P.M.—after which intended to have gone to the house of J. Staats with the Canoe, but supposing him gone to Loonenburgh to an Arbitration did not go—went to Bed about 10 O'Clock.

WEDNESDAY JULY 20th—at one o'Clock in the Morning got off the overslagh and Rowed up against Tide to opposite the House of the Widow Schuyler—At 4 h. A.M. weighed [29] Anchor, and Worked it down Against Tide to about 3 Miles above Coejeman's; here the Tide making against us, came to an Anchor, at 10 h. A.M.—here we laid & Dined—and at 4 h. P.M.—weighed Anchor & with the Ebb worked down against a very Strong South Wind to about half a Mile above Coejemans, when, the wind increasing & the foresail Splitting, we came again to an Anchor at about 5, o'Clock—I then went on Shore and Drank Tea with Mrs. Ten Eyck & Daughter, wth Mr. McCarty, who I saw or rather met on my Landing a little above Mr. Ten Eyck's house—after Tea, taking leave of Mrs. Ten Eyck &c* went with Mr. McCarty to his house remained there a little, & then went to Mrs. Bronks, where I found Mrs. Witbeck & her Daughter Van Antwerp; About Sundown Mr. A Ten Eyck & McCarty came there also—Supped here with those Gentlemen—Took leave of Mrs. Bronk and family who gave me some Green Pease, & went to McCarty's at 9 h. P.M.—from hence went with the Canoe to A. T. Eyck's. Stopped & Drank a Couple Glasses of Wine with him; he gave me some Salled and three Chickins—left his house at 10 h. P. M.—went on board the Sloop, and went to Bed at half-past Ten—The Wind Blowing exceeding hard at South—

THURSDAY JULY 21st, 1774—At three o'Clock this morning the Capt^r Groesbeck & Staats, passed us with a fair Wind from New York to Albany at 4 in the Morning had a Smart Shower of Rain, at five weighed Anchor [30] and against the Southerly Wind worked down to Opposite Coxhackie and here Run aground again at half-past nine—(Breakfasted between 7 & 8 h. A.M.—) Got loose again and came down to Nutten Hook at 10, where the flood obliged us to come to an Anchor—Here the Capt Landed his Wife, that is at Coxhackie, who went to pay a Visit to her Father Petrus Van Berghen who lives just about a mile from the River near the Church at Coxhackie—Dined while we laid at Anchor—about 3 h P.M. Weighed Anchor and tidled down About 8 miles, & between 8 & 9, O'Clock were obliged to come to an anchor again—Supped & went to Bed between nine & ten o'Clock.

FRIDAY JULY 22^d. Weighed Anchor about 4 h. A.M. with a very light Northerly Breeze—Breakfasted at Seven, and at half past nine the

Wind failing & the Tide coming against us, came to an Anchor about a Mile below Judge Livingstons, and nearly opposite the Mouth of the Esopus Creek—Mr. & Mrs. Livingston & Self went on Shore, they paid a Visit & Dined with Ph. I. Livingston Sheriff of Dutchess County;* and I went to the House of Judge Livingston† & Dined there, and paid Mrs Livingston‡ at the request of the Judge made to me at Albany, £150 on Acc^t of Salary Due him as one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of this Colony—I was received very kindly here [31] and at half-past 2, o'Clock left the House when Mrs. Livingston presented me with four Chickins and Some Carrots; Her Son Henry§ was kind enough to bring me down to the House of the aforesaid Sherif, where the Sloop took me on board, it being then at half past 4 P. M.—We made the best of our Way against & Strong Southerly Wind, and a Thunder Shower arising came to an Anchor again at five O'Clock for About a Quarter of an hour—then weighed anchor, and continued to make the best of our Way till Six o'Clock, when the wind blew so hard that we anchored again opposite to Col^r Ten Broeck's, but finding the water too Shallow weighed again and continued under Sail till about half after Eight, when we anchored about a Mile above Eusope's Creek||—here we supped and went to Bed at Ten o'Clock.

N.B. at Mr. Ph. I. Livingston's took in his Sister Peggy¶ to go down to New York with us—

SATURDAY MORNING JULY 23^d. Got up at a Quarter past one—The weather being then Cloudy & the Wind Still blowing fresh at South—Between 2 & 3 h. A.M., weighed Anchor, the Wind blowing So hard at South that we were obliged to let the Anchor go twice before five O'Clock, about which time happened an exceeding hard Clap of Thunder, and Rained very hard—

Breakfasted at Eight O'Clock—and [32] continued Sailing till Nine, when the flood came against us, and therefore anchored opposite to Mr De Witt's at Staatsburgh,** not having advanced more than five Miles all the Tide—Dined at one o'Clock, and at two Weighed Anchor wth the young Ebb, But the Wind as much against us as ever—At about three O'Clock took on board a Carpenter living as he says in New York—continued under Sail till Six O'Clock, when the

* Philip I. Livingston, Sheriff of Dutchess County, probably a son of John Livingston and Catharine de Peyster, his wife. He married Frances Bayard.

† Judge Robert R. Livingston, father of the Chancellor.

‡ Margaret Beekman, daughter of Colonel Henry Beekman.

§ Colonel Henry B. Livingston, of the Army of the Revolution.

|| Saugerties, Ulster-county.

¶ Peggy Livingston.—Margaret, sister of Philip Livingston, was the wife of Doctor Thomas Jones of New York.

** In the town of Hyde Park, Dutchess County.

Southerly Wind blew so high that it tore part of the foresail, and as it Rained hard & there was an appearance of a great Storm (it then Thundering & Lightening) we concluded it would be most prudent to come to an Anchor, but as we were in what is called *Crum Elbow*,* where the Water is Deep & the Anchorage Bad, Run about a Mile back up the River, and came too under the Eastern Shore, Just above the point of *Crum Elbow*, where we laid comfortably Sheltered from the Wind—at half past Six Drank Tea and Eat Bread & Butter with it by Way of Supper—went to Bed between 9 & 10, the Weather being still Rainy and Boisterous—

SUNDAY JULY 24th—Got up & found the Weather still overcast & the wind at South at a Quarter past one in the morning—At half past two Weighed Anchor with the Wind at South [33] Breakfasted at *Eight* and came to an anchor at About Nine, the Tide and wind being Against us near the place called *Barnegat*, or the Lime Killns,† distance from whence we came about 12 miles—Here Mr. Livingston the Captain & Self went ashore, at the House of one *Hend^r Wilse*, who lives on a farm of *Mr. Ray*, of New York; he was Born at Flushing on Long Island, and has lived 37 years on the place at 12 Bushels of Wheat *pr Annum*, he made us Welcome and offered us Some Cucumbers, for w^{ch} however paid him 1/7—We also took Some Cool Spring Water on Board from his Spring, and he went with us to take a Drink of Punch—He Left us About one h. P.M.—Dined at half an hour after & weighed Anchor at a Quarter past two, the Wind Still at South but the Weather Clear—I must however observe that on going on Shore I washed myself in the River, which refreshed me Much—Continued beating against Wind till near *Nine* in the Evening when the Tide came against us, and obliged us to come to an Anchor in the Highlands about a Mile Above *Mr. Moore's*—Went to Bed at *ten* with a kind of Sick head Ach

MONDAY JULY 25th—Weighed Anchor with A Light Breeze from the Northward a little after 12 in the Morning & the Tide Still against us—About 2 h. A. M. the Ebb began to Make (34) and the Northerly wind arising we Sailed with more pleasure than we have done since we left Albany—got thro' the highlands about 6 h. A. M.—Breakfasted opposite to *Verdrietje*

* *Crum-elbow*.—"At Hyde Park, the river makes a sudden bend between rocky bluffs, and in a narrower channel. On account of this, the Dutch settlers called the place 'Krom Elleboge,' or Crooked Elbow. As is frequently the case, along the Hudson, the present name is a compound of Dutch and English, and is called 'Crum Elbow.'"—*Lossing's The Hudson*, 186, 187.

† *Barnegat*, or the *Lime Killns*, five miles below Poughkeepsie, "remarkable only for its many, some twenty, lime-killns, whence large quantities of lime are exported."—*Gordon's Gazetteer of New York*, 433.

Hook, at Eight, and Sailed with a pleasant Gale from the North against Tide till when we got the Ebb again in our favor

[ENTRIES AT BACK OF THE BOOK.]

1774 Paid for Stores in going to Albany viz^a.—

June 20. 100 Limes - - - £0. 5. 6
21 - 1 Keg Bisquits - - - 0. 7. 6

P^d A C: Duryec for

5½ Gals Wine @ 14/
£3. 13. 6

2 doz Bottles @ 4/6
£0. 9 - 4. 2. 6

1 Bottle Vinegar &
Bottle 0. 0. 10

2 lb Candles - - - 0. 2. 2

1 Betty of Oil - - - 0. 4. —

12 Fowles - @ 16^d - 0. 16. —

1 Bushel Indⁿ Corn - 0. 3. 6

8 lb Butter - - - 0. 8. —

A Qur Veal 19½^{lb} Veal
@ 5^d 0. 8. 2

A fore Qur Lamb - - - 0. 3. 3

A Leg Lamb - - - 0. 2. —

1½ Peck Pease - - - 0. 1. 8

6 head Sallad - - - 0. 0. 10

2 Bunches Turnips - 0. 1. —

1 Loaf Sugar 11^{lb} 15^{oz} 14^d 0. 13. 11

To Milk - - - 0. 0. 7

To " at twice - - - 0. 1. 2

To the Cabbin - - - 5. —

£13. 2. 7

12 Loaves Bread T.W. 0. 3. 5

Rum and Bottles - 0. 12. —

£13. 18. 0

P^d Mr. Grant - £3. 9. 6

P^d Mr. White - 3. 9. 6

P^d Mr. McDougall 3. 9. 6

myself - 3. 9. 6

£13. 18. —

Account of my Expenses from New York to Albany & back again, viz^a.—

1774

June 23^d To passage & Stores as

pr. fol. 1 £ 3. 9. 6

Do 29. To 1 p^r black Cloth Shoes 0. 16. —

To Cartage of Trunks &c^a 0. 2. —

July 1. To Expenses in going

to Schenectady &c^a } 0. 16. —

To three ferriages to

Green Bush 0. 0. 5

4. To Pompy - - - 0. 1. 0

6. To Ferriage to Green

Bush & back 0. 3. —

7. To an Extract from the

Records at Albany } 0. 3. —

To a Saddle Bags - - - 1. 17. —

To 2 Weeks Lodgings 18/ }	1. 4. —
as demanded but paid 24/ }	0. 1. —
To Straps for the Saddle	0. 1. —
8. To p ^d for Shoeing my Horses	0. 9. —
& mending Solo	0. 2. —
11. To paid for Toddy at Cox-	0. 2. —
hackie	0. 2. —
To p ^d Francis Salisbury	18. 4. 0
for a Sorrel Horse	18. 4. 0
12. To Dinners &c ^a at Cox-	0. 3. —
hackie	0. 3. —
To Ferriage from Cox-	0. 3. 6
hackie to Nutton Hook	0. 3. 6
13 To Lodgings &c ^a at Mr.	0. 5. 6
Goes's at Kinderhook	0. 5. 6
To Dinner &c ^a at Mr. Dem-	0. 3. —
ming's at New Canaan	0. 3. —
14 To a poor Dutch Women,	0. 8. —
at the Bath	0. 8. —
15 To paid Towards making a	0. 8. —
Bathing house at the Spring	0. 8. —
To paid Expenses at the	0. 4. 6
Spring	0. 4. 6
July 13. To Feed for Horses at	0. 0. 10
Schermerhorn's	0. 0. 10
To Dinners &c, at Mich ^l	0. 4. 6
Michael's	0. 4. 6
To Ferriage over the River	0. 1. 0
at Albany	0. 1. 0
19. To Mr. Lidius for 9 Days	1. 14. —
Horse hire	1. 14. —
To the Barber	0. 1. 7
To Mr. Beekman's Wench	0. 2. —
To Rich ^d Cartwright, as 3 ^d	2. 1. 6
Bill	2. 1. 6
To Dr. Mantins for a Horse	27. —
To a Copy of Rensselaer's	1. 7. —
Deed to Coejemans	1. 7. —
From the Records	1. 7. —
at Albany	1. 7. —
20. To Mr. McCarty's Man to	0. 1. —
bring me on board	0. 1. —
24. To Milk & Cucumbers at	0. 1. 9
Poughkeepsie	0. 1. 9

II.—MAJOR-GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN AND THE SPRING CAMPAIGN OF 1862, IN THE WEST.—By GENERAL D. C. BUELL.

Major-general Sherman, in a recent discourse at an entertainment given to him in St. Louis, has undertaken to settle the question as to who originated the plan of campaign which resulted in the capture of Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, Bowling Green, Nashville, and other important points in Kentucky and Tennessee, in the Spring of 1862. He explains the matter in these words:

"I remember, one evening, up in the Old 'Planter' House, sitting with General Halleck

"and General Cullum: we were talking about 'this, that, and the other. A map was on the table; and I was explaining the position of the troops of the enemy, in Kentucky, when I came to this State. General Halleck knew well the position here [in Missouri], and I remember well the question he asked me—the question of the school-teacher to his child—'Sherman, 'here is the line: how will you break that line?' 'Physically, by a perpendicular force,' 'Where is the perpendicular?' 'The Tennessee-river.' General Sherman then adds: 'General Halleck is the author of that first beginning; and I give him credit for it, with pleasure.'"

Whether, according to this statement, the credit should attach to General Halleck or to General Sherman, I do not care to inquire; but I think proper to notice the general proposition; and I here transcribe official dispatches relating to the question which General Sherman has undertaken to solve.

I should premise by saying that, about the twenty-seventh and thirtieth of November, 1861, two weeks after assuming command in Kentucky, I wrote to General McClellan, then General-in-chief, two letters of which I have not copies at hand, but which he can doubtless produce, sketching a plan of campaign for Kentucky and Tennessee, in which the gunboats and land-force, under General Halleck, were to take part—the same plan as that which I subsequently proposed, at less length, to General Halleck; and which, afterward, was executed. The present Provost-marshal-general, General J. B. Fry, then my Chief of Staff, can testify in regard to those letters; and the following dispatch has reference to the plan submitted in them:

"WASHINGTON, December 5, 1861.

"GENERAL BUELL, LOUISVILLE:

"I have again telegraphed Major-general Halleck for information as to his gunboats and disposable troops. As soon as I receive reply, will arrange details with you. Send me draft of water in Cumberland-river to Nashville, and in Tennessee-river. Your letter of 30th received.

"G. B. McCLELLAN."

The plan was approved by General McClellan; and, as fast as troops and materials were received—for as yet I had neither army, ordnance, nor transportation—they were organized and placed in positions to enter upon its execution, namely, one column at Mumfordsville, on Green-river, on the direct road from Louisville to Bowling Green; one column at Green-river, on the turnpike from Burdstown to Glasgow; one at Columbia; and one at Lebanon; while another guarded the lower Green-river

*From *The [New York Daily] World*, of September 4, 1865.

and threatened the left flank and rear of the enemy, at Bowling Green. The columns at Lebanon and Columbia also had reference to other eventualities, viz: the movements of Zollicoffer's army and a possible movement into East Tennessee, which, from the first, was urged upon me from Washington, with importunities that almost amounted to orders.

While General McClellan was waiting for certain preparations in the force which was to co-operate from Missouri, especially the gunboats, he was taken ill; and I received the following dispatch from the late President:

"WASHINGTON, December 31, 1861.

"Major-general McClellan is sick. Are Major-general Halleck and yourself in concert? When you arrive on Bowling Green what hinders it being reinforced from Columbus? Answer.

"A. LINCOLN."

GENERAL BUELL TO PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

"LOUISVILLE, December 31, 1861.

"There is no arrangement between General Halleck and myself. I have been informed by Major-general McClellan that he would make suitable disposition for concerted action. There is nothing to prevent Bowling Green being reinforced from Columbus, if a military force is not brought to bear on the latter place.

"D. C. BUELL."

PRESIDENT LINCOLN TO GENERAL BUELL.

"WASHINGTON, January 1, 1862.

"Major-general McClellan should not be disturbed with business. I think you better get in concert with Major-general Halleck, at once. I write you to-night. I also telegraph and write Major-general H. W. Halleck.

"A. LINCOLN."

In consequence of these dispatches, the following correspondence passed between General Halleck and myself. My first dispatch to General Halleck I cannot now put my hand on. Its tenor may be inferred from the reply:

"ST. LOUIS, January 2, 1862.

"GENERAL BUELL, LOUISVILLE:

"I have had no instructions respecting co-operation. All my available troops are in the field, except those at Cairo and Paducah, which are barely sufficient to threaten Columbus, etc. A few weeks hence, I hope to be able to render you very material assistance; but, now, useless withdrawal of any troops from this State is almost impossible. Write more fully.

"H. W. HALLECK,"

GENERAL BUELL TO GENERAL HALLECK.

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO, {

"LOUISVILLE, January 3, 1862. }

"GENERAL: I received your dispatch, and, with more delay than I meant, proceed to the

"subject of it, in compliance with your request, and, I may add, also at the wish of the President.

"I do not underrate the difficulties in Missouri; but I think it is not extravagant to say that the great power of the Rebellion, in the West, is arranged on a front, the flanks of which are Columbus and Bowling Green, and the centre about where the railroad between those points crosses the Tennessee and Cumberland-rivers, including Nashville and the fortified points below. It is, I have no doubt, within bounds to estimate their force on that line at eighty thousand men, including a column about Somerset, Kentucky; in rear of their right flanks, it is more.

"Of this force, forty thousand may be set down as at Bowling Green; twenty thousand at Columbus; though you doubtless have more information on that point than I have; and twenty thousand at the centre. Considering the railroad facilities which enable the enemy to concentrate, in a few hours, on any single point of this front, you will, at once, see the importance of a combined attack on its centre and flanks, or, at least, of demonstrations which may be converted into real attacks and fully occupy the enemy on the whole front. It is probable that you may have given the subject, as far as Columbus and the centre are concerned, more attention than I have. With reference to the former, at least, I can make no more than the general suggestion already expressed, that it should be fully occupied.

"The attack upon the centre should be made by two gunboat expeditions, with, I should say, twenty thousand men on the two rivers. They should, of course, be organized with reference to the depth of the water in the rivers; and whether they should be of equal or unequal strength, would depend upon that and other considerations, and can hardly be determined until the moment of departure. The mode of attack must depend on the strength of the enemy, at the several points and the features of the localities. It will be of the first importance to break the railroad communication; and, if possible, that should be done by columns moving rapidly to the bridges over the Cumberland and Tennessee. The former, probably, would not be reached at first, being some thirty-one miles above the first principal battery that I know of, at Dover. The other is eighteen miles above Fort Henry—the first I know of, on the Tennessee. If the expeditions should not be strong enough to do the work alone, they should establish themselves, firmly, at the nearest possible point, and remain, at least, until they ascertain that reinforcements from

"my columns or some other source would not reach them. By waiting, they could establish themselves, permanently, under the protection of the gunboats.

"I say this much rather to lay the subject before you than to propose any definite plan for your side. Whatever is done should be done speedily: within a few days. The work will become more difficult every day. Please let me hear from you at once.

"Very truly yours

"D. C. BUELL

"Brigadier-general Commanding.

"GENERAL H. W. HALLECK, Commanding Department Missouri."

Not receiving any reply to my communication, on the seventh, I telegraphed General Halleck, as follows:

"I am telegraphed by the President. Can you fix a day for concerted action?" To which he replied the same day: "Designate a day for a demonstration. I can do nothing more. See my letter of yesterday." The letter arrived subsequently, and is as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSOURI.

"St. Louis, January 6, 1862.

"BRIGADIER-GENERAL D. C. BUELL, LOUISVILLE, KY.

"GENERAL: I have delayed writing to you for several days, in hopes of getting some favorable news from the Southwest. The news received to-day, however, is unfavorable—it being stated that Price is making a stand near Springfield; and that all our available forces will be required to dislodge and drive him out.

"My last advices from Columbus represent that the enemy has about 22,000 men there. I have only about 15,000 at Cairo, Fort Holt, and Paducah; and, after leaving guards at these places, I could not send into the field over ten or eleven thousand. Moreover, many of these are imperfectly armed.

"Under these circumstances it would be madness for me to attempt any serious operation against Camp Beauregard or Columbus. Probably, in the course of a few weeks, I will be able to send additional troops to Cairo and Paducah, to co-operate with you, but, at present, it is impossible; and it seems to me that, if you deem such co-operation necessary to your success, your movement on Bowling Green should be delayed. I know nothing of the plan of campaign, never having received any information on the subject; but it strikes me that to operate from Louisville and Paducah or Cairo, against an enemy at Bowling Green, is a plain case of exterior lines, like that of McDowell and Patterson, which, unless each

"of the exterior columns is superior to the enemy, leads to disaster ninety-nine times in a hundred. Very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"H. W. HALLECK, Major-general."

And here my reply to the remarks quoted from General Sherman might rest; but other statements in his speech make it proper for me to continue.

My correspondence with General Halleck terminated, for the time, with his reply to my letter of the third of January; and the movement upon Bowling Green and Nashville was necessarily deferred, I had not the ordnance and other materials necessary for a direct attack upon Bowling Green, which was strongly fortified, on both sides of Barren-river; and the part which I originally contemplated for myself, in the proposed plan, was to flank Bowling Green by the left and move rapidly upon Nashville, through Glasgow and Gallatin, an essential condition of which was that General Halleck should gain a footing at some point on the Cumberland, with which I could open communications on my arrival. There was no reasonable doubt of his being able to do that with a suitable force; for, as yet, the enemy's works on the Tennessee and Cumberland were not strong.

In the meantime, I became involved in operations against Humphrey Marshall, in north-eastern Kentucky, and Zollicoffer, at Mill Spring, and in other important movements, which diverted a large part of my force from the Nashville line. The roads became almost impassable, from the snows and rains of Winter, which suddenly set in, with great rigor. Under these circumstances, the abrupt commencement of General Halleck's movement, without premonition, was a source of anxiety, because I believed that strong support was necessary to make it successful; and celerity of movement, over the roads on which my troops had to march, had, by that time, become impossible. The following dispatches, commenced without any warning, will explain what occurred:

"(By Telegraph.)

"St. Louis, January 30, 1862.

"BRIGADIER-GENERAL BUELL, LOUISVILLE:

"I have ordered an advance on Fort Henry and Dover. It will be made immediately.

"H. W. HALLECK."

"(By Telegraph.)

"LOUISVILLE, January 30, 1862.

"GENERAL HALLECK, St. Louis:

"Please let me know your plan and force, and the time.

"D. C. BUELL."

"(By Telegraph.)

"St. Louis, January 31, 1862.

"GENERAL BUELL, LOUISVILLE,

"Movement already ordered to take and hold
"Fort Henry, and cut railroad between Colum-
"bus and Dover. Force about fifteen thousand.
"Will be reinforced as soon as possible. Will
"telegraph the day of investment or attack.

"H. W. HALLECK."

"(By Telegraph.)

"LOUISVILLE, January 31, 1862.

"GENERAL HALLECK, ST. LOUIS:

"Do you consider active co-operation essen-
"tial to your success? Because, in that case, it
"would be necessary for each to know what the
"other has to do. It would be several days
"before I could seriously engage the enemy;
"and your operations ought not to fail. The
"operation which was suggested in my letter
"of yesterday would be an important pre-
"liminary to the next step.

"D. C. BUELL,"

The letter referred to, with its inclosure,
suggested, in some detail, that the gunboats
should endeavor to run past the forts and
destroy the bridges over the Cumberland and
Tennessee:

"(By Telegraph.)

"St. Louis, February 1, 1862.

"GENERAL BUELL, LOUISVILLE:

"Co-operation at present not essential.
"Fort Henry has been reinforced; but where
"from I have not learned. The roads are in
"such horrible condition as to render move-
"ments impossible on land. Will write you
"fully my plans, as soon as I receive your letter
"of the 30th ultimo. Write me your plans;
"and I will try to assist you.

"H. W. HALLECK."

"(By Mail.)

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE }
MISSOURI, }

"St. Louis, February 2, 1862. }

"BRIGADIER-GENERAL D. C. BUELL, LOUIS-
VILLE, KY.,

"GENERAL: Yours of the 30th ultimo is just
"received. At present, it is only proposed to
"take and occupy Fort Henry and Dover and,
"if possible, cut the railroad from Columbus
"to Bowling Green. The roads are in such a
"horrible condition that troops cannot move
"by land. How far we may venture to send
"the gunboats up the river, will be left for after
"consideration. The mortar-boats are a failure:
"they cannot be taken up the river; and it
"remains to be determined whether the gun-
"boats are worth half the money spent on
"them. Only a part of them have yet received
"crews.

"The garrison of Fort Henry, at last accounts,
"was six thousand; it may be further reinforced
"from Columbus.

"Keep me informed of your forces and plans;
"and I will endeavor to assist you as much as
"possible. If we take Fort Henry and con-
"centrate all available forces there, troops
"must be withdrawn, either from Bowling
"Green or Columbus, to protect the railroads.
"If the former, you can advance; if the latter,
"we can take New Madrid and cut off the river
"communication with Columbus. But it will
"take some time to get troops ready to advance
"far South of Fort Henry.

"Very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"H. W. HALLECK, Major-general."

"(By Mail.)

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO, }
LOUISVILLE, February 5, 1862. }

"GENERAL: My plan of operations was
"sketched in the letter which I wrote you on
"3d ultimo. You have, I learn from your
"letter and dispatches, entered upon what I
"would have concurred in, on your side; and
"that is a very important part of it. I regret
"that we could not have consulted upon it
"earlier, because my work must, at first, be
"slow. Besides, since I wrote you, those plans
"have been changed, or at least suspended, in
"consequence of the diversion of a large part
"of my efficient force for other objects, which
"the General-in-chief urged as of primary
"importance, namely, an advance into East
"Tennessee. I have, however, in consequence
"of the want of transportation and, more than
"all, the impassable condition of the roads,
"urged him to allow me to resume my original
"plan; and, if I am not restricted, shall enter on
"its execution at once. My troops have, how-
"ever, been thrown somewhat out of position;
"and it will take some days to get them into
"place. My progress, too, must be slow, for
"we are dependent on the railroad for supplies,
"and that we must repair as we go—the
"enemy having very much damaged it between
"Green-river and Bowling Green—forty miles.
"That will take ten or twelve days. I must go
"provided with a siege-train, because the
"enemy is strongly intrenched, with heavy
"artillery, behind a river; and the condition of
"the roads will, I fear, effectually bar any plan
"of attack which will depend on celerity of
"movement.

"I think it is quite plain that the centre of
"the enemy's line—that part which you are
"now moving against—is the decisive point of
"his whole front, as it is also the most vulner-
"able. If it is held, or even the bridges on the
"Tennessee and Cumberland-rivers destroyed,

"and your force maintains itself near those points, Bowling Green will rapidly fall, and Columbus will soon follow. The work which you have undertaken is, therefore, of the very highest importance, without reference to the injurious effects of a failure. There is not, in the whole field of operations, a point at which every man you can raise can be employed with more effect or with the prospect of as important results.

"Very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"D. C. BUELL.

"General H. W. HALLECK, Brigadier-General,
"St. Louis, Missouri."

"(By Telegraph.)

"St. Louis, February 7, 1862.

"GENERAL BUELL, LOUISVILLE:

"Your letter of the 5th just received. I agree with you, entirely. Bowling Green must be given up, if we hold our position. The enemy will concentrate at Nashville, Clarksville, or Paris, or will attempt to regain his lost advantage at Fort Henry or Dover—I think the latter. It is all-important that we hold our position and advance towards Nashville. I fear I may not be able to do this without more troops. If, from the condition of the roads, you can neither threaten nor attack Bowling Green, nor follow him to the Cumberland, I advise the sending of every man not necessary to sustain your lines on Green-river, down the Ohio, to operate up the Cumberland or Tennessee. If we can hold Fort Henry and move up these rivers, you will have no further difficulty about Bowling Green. The enemy must abandon it and fall back. If he moves all his forces against me, on the Tennessee, I may not be able to resist him, but will do everything in my power. I have only fifteen thousand men at Fort Henry and Dover. I throw out these suggestions for your consideration. If you can help me still further I know you will do so.

"H. W. HALLECK."

"(By Telegraph.)

"St. Louis, February 7, 1862.

"GENERAL BUELL, LOUISVILLE:

"Fort Henry is ours. The enemy is retreating on Paris, pursued by our Cavalry. He has been compelled to abandon part of his artillery. The gunboats will proceed up the river, as far as may be safe. It is believed the enemy is concentrating his forces at Paris, to operate on our flank. It will require every man we can get to hold him in check there, while a column is sent up the Tennessee or Cumberland, or both, to destroy bridges. We are much in want of artillery. Send down as many light batteries as you can spare. Gen-

eral Grant expects to take Fort Donelson, at Dover, to-morrow. If troops are sent up the Cumberland, they will be preceded by gunboats.

"H. W. HALLECK."

It is unnecessary to encumber this article with more extracts from the official record of the first act of this important Campaign. I sent four organized Brigades, with artillery, and eight separate Regiments—in all, twenty-four Regiments—by water, to reinforce General Halleck's columns on the Tennessee and Cumberland; and, as the apprehensions of his failure increased, was in the act of reinforcing him still further, when the news of the fall of Donelson were received. I shall permit myself to make some reflections on the features of the Campaign.

Fort Henry surrendered to the gunboats, under Commodore Foote, on the seventh of February; General Grant appeared before Fort Donelson, on the afternoon of the twelfth; my troops came in front of Bowling Green, at daylight, on the morning of the fourteenth; found the bridges in flames and the place evacuated; commenced crossing the river and demonstrating toward Nashville. Owing to the great difficulty of crossing the river, which was swollen out of its banks at Bowling Green, I did not arrive opposite Nashville until the twenty-third; but the effect had been produced; and I had been expected at Nashville for a week. Fort Donelson surrendered on the sixteenth.

A glance at the map of Kentucky and Tennessee will show what effect these several movements had on each other. FIRST, the movement up the Tennessee and Cumberland not only prevented the enemy from concentrating against the movements through Bowling Green, but caused him to divide his force to such an extent, that he deemed it impracticable to offer successful resistance to my advance; but it did not directly cause the evacuation of Bowling Green, because that occurred four days before the surrender of Donelson—before, indeed, the attack commenced, and when the enemy had unflinching confidence in his ability to defeat it. SECOND: My operations against Bowling Green and Nashville prevented the enemy from concentrating upon General Grant and defeating him. As it was, and notwithstanding the twelve of my Regiments, say ten thousand men, which helped to make up General Grant's force of thirty thousand or thirty-five thousand, General Halleck declared to me, in an official communication, that he had been sorely pressed. Again, the advance through Bowling Green rendered the reinforcement of Donelson perilous and its defense, beyond a certain period, hopeless; and

must have exerted a decisive influence upon the character of the struggle to hold it. There was nothing else to prevent as protracted a defense there as was made at Vicksburg and Port Hudson, later in the War, for the enemy had both the troops and the supplies; nor, at the worst, was there any thing else to prevent the escape of at least a large part of the garrison, since they commanded the river, above, by fortified positions on both sides, and had large steamers at their disposal. Thus it is to be explained that, when the enemy evacuated Bowling Green, four days before the surrender of Donelson, and, while he was yet confident of success at this point, we see him moving directly for the defense of Nashville, where he commenced to throw up works on both sides of the river, instead of going to the rescue of Donelson, in doing which he would have been cut off from all supplies and all retreat by my movement upon Nashville. In the same way is it to be explained that, after the fall of Donelson, the enemy gave up the contest for the command of the river, instead of continuing it at Clarksville and other points, where he had fortified.

But while the operations up the Tennessee and Cumberland were not the most arduous nor essentially the most valuable, yet it is not denied that they possess a more fascinating interest; for there the enemy undertook to give battle; and the conflict of arms will always, to the popular mind, be regarded as the crowning glory of all military operations.

I am constrained to notice another passage in General Sherman's St. Louis speech. He says: "General Halleck's plan went further—"not to stop at his first line, which run through Columbus, Bowling Green, crossing the river at Henry and Donelson, but to push on to the second line, which runs through Memphis and Charleston; but troubles intervened at Nashville, and delays followed; opposition to the last movement was made; and, I myself, was brought an actor on the scene."

Although General Sherman does not mention my name, yet the fact of my being in command in Kentucky and Tennessee, at the time alluded to, is sufficiently notorious to make his charges of "troubles," "delays," and "opposition," at Nashville, bear plainly upon me; and, in order, therefore, to show on what foundation they rest, I shall give official dispatches relative to further operations South of Nashville.

My letter of the thirtieth of January, to General Halleck, and the inclosures accompanying it, which are too long to be inserted here, proposed that a gunboat expedition should be directed against the bridges on the Tennessee, as high up as Florence and Decatur, so as to sever the communications of the enemy between

the North and South sides. That suggestion was also communicated to General McClellan. There is no doubt that it could have been accomplished; but General Halleck's letter of the second of February shows that, up to that time, he had not definitely contemplated more than "to take and occupy Fort Henry and "Dover" [*Fort Donelson*], "and, if possible, "cut the railroad from Columbus to Bowling "Green." On the fifteenth, however, I received the following dispatch:

"ST. LOUIS, February 15, 1862.

"GENERAL BUELL, LOUISVILLE:

"Telegram about division relieves me greatly.

"To move from Bowling Green on Nashville

"is not good strategy. Come and help me take

"and hold Fort Donelson and Clarksville,"

[*then*] "move to Florence, cutting the railroad

"at Decatur; and Nashville must be abandoned

"precisely as Bowling Green has been. All we

"want is troops in mass, on the right point; and

"the enemy is defeated with scarcely a blow;

"but I fear I have not forces enough for this

"new strategic move and, at the same time, Col-

"umbus. Come and help me; and all will be

"right. We can clear Tennessee as we have

"cleared Kentucky.

"H. W. HALLECK."

Although it is a digression from the question I now have in hand, that is, as to whether General Halleck's asserted designs upon the enemy's "second line" were thwarted, yet I shall here transcribe a dispatch of precisely the same date as the foregoing, to show how two distinguished officers differed in regard to the movement I was then making:

"WASHINGTON, February 15, 1862.

"GENERAL BUELL, LOUISVILLE:

"Yours of to-day received. The movement

"on Nashville is exactly right. If General

"Grant's safety renders it absolutely necessary,

"of course reinforce him, as you propose; but

"the great object is the occupation of Nashville.

"If that is gained, or even when your advance

"from Bowling Green is well reached, they will

"abandon Decatur if the way is open for it. Do

"you need more rolling-stock on the railroad

"and how much?

"G. B. McCLELLAN."

The result proves that General McClellan was certainly right; though it does not necessarily follow that General Halleck was, in all respects, wrong. I now return to the original question.

Of course, the dispatch of General Halleck shadows a plan. It was written before the fall of Donelson, and contemplated that the enemy would, even after that event, hold on to the line of the Cumberland—a very reasonable supposition, if my movement against Nashville had not

precluded it. But it is evident that the idea of moving upon Florence must have been abandoned in almost the same breath; for there is in existence, a dispatch dated about the twentieth, from General Halleck to his subordinates, on the Cumberland, calling on them to rally for a struggle in the vicinity of Nashville, such, he predicted, as this Continent had never witnessed; and I myself received the following dispatch:

"St. Louis, February 20, 1862.

"GENERAL BUELL: We are in possession of "Clarksville, in large force, with plenty of supplies. Move to that place rapidly by forced marches and effect a junction. Send all available troops around that can reach there by water sooner than by land. Don't hesitate a moment. If you will come, we are sure of Nashville and Columbus, and perhaps Memphis also. Answer, yes or no.

"H. W. HALLECK."

But, while, at one moment, General Halleck was proposing to me that we should move conjointly upon Florence, to compel the evacuation of Nashville, and, at the next moment, was rallying his forces for a terrible struggle on the Cumberland itself, I was actually taking possession of Nashville; and his plans were unnecessary for either object. So the only opposition to his plans, in that instance, was in the current of events, which flowed on and left his plans behind. I do not impute this to General Halleck as a folly; but it may serve to teach General Sherman, if he can find no lesson in his own experience, that infallibility in the business of war is of very rare attainment.

The truth is, that the "enemy's second line," of which General Sherman talks, did not exist until the first was destroyed. It is immaterial who originated the idea of "pushing on" to it. It was the natural sequel of the first step. The defense was organizing in the vicinity of Corinth; and to that quarter the attack would naturally tend. The following dispatches will show the history of the consultations with reference to it:

"NASHVILLE, March 1, 1862.

"MAJOR-GENERAL McCLELLAN, WASHINGTON:

"Yours of yesterday and to-day received. I have two Divisions, say eighteen thousand men, and thirty-six pieces of artillery. McCook's Division will cross to-morrow. Wood will close upon him, I think, by the day after. I have sent the troops back to Clarksville. Johnson will not stand at Murfreesboro'—in fact is preparing to get out of the way. I hope to be able to crowd him a little. Their plan seems to be to get in rear of the Tennessee, and in positions to concentrate either on Halleck or me, I will say more about this when my information is clearer, and until then I

"cannot well determine my movements. You are aware that, for reasons given some time ago, Custer's is the only column moving toward East Tennessee. I have not heard of his being beyond Cumberland Ford.

"D. C. BUELL."

"WASHINGTON, March 2, 1862,

"GEN. BUELL, NASHVILLE:

"I have telegraphed General Halleck that it is important to seize Decatur, and thus cut General A. S. Johnson from Memphis and Columbus. Of course you must hold Nashville firmly; and Chattanooga is a very important point to gain. Arrange details with Halleck. Co-operate fully together; and give him all assistance you can. Push Custer forward as rapidly as possible. What is Garfield doing?

"G. B. McCLELLAN."

"(By Telegraph.)

"NASHVILLE, March 3, 1861.

"GENERAL McCLELLAN, WASHINGTON:

"Dispatch received. I have four Divisions up—three and a half on this side of the river—those coming by land, I can't get exactly at what Halleck is doing, and, therefore, can't see how to assist him, at this moment, if he should need it. I have proposed an interview with him; and would like you to be present. He has to defer it a few days. I sent Garfield to chase Marshall entirely out of Kentucky. Have not heard from him recently. It will bring him down toward Cumberland Gap; and I will unite him with Custer, who, in the meantime, I hope, will have gained some advantage at the Gap.

"Use all your persuasion against the appointment of a Military Governor for Tennessee. It will do infinite harm. Beg the President to wait.

"D. C. BUELL."

I had, on the first, suggested to General Halleck, that we should meet and consult with reference to future operations.

"St. Louis, March 3, 1862.

"GENERAL BUELL, NASHVILLE:

"Columbus is nearly turned. The mortar-boats will bombard it this afternoon; and Pope will attack New Madrid to-morrow morning. * * * I will make an appointment to meet you as soon as the Columbus movement is ended.

"H. W. HALLECK."

"NASHVILLE, March 3, 1862.

"GENERAL HALLECK, ST. LOUIS:

"What can I do to aid your operations against Columbus? Remember I am separated from you by the Tennessee-river.

"Johnston is moving toward Decatur and burning the bridges as he goes.

"D. C. BUELL."

"St. Louis, March 4, 1862,

"GENERAL BUELL, NASHVILLE:

"If Johnston has destroyed the railroad and bridges in his rear, he cannot return to attack you. Why not come to the Tennessee, and operate with me to cut Johnston's line with Memphis, Randolph and New Madrid. Columbus has been evacuated and destroyed. Enemy is concentrating at New Madrid and Island No. 10. I am concentrating a force of twenty thousand against him. Grant, with all available force, has gone up the Tennessee to destroy connection at Corinth, Jackson, and Humboldt. Estimated strength of enemy at New Madrid, Randolph, and Memphis is fifty thousand. It is of vital importance to separate them from Johnston's army. Come over to Savannah or Florence; and we can do it. We then can operate either on Decatur, or Memphis, or both, as may appear best.

"H. W. HALLECK."

"NASHVILLE, March 5, 1862.

"GENERAL HALLECK, ST. LOUIS:

"Your views accord with my own, generally; but some slight modifications seem to me necessary. At least there are details about which we ought to be able to consult freely. Can we not meet in Louisville in a day or so? I think it very important. The concentration of my troops and transportation cannot be completed for some days. We have had two formidable rivers to cross, and have forced ourselves here, without transportation or baggage.

"The thing which I think of vital importance is that you seize and hold the bridge at Florence, in force. Johnston is now at Shelbyville, some fifty miles South of this. I hope you will arrange for our meeting at Louisville.

"D. C. BUELL."

"St. Louis, Mo., March 6, 1862.

"GENERAL BUELL, NASHVILLE:

"I cannot possibly leave here at the present time. Events are passing on so rapidly that I must be all the time in telegraphic communication with Curtis, Grant, Pope, and Commodore Foote. We must consult by telegraph. News down the Tennessee that Beauregard has twenty thousand men at Corinth, and is rapidly fortifying it. Smith will probably not be strong enough to attack it. It is a great misfortune to lose that point. I shall reinforce Smith as rapidly as possible. If you could send a Division, by water, around into the Tennessee, it would require only a small amount of transportation to do it. Would receive all its supplies by the river.

"H. W. HALLECK."

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"NASHVILLE, March 9, 1862.

"GENERAL HALLECK, ST. LOUIS:

"I did not get your dispatch of the 6th until yesterday—that of the 8th yesterday. I suggest the following: The enemy can move from one side of the river to the other, at pleasure; and, if we attempt to operate on both sides, without the same facility of transit, we are liable to be beaten in detail. The point I previously suggested is the only one from which we can operate centrally. That secured, we can act according to circumstances, either way. If you occupy that point, I will reinforce you by water or join you by land. Otherwise, I may detach too little to serve you, or else so much as to endanger Middle Tennessee, the importance of which I need not allude to. If we could meet, I think we could better understand each other.

"D. C. BUELL."

"St. Louis, March 10, 1862.

"GENERAL BUELL, NASHVILLE:

"My forces are moving up the Tennessee river, as rapidly as we can obtain transportation. Florence was the point originally designated; but, on account of enemy's forces at Corinth and Humboldt, it is deemed best to land at Savannah, and establish a depot. The transportation will serve as ferries. The selection is left to C. F. Smith, who commands the advance. Pope has turned Island No. 10; but, the enemy shows no disposition to evacuate. Curtis is asking for reinforcements in Arkansas. I must send him some troops intended for the Tennessee. You do not say whether we are to expect any reinforcements from Nashville.

"H. W. HALLECK."

"NASHVILLE, March 10, 1862.

"GENERAL HALLECK, ST. LOUIS:

"The possession and absolute security of the country North of the Tennessee river, with Nashville as a center, is of vital importance, both in a political and military point of view. Under no circumstances should it be prolonged. It enables us, with the Tennessee as a base, to operate, East, West, and South. All our arrangements should look to a centralization of our force, for that object. We cannot tell, now, which direction to take when we get within reach of the enemy. You cannot well tell what force you may meet at the West; still less can I tell what may come in the direction of Stevenson.

"With this view, the establishment of your force on this side of the river, as high up as possible, is evidently judicious; and, with the same view it, would be unnecessary and unadvisable to change the line in which I propose to advance. I can join you almost, if

"not quite, as soon as by water, in better condition, and with greater security to your operations and mine. I believe you cannot be too promptly nor too strongly established on the Tennessee. I shall advance in a very few days—as soon as our transportation is ready."

"D. C. BUELL."

"WASHINGTON, March 10, 1862.

"GENERAL BUELL, NASHVILLE:

"The evidence is very strong that the enemy in front of us here is breaking up and moving off. General McClellan is after him. Some part of the force may be destined to meet you. Look and be prepared. I telegraphed Halleck, asking him to assist you if needed."

"A. LINCOLN."

The foregoing dispatches are sufficient to show the gist of the consultation which preceded the operations against the enemy's "second line." They do not betray any opposition—they scarcely present any great difference of conviction—they show merely a discussion, while we were preparing our forces for action, in regard to points which could have been adjusted in a few hours' personal consultation, but which occupied a number of days by the tedious and unsatisfactory means of telegraphing.

It is no part of my present purpose to criticise General Halleck's views in regard to those points or to enforce my own. We were independent commanders. We owed no apology for any opposition which we deemed it our duty to make to the views of each other; and the charge of opposition could as well be made against one as against the other.

Equally unfounded is the imputation of unnecessary delay, resulting from opposition or any other cause. My army moved as soon as it was ready to move. It made its movements, from the first, through the snows and floods of Winter and Spring, by actual marching; and, from that time to the present, during the War, no movements have been made, by as large a force, under similar circumstances, with greater promptness and celerity. General Halleck carried his troops up the Tennessee-river on steamers, without the means of moving twenty miles from its banks; and, of course, to that extent, he moved so much more rapidly as steamers can run faster than men can walk; but, when it came to marching by land, we do not find more alacrity in starting or celerity in overcoming distance than other armies have exhibited. It took one month, after the battle of Shiloh, to prepare for a Campaign which the enterprise of the enemy precipitated; and nearly a month longer to overcome the sixteen miles which separated the opposing armies. What had the pretended delays at Nashville to do with this consumption of time in—as General

Sherman expresses it—"pushing on the second line?" Nothing. The truth is, General Halleck had not, on the ground, the means of moving away from the river earlier than he did; and if he desired to move on the river, there certainly would not have been more temerity in throwing himself between the widely-divided columns of the enemy than in placing himself within arm's reach of their united force. I am not now criticising General Halleck. I am exposing the indiscreet pretensions and unfounded assertions of his friends. When more responsible persons than General Sherman shall avow these imputations of delay, I shall have further, then, to say on that subject.

D. C. BUELL.

NEW-YORK, August 31, 1865.

III.—THE NORTH-EASTERN BOUNDARY OF NEW JERSEY.—CONTINUED.

II.

REMARKS OF HON. J. ROMEYN BRODHEAD BEFORE THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

At the meeting of the NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, on Tuesday, the sixth of June, 1865, the Honorable JOHN COCHRANE, Attorney-general of the State of New York, read an interesting paper, which he had prepared, showing that "the Kills" and other waters between Staten Island and New Jersey, are really part of the Hudson-river, and New York waters.

Before the President put to vote the resolution of thanks, which the Society unanimously adopted,

Mr. JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD said, that the paper just read by his old friend and colleague in public service, General COCHRANE, was very gratifying evidence that our ablest statesmen did not always allow themselves to be drawn wholly away from scholarly pursuits, by the claims of official duty or the clamorous demands of mere partisan politics. It was not often that the highest law-officer of the State was found to possess either the taste or the training of a historical student; and when such an accomplished specimen was actually caught, it would be well to prize him as a sort of modern "*lusus naturæ*." The Attorney-general's paper, however, suggested a point, which was of great interest in American history, and particularly in New Jersey history; and which, up to this moment, was believed to be entirely novel.

Mr. BRODHEAD proceeded to state it, as follows:

The constant opposition of the early Colonial authorities of New York to the dismemberment of its territory, as granted by King Charles the Second to his brother James, in March, 1664, by the Duke of York's transfer of "Albania," or New Jersey, to John, Lord

Berkeley, and Sir George Carteret, in the following June, is, of course, familiar to those acquainted with American history.

The transfer was a very improvident act, which the Duke afterwards regretted, and which he would never have executed, if he had been properly advised. It was done in haste; while the expedition sent to seize New Netherland was yet at sea; and, apparently, through the cajolery of the infamous Captain John Scott. No steps were taken by the Duke's grantees to secure their own possession of New Jersey, until dispatches were received from Nicolls that he had conquered New Netherland from the Dutch. It was not until June, 1665, that Philip Carteret arrived in America, as Governor of New Jersey; and then, for the first, Nicolls learned what had been so unwisely done by his chief, after he had left England. Forten months he had exercised undeniable authority over the entire region between the Hudson and the Delaware, by virtue of his Commission, as Governor, from the Duke of York, of the second of April, 1664. As soon as he heard the unwelcome news, Nicolls wrote earnestly to the Duke, remonstrating against his improvident cession of New Jersey and proposing that Berkeley and Carteret should give up their prize, and take, in exchange, the territory on the Delaware, which had been reduced from the Dutch; (*New York Colonial Documents*, iii., 105; *Chalmers' Political Annals—who gives the date erroneously, as November, 1685,—624, 625.*) On the ninth of April, 1666, Nicolls urged the same suggestion to Lord Arlington, the English Secretary of State: (*Colonial Documents*, iii., 113, 114.) When he returned to England, the late Governor of New York carried with him a letter from Maverick, his fellow Royal Commissioner, to Lord Arlington, dated the twenty-fifth of August, 1668, in which the inconvenience of the Duke's release of New Jersey was demonstrated. (*Colonial Documents*, iii., 174.)

The presence of Nicholls at Court, however, seems to have effected, what much trans-Atlantic correspondence might never have accomplished. Its first fruit was to drive Captain Scott, the contriver of the New Jersey release, in disgrace from Whitehall. Its next result was an authoritative judgment that *Staten Island belonged to New York, and not to New Jersey*. Moreover, the personal representations of Nicolls convinced the Duke of York that he had been duped into doing a very foolish thing, when he severed his American Province. James, accordingly, took steps to regain New Jersey. It was not difficult for him to do this. Sir George Carteret was in Ireland, of which he had been appointed Lord Treasurer, in 1667. Lord Berkeley, who had been one of the Commissioners of the Duke of York's private estate, had just been detected

in the basest corruption; and was now turned out of all his offices at Court. (*Pepys, Bohn's ed.*, 1858, iii., 167, 172, 174, 331; iv., 28; *Burnet*, i., 267.) He was glad enough to win the Duke's favor by offering to surrender New Jersey to him; and Carteret, at Dublin, willingly confirmed his partner's offer, especially as they were to receive the Delaware territory in exchange.

The evidence of this interesting, and *hitherto unknown*, feature in American Colonial History, has recently come to light in the *Winthrop Papers*, now in course of publication by The Massachusetts Historical Society. On the twenty-fourth of February, 1669, Maverick wrote from New York, to Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut, that Governor Lovelace had just received a letter from his predecessor, Nicolls, at London, announcing that "Staten Island is adjudged to be long to N: Yorke. The L. Barkley is under a cloud, and out of all his offices, and offers to surrender up the Patent for N. Jarsey. Sir G: Carterett, his partner, is in Ireland, but it is thought he will likewise surrender, and then "N. Yorke will be enlarged." (*Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections*, xxxvii., 315.) Carteret appears to have promptly assented to the proposed surrender; and the transaction was regarded on all sides as complete, for Sir George wrote to his brother Philip, the Proprietors' Governor, at Elizabethtown, in June, 1669, that "New Jarsey is returned to his Royall Highness, by exchange for Delawar, * * * some tract of land, on this side the river & on the other side, to reach to Maryland bounds," (*Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections*, xxxvii., 319.)

Yet, while man proposes, God disposes. Neither the surrender nor the exchange, thus arranged, were ever accomplished. The restoration of Charles the Second to the sovereignty which that grand old statesman, Oliver Cromwell, had administered with such splendid ability, was followed by the most disgraceful poltroonery which marks the annals of sycophantic and title-loving Englishmen. The Court became vicious, to a proverb. Sir George Carteret was expelled the House of Commons, for corruption, in the Autumn of 1669; but he still held his place of Treasurer of Ireland. Early in the Spring of 1670, Lord Berkeley, the disgraced swindler of the Duke of York, was, by the favor of the King, made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, where he joined his co-partner, Carteret. Both the New Jersey grantees were also proprietaries of Carolina, of which Berkeley had just become Palatine, on the death of the Duke of Albemarle. At this moment, Lord Baltimore, an influential Irish peer, revived his old claim to the Delaware territory, which, he insisted, belonged to himself, as proprietor of Maryland, and not to the Duke of York, as the English representative of its

ancient Dutch owners. (*Colonial Documents*, iii., 70, 113, 186.)

This Delaware question was a very nice one, for it raised several ugly points about the original title to New Netherland, which the English had usurped from the Dutch. It was handled very gingerly, for several years; and was not definitely settled against Maryland, by the Privy Council, until 1685. Meanwhile, Lord Baltimore was a powerful peer of Ireland; and might give her Lieutenant and Treasurer much trouble, if they made him their personal enemy. On comparing notes, at Dublin, Berkeley and Carteret thought it their best policy to let the Duke of York fight out the Delaware question with Lord Baltimore, in London; and, in the mean time, they evaded the fulfilment of their agreement with James, and retained New Jersey. After the death of Nicolls, in 1672, they even prevailed on the Duke to write to Lovelace, fully recognizing their rights, as grantees of the Province. In August, 1673, the whole of ancient New Netherland, including New York, New Jersey, and Delaware, was reconquered by the Dutch. The Treaty of Westminster restored these acquisitions, to Charles the Second, in February, 1674. In the following June, the King, by a new Patent, regranted to his brother James, the entire territory of New York and New Jersey. What the Duke did, after he received his second Patent, it is not my purpose now to explain. I will only remark, that the decision which, in 1669, adjudged Staten Island to belong to New York, has never been disturbed.

From this history of the matter, it is clear that if Berkeley and Carteret had performed their agreement with James, in 1669, the State of New York, at this moment, would have included the present State of New Jersey. The partners who surrendered their Patent would, doubtless, have received a Patent for Delaware, directly from the King. After the Treaty of Westminster, all parties would have stood as they did before the Dutch war. The controversy with Lord Baltimore would not have been protracted until the accession of James the Second. But the inscrutable wisdom of the Almighty decreed that human weakness should work great ends; and—as far as we can now see—it is owing to the faithlessness of Berkeley and Carteret to the Duke of York, in 1670, that New Jersey exists as an independent State.

III.

LETTER FROM MR. BRODHEAD, ENCLOSING A COPY OF HIS LETTER TO MR. WILLIAM A. WHITEHEAD, OF NEWARK, N. J.

NEW YORK, 25th July, 1865.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq., Editor of *The Yonkers Gazette*.

SIR: As a note from William A. Whitehead,

of Newark, N. J., induced me to write out my remarks at the meeting of our N. Y. Historical Society, on the 6th of June last—which, at your request, were published in *The Yonkers Gazette*—it seems to be proper that I should communicate to you the following copy of a letter which I addressed to Mr. Whitehead, in reply, enclosing those remarks, as they appeared in your issue of the 8th instant.

I am, Sir, Sincerely yours,
JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD.

[MR. BRODHEAD'S LETTER TO MR. WHITEHEAD.]

NEW YORK, 8th July, 1865.

WILLIAM A. WHITEHEAD, Esq., &c., Newark, N. J.

MY DEAR SIR: According to my promise, in acknowledging your note of the 7th ultimo, I enclose a copy, (from *The Yonkers Gazette*, of this day,) of my remarks at the meeting of our New York Historical Society, on the 6th of June.

I think it is now proved that Staten Island was adjudged to belong to New York, as early as 1669; and that, in the same year, Berkeley and Carteret agreed to restore New Jersey to the Duke of York.

It would have been as well, perhaps, if I had added, in my remarks, that Lovelace's purchase of Staten Island from the aborigines, in 1670, shows, further, that, at that time, all parties concurred in recognizing the Duke as the only European proprietor of that Island.

He certainly was so, at the Dutch reconquest, in 1673; and he became its grantee, directly from the King, a second time, in 1674. The Duke's subsequent release to Carteret, (in *severalty*,) of the same year, must, of course be taken as not including Staten Island; because *identical words of description, with those in his first release to Berkeley and Carteret*, are employed; and because, under those words, the Island had been "adjudged" to belong to New York.

The claim set up in 1681, by the representatives of Sir George Carteret, was, as you know, never admitted by the Duke's authorities, who felt that the original adjudication of 1669—which gave Staten Island to New York—could not be disturbed.

Yours, very sincerely,
JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

IV.—Y^e FRAUDULENT, CORRUPT, AND VIOLENT TRANSACTIONS OF Y^e ANCIENT PURITANICAL LAND-GRABBERS, IN DOVER, N. H.*

FROM THE NEW HAMPSHIRE ARCHIVES.
To the Honourable John Wentworth the Esq^r

* Communicated by Captain W. F. Goodwin, U. S. A.

Comand^r In Chief in and over His Majestys^t Province of New Hampsh^r. To The Hon^{ble} the Council and House of representatives convened in General Assembly for Said Province

The humble Petition of Paul Gerrish of Dover in New Hampsh^r aforesaid and several of the principal Inhabitants of Said Town

MOST HUMBLY SHEWETH

That for three years last past the said Paul Gerrish has been Clerk of the Said Town of Dover, and Since the books of the Said Town have been in the Said Gerrish's hands, he has discovered a Great deal of Corruption (or forgery as he apprehends acted and done in the Said books) as he Supposes by those persons (or their permission) whose hands they formerly have been in, and that Said principal Inhabitants of Said Town are Still of opinion that there are now through the ill actions formerly done a great many forged grants still produced and br^ot to the lot layers of said Town to be laid out who with great reason Suspecting them refuse to lay them out, and on their refusal those persons who have got those grants apply to the next Town Lotlay^r who lay such grants out, whereby the Town of Dover is very greatly damnified and set in confusion, and if some remedy cannot be found out for their relief will be almost ruin'd.—THEY THEREFORE most humbly Pray That Yo^r Hon^{rs} and the Gen^l Assem^y will take the premises under your mature Consideration and make Such orders thereupon as may (if possible) rectify the horrible Injustice that has been done the Town by such false entrys and Effectually prevent the Confusion which the Town will otherwise unavoidably be in and Yo^r petition^r as in duty bound Shall Ever pray &c^a

Dec^r 15th 1729—

PAUL GERRISH,
EBEN^r VARNY JUN^r
JAMES CHERELEY
JOHN CANNE
NATH^r YOUNG
W^m FROST
JOHN WALDRON JUN^r
MARK GYLES
EBEN^r VARNY
EDWARD ELLIS
SAM^r JONES
DAN^r GOODIN
ISRA^r HOGSDEN
JOHN TOMPSON
SAM^r DAM
JON^r MERROW
BENJ^r HANSON
SAM^r STYLES
JAMES GUPPY
MOSES WINGET

JOHN HAMMOCK,
PAUL WENTWORTH
THOM^r PINKHAM
EPH^r WENTWORTH
JOHN WALDRON
ISRAEL HOGSDEN
WM WELLAND
EZRA KIMBAL
TOB^r HANSON JUN^r
JOSEPH CONNER
GERSH WENTWORTH JUN^r
JOSH^r ROBERTS
WM STYLES
TRIST COFFIN
EL^r WYER JUN^r
GEORGE RICKAR
JOS HANSON JUN^r
SYLV^r NOCK
GERSH WENTWORTH
TOB^r HANSON

JOHN ROERFOR^{*}
NATH^r PERKINS
THO^r MILLIT
NATH^r VARNY
JOHN RICKAR
JOHN YOUNG
ELIAZ^r WYER
EPH^r RICKAR
RICH^d PLUMER

JAMES HOBS
SAM^r WENTWORTH
DAVID WATSON
THOM WALLINGFORD
JOHN WENTWORTH
MOSES HOBS
EBEN^r WENTWORTH
THO^r ALDEN
EBEN^r GARLAND

TRUE COPY

RICH^d WALDRON Cler Con

2.—Action of the Government on the preceding Petition.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTS

Dec^r. 16: 1729.

The annexed Petition of the Town Clerk of Dover and others of Said Town was read and—
VOTED THEREON—That the Clerk of the Said Town of Dover for the time being be hereby prohibited entering any of those old Comitte Grants that are Suspected not to be legally obtained; and to Enter onely Such Grants as have or may be allowed by Said Town on the Select men thereof until the next Siting of the General Assembly and that there be a Comitte chosen by the Gen^l. Assembly to go to the Town Clerk for the Time being who is hereby required to shew unto such Comitte such Entrys matters and things as he or any of the Said Town suppose to be done by ill practice

And the Said Comitte Shall by Virtue here-of summon before them all Such persons that can give any lights in Explaining any matters or things they may see occasion to Examine for discovery of truth and detecting Such vile practices and to give Such persons or persons their oaths, and to make returns of their doings therein to the General Assembly next Session—And That Nath^r. Weare Esq^r. and Theo^r. Atkinson Esq^r. be a Comitte of this House to joyn Such as Shall be appointed above for that end, and that the Petitioners pay the Charges.—

JAMES JEFFRY Cler assem

IN COUN Dec^r. 18th. 1729—

Read and Concurr'd and Jothⁿ Odiorne & Henry Sherburne Esq^r. appointed for the Service above.

RICH^d. WALDRON Cler Con

True Copy
Examined

RICH^d. WALDRON Cler Con

3.—Report of the Committee of Investigation.

PROVINCE OF }
NEW HAMP } We whose names are under written being of the Comitte for the Ends with-in mentioned have been at Dover & upon a strict Enquire of all persons that we tho^u. or Suspected could give us any Information as alsoe

^{*}The name may be Roberts. — W.F.G. ed by Google

we haveing Seached the Town Book do report Thereon as follows Vz we do finde by the S^d Town book that great forgery & froun hath been ussue & frequently practized by Entering grants many years back in the Inter spaces of the Book & that the Book hath often been Exposed & Lay open to many persons to Enter what Grants they Saw proper therein, & that we found many of the S^d Original Grants in the former Town Clerks hand which appeared to us to be fraudulent & Deceetfull which have been Entred in S^d book as a fores^d & that Great Quantities of Land hath been Laid out by Virtue of the s^d Grants by which we Imagine the Town hath been Striped of at Least fifteen Thous^d pounds worth of Land—as uettness our hand, this 24th March 1729/30

JOTHAM ODIORNE
HEN SHERBURNE
THEODORE ATKINSON } Comtee

4.—*Report of a second Committee of Investigation.*

WHEREAS the Generall Assembly of his Maj^{ty} Province upon reading the report of the Comitte formerly Appointed by S^d Assembly to Examine Dover Town book Wee whose names are hereunto Subscribed were appointed by the Gen^l Assembly to make a more Exact & perticular Inquiry into the Seveⁿ Grants & returns in S^d Book Supposed to be Vicious & Corrupt as ³ s^d Vote of the 30th of Decemb^r 1730—will appear & haveing Strictly Examined s^d Town Books & files as alsoe the former Town Clerk & other Persons from whom we could receive any Insight or In formation & Do report that all the Grants & returns mentioned in this report we Imagine to be fraudulent Corrupt & Vicious for the reasons mentioned with Each record herein recited as—

1st In the Old Book Page [120] a grant made in the 10th of the 11th month [59] & a return made & entred by Cap^t Tho^s Tibbets the Late Clerk & in a Space amongst the record^s made many years before he was Clerck & the Time of his recording it was Entred with the s^d Grant & return & afterwards Eraced & the Clerk acknowledged he recorded it beside we Viewed the Originall & find its all of one hand & Signhing—

2^d In the New book Page [9] a grant made by a Comitte whereof Will^m furbur was Comittes Clerk for 60 Acres of Land made to the reverend Mr. John Pike Dated the 23^d June 1701 & Confirmed by the Town the 23^d March 1702—This Cap^t Tho^s Tibbets Swears he doth not know how it came upon record & that Doctor Pike had been with him to get the s^d Grant &c recorded but he refused to enter it being as he believed not good — Notwithstanding tis Entred in a Vacancy Left in s^d book formerly & in a Different hand from the

records of that Time & Some oblitterations—

3^d In s^d Book Page [16] a grant made by S^d Comitte for [30] acres of Land To Cap^t Tho^s Tibbets on the 3^d of June 1701—because Entred by Cap^t Tibbets Son Sam^l as he himself Declares upon Oath amongst the records made by Cap^t Tuttle & we observed that the Dates of the record, in the Same page both before & after were In the year [1694] but we could not obtain any Originall

4th In page 19 a grant made to Nich^s Harrison for [60 acres on the 19th of March 1694 & Confirmed by the Town In the moth of April following Entred in a Space amongst the records made by Cap^t Tuttle & not in his hand and differing from his S^d Tuttl's method

5th In P: y^e [27th] a grant made by S^d Comitte to Cap^t Sam^l Tibbets in the Year 1694 recorded in an unusual hand & Crowded in a Vacancy amongst the records The Originall Sam^l Carle swears he had of one Burnum & Cap^t Tho^s Tibbets Swears he refused to record it believing it not to be good yet we find it recorded

6 Page (32) a Grant made to Nath^l Tibbets for 30 Acres Dated the 11th April 1694 by S^d Comitte & Confirmed the 16th of the Same month by the Town Crowded in between Tuttl's record, in an unusual hand & by the Originall it Appears That furbur the Clerk of the Comitte's name neither wrote or Spelt as he used to Do & the grant & Confirmation of the Same hand writing—

7th In Page (57) Grant to francis Pittman by The Town april 6th 1702 for forty acres Crowded in with Tuttl's records in an unusual hand Tho^s Tibbets Swears That he doth not know weither he recorded it or not but that he did Enter Some Grants & returns in Cap^t Tuttl's Vacancy in S^d book—

8th In Page (62) June the 23^d 1701 a grant by S^d Comitte to Jeremiah Burnum for 50 Acres Entred in one of Tuttl's Vacancys & by Tibbets himself as he Swears but tis not Signed by Any Clerk—

9th In Page (75) June 23^d 1701—a grant to Nath^l Lumas by the S^d Comitte & Entred by Tibbets in the Bottom of a Leaf with Tuttle records as appears by the hand writing & his acknowledgements & the different Inck & the Originall appears not to be the writing of Furbur the Clerk of the Comitte which we rec^d from Tibbets

10th Page (76) grant to Roger rose for Three-score Acres of Land & meadow by S^d Comitte the 19th march 1693/4 & Confirmed by the Town the 2^d April 1694 Crowded in amongst Tuttl's Entries In a Different hand & different Collord Inck from the Entry before & After

11th 86th Page Grant to Eli Demerrest for 30

- Acres of Land the 11th April 1694 & Confirmed the 16th April 1694 Tibbets acknowledges he Entred in a Vacancy Left by Tuttle Since he was Clerk—
- 12th 91 Page a grant by the S^d Committee to John Tuttle & Ezek^l Wentworth for 30 Acres of Land by S^d Committee June 23^d 1701 Entred by Cap Tibbets at the Bottom of Tuttle's Entries not Confirmed by the Town nor Sign d by the Clerk of the Committee or Town
- 13th 93^d Page a grant to Jere Burnum for 40 acres April 11th 1694 Crowded in at the Bottom of Tuttle records & Supposed to be Vicious it being in an unusuall hand writing—
- 14 Page [94] a grant by S^d Committee for 40 acres to Jere Burnum & not confirmed by the Town This Tibbets Upon oath Says he recorded in a Vacancy of Tuttle's record, about 7 years Since
- 15th Page [95]—a grant made by the s^d Committee to Tho^s Roberts The 11th April 1694 & Confirmed the 16th April following & we find the Grant was made to Tho^s Roberts Tertius which is Left out in the record, & Tibbets Swears he Entred it him Self James Hanson Swears he got the Original of Ebenz^r Young who told him S^d Hanson if he would get it recorded he Should have half of it and accordingly the S^d Hanson Swears he went to Cap^t Tibbets & gave him two gall^{ns} rum & ord^r abner Young to pay him Twenty Shillings in money for recording it
- 16 Page (98) Granted by S^d Committee fifty Acres to Rich^d Hussey & Confirmed the 16 April 1694 crowd among^s Tuttle's writing in an unusuall hand & Different Coullord Inck
- 17th Page 101 granted to Abraham Clark the 23^d June 1701—& Confirmed the 6th April 1702 Tibbets Swears he recorded about Three years Since & the S^d Clark Swears that Mishach Drew & Willm Hill asked him about That Time if he would Sell them his grant of Land if they could find it upon record & he promised them they Should have it & Some time after they told him it was recorded & then bargained with him for Ten pounds & About this Time the S^d Clark asked Cap^t Tibbets if he had any Grant & he told him he did not love to Enter Such falls Things—
- 18th 103 Page a grant by S^d Committee to Pumphret Whitehouse June 23 1702 for 50 acres entred amongs^t Tuttle's records & Tibbets he recorded it him Self and by the original it appears not to be furburs Writing it being different from his hand & his name not Spelt right
- 19 Page [104]—a grant by S^d Committee for 50 acres of the 19th of march 1693/4 Confirmed the 11th of April 1694 made to Bryant Higgins This Tibbets Swears he recorded amongs^t Tuttle's records & that Tho^s Davis Bro^r to him about 5 years Past to have it recorded
- 20th Page 105 a grant by S^d Committee to Rob^t Allen in the year 1701 & Confirmed 6th April 1702 for 40 acres Tibbits Swears he recorded amongst Tuttle's records about four years past
- 21—Page 113 [11th 1701 a Grant by S^d Committee for 40 acres of Land this Tibbets Swears he Entred about 5 or 6 years Since & in a vacancy in Tuttle's Entries the Original appears to be altrd & not writ by furbur the Clerk it differing Both in writing and Spelling
- 22 Page 120) June 3^d 1701 granted by S^d Committee to George Chesley & Confirmed by the 23^d March 1702—50 acres of Land Entred by Tibbets as he Swears about 5 years Since & the Originals it appears that The Grant & Confirmation to be both of One hand & yet neither furburs nor Tuttle's writing.
- 23^d Page 130—In The year 1699 & no Day nor month a grant made by the Selectmen to Jos Jenkins 40 Acres which Tibbets Swears he Entred him Self & amongs^t Tuttle's records & Swears he Signed the Original not as a Select men but as a witness he remembering the grant to have been made about the year above s^d which Induced him to write the Grant and record it
- 24 Page 131—April 11th 1694 Granted by S^d Committee to Joseph Smith Jun^r & Confirmed the 16th Day of April 16th April 1694 Tibbets Swears he recorded amongs^t Tuttle's records & that the Original was altrd & Obliterated before he Entred it from 60 acres to 40—acres—
- 26 132^d Page—granted June 23^d 1701 by the Committee afores^d 30 Acres to Nath^l Pittman Tibbets Entred among^s Tuttle's records about 5 or 6 years Since & the Original appears not to be furburs writing & much Interlined
- 27 Page 136 June 23^d 1701 granted by S^d Committee to John Rand forty acres of Land which is not Confirmed by this Town This Tibbets Entred with Tuttle's records about 5 or 6 years Since—
- 28 Page 139—June 23^d 1701 a grant to Joseph Jenkins by Said Committee Tibbets Swears he Entred about Seven years ago—
- 29 Page 144) May 28th 1701 a grant to John Pinkham for Twenty Acres the original appearing not to be the writing of the s^d furbur nor his Signing his name not being Spelt Right—
- 30 Page 147—April 11 1701—a grant by the Committee to John Hanson for 60 acres not Confirmed by the Town & y^e original neither wrote nor Signed by the Clerk.
- 31 Page 149 April 11—1694 granted by the Committee to Joseph Joanes 40 acres who Says

- that he had the Original from Burnum & that he Got it allowed by the Select men Since & had it recorded for the comon fees
- 32 Page 151—a grant by the Committee of the 11th April 1693/4 to Richard randell for 30 acres—this grant Nath^l randell Swears he had of Burnum & Cap^t Tibbets Swears he recorded it but the Original appears not to be the hand writing of ffurbur nor Signed by him—
- 33 Page [152] June 23^d 1701—Granted to James Davis 60 acres of Land Entred by Tibbets the original grant being much Interlined & Scrached Coll Davis Says Upon Oath that Burnum asked him what he would give him for a grant of Land & S^d Davis answerd he knew of no Grant but what was upon record & that his Son Some time after went to Burnum & got the grant & Carried it to Cap^t Tibbets to record
- 34th Page [153] granted by S^d Committee to Sam^l Cheny 40 acres april 11—1694—but not Confirmed—Entred by Tibbets but the original not ffurburs writing nor Signing—
- 35 Page [154] June 23^d 1701 Granted by the S^d Committee to Richard Clay not Confirmed nor wrote nor Signed by the Clerk of S^d Committee
- 36 Page 154—April 6th Day 1702—granted at a Town meeting to Sam^l Perkins 30 acres of Land the Original not wrote or Signed by the Committee
- 37 Page [153] June 23 1701 a grant by the Committee to Ely Demerret for 10 Acres under the Same Circumstances as the above grant
- 38 Page [155] June 23^d 1701 granted by the Committee to Amos Pinkham 40 acres not Confirmed by the Town & the original not Signed by the Committee or any Clerk and yet in the record Willm ffurburis Entred as Clerk
- 39 Pages 155 June 23^d 1701 a grant by the Committee to James Nute of 40 acres not wrote, or Signed by ffurbur the Clerk
- 40 Page [156] March 19th 1693/4 a grant by S^d Committee to Trustrum Heard for 30 acres vicious for reasons mentioned in James Nutes grant afore S^d
- 41 Page [157] May 2^d 1701 granted by the Committee to Josh Ham 20 acres Vicious for the Same reasons—
- 42 Page 158, april 11 1694 granted By the Committee to Rob^t Huggins 30 Acres the Original Interlined & other wise Vicious for the reasons above S^d
- 43 Page (158) June 23^d 1701 a Grant by the Committee to Jos^{ph} Richards for 60 acres Confirmed the 23 March 1702 both Grant & Confirmation—the Same hand & neither ffurburs nor Tuttlles
- 44 Page (158) March 29th 1693/4 Granted by the Committee to Thos Stevenson Thirty acres of Land Vicious because not Signed nor wrote by the Clerk—
- 45 Page (162) June 23^d 1701 A grant by the Committee for 30 Acres of Land to W^m Hill & Confirmed the 23^d of march 1702 because interlined & altered & the Grant & Confirmation both of One mans writing & neither of them ffurburs or Tuttlles writing
- 46 Page 162—April 11—1694 a Grant to John Davis by the Committee for 30 Acres no Confirmation of the Town & not of ffurburs writing nor Signing
- 47 Page (124) June 23^d 1701 a grant to David Kinckad by the Committee & Confirmed the 6th April 1702 both of the Same hand writing and it appearing by The records that the S^d Kinckad had a grant of the Same Date & Quantity of Land recorded before
- 48 Page 164—March 19—1693/4 A Grant made by the Committee to Thos Drew & Confirmed the 2^d Day of April 1694 Tibbets swears mishach Drew bro^r: the Grant to him to record
- 49 Page (165) March 19th 1693/4 a grant made to Elias Cretchett for 3 Score Acres of Land not Confirmed Because wrote upon a new p^r of paper which appears to have been Cut off ffrom a p^r of paper on which we find a Grant made to Abraham Bennick Seven years after the Stamp of the paper being partly on one & partly on the other & not of the Clerks writing—
- 50 Page (165) June 23^d 1701 a Grant of S^d Committee to Abraham Bennick wrote on the p^r of Paper above mentioned wrote by the Same hand Except the Date of the Grant & Some few words besides
- 51) June 23^d 1701—In Page (167) a Grant by S^d Committee to Icabod rollings for 50 Acres Confirmed 23^d March 1702 because not Signed by the Committee nor their Clerk & by the Town Clerk
- 52 Page 121—a Grant of the S^d Committee for 30 acres to Nich^o Harford no Date & the Grant & Petition for S^d Grant being on the Same p^r paper & wrote by the Same hand— & Differs from the record because the records is Dated and the Original not
- 53 Page 106—March 19th 1693/4 a grant by Committee to the Estate of Joseph field for 10 acres Confirmed the 16 April 1694 because all wrote by one hand & neither of them the Clerk either the Committee or the Town.
- 54 Page () June 23. 1701 a grant by the Committee to Cap^t Tho^s Tibbits for a Small Gore of Land The Original was all of his own writings & ffurburs name alsoe—and he s^d Tibbets hath Entered in the records a Confirmation of the Town & on the Original there is no Such Thing—
- We afore report that many things appear Very Dark By the records which we have omitted because we Could not come at the Original

grants nor finde any perticular Information about them. we alsoe by James Burnums Own oath report that he purchased a bund^{le} of these Grants from the wido of the S^t flurbur the Clerk & Since that hath Sold them to many persons & they have got them recorded April 30 1731

HEN SHERBURNE
NATH^l WEARE
THEO ATKINSON

V.—MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY OF MACHIAS, MAINE, CONCLUDED FROM PAGE 43.
FROM THE TOWN RECORDS.

III.

Oath of office of the Town-officers, in 1788.

I do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is, and of right ought to be, a free, sovereign, and independent State; and I do swear that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the said Commonwealth; and that I will defend the same against traitorous conspiracies and all hostile attempts whatever; and that I do renounce and abjure all allegiance, subjection, and obedience to the King of Great Britain and all other foreign powers whatever, and that no foreign Prince, person, Prelate, State, or potentate hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, superiority, or pre-eminence, authority or other power, on any matter, civil, ecclesiastical, or spiritual, within this Commonwealth, except the authority or power that is or may be invested by our constituents in the Congress of the United States. And I do further testify and declare that no man or body of men hath or can have any right to dissolve or discharge me from the obligation of this oath, declaration, or affirmation; and that I do make this acknowledgement, profession, testimony, declaration, denial, renunciation, and adjuration heartily and truly, according to the common meaning and acceptation of the foregoing words, without any equivocation, or mental evasion, or secret reservation, whatever. So HELP ME GOD.—

JAMES AVERY, }
JER^b O'BRIEN, } Selectmen
PETER TALBOT, }

GEORGE STILLMAN, Town treasurer
R. H. BOWLES, Town Clerk.

For the year 1788

GEORGE SEVEY, Collector
AMOS BOYNTON, late Coll^r

EPH^m CHASE, }
W^m ABBEE, } Constables

JOHN FOSTER, }
NATHAN LONGFELLOW, J^r } Collectors

IV.

Order of the Town, for Instructions for its Representative.

VOTED, That the Hon^{ble} Stephen Jones, Esq., Ralph H. Bowles, Stephen Parker, and Capt. Jeremiah O'Brien be a Committee to give instructions to James Avery, Esq., this town's Representative for this Government at the General Court.

VOTED, That this meeting be adjourned, without day.

R. H. BOWLES, Town Clerk.

V.

Instructions prepared agreeably to the above Order.

TO JAMES AVERY, Esq.

SIR: You being chosen to represent the town of Machias in the General Court of the Commonwealth, for the present year, it is expected by your constituents that you attend to the next Session; and, for the government of your general conduct, would recommend to you, that, in all questions that should arise, wherein either the Federal or State Government may be effected, that you never give your voice or vote in favour of any motion that shall have a tendency to impair the Constitution of either.

You are sensible that the inhabitants of this town were well pleased with the Constitution of the Federal Government, in its present form; but, as this Commonwealth and some other of the principal States have proposed amendments, and the present Congress have originated several Articles which are to be recommended to the different State Legislatures, for their approbation, and, if approved, to be considered as part of the Constitution; and as those Articles appear to us to have a general tendency operating equally throughout the Union, you are, therefore, at liberty to give your vote in favour of these being adopted, should they be laid before the Legislature.

You are to use your best endeavour to support public credit and never to give your vote to deprive any person of his honest dues.

You are particularly requested to use your endeavours to obtain a compensation for the heavy expenses the inhabitants of this town incurred in supporting the Irish people that were thrown upon us, in the year 1786.

This town having incurred many heavy expenses in supporting a Gospel ministry, building Meeting-houses, supporting schools, clearing roads, building bridges, and many other charges that are incident to new townships; also meeting with a heavy loss, in the burning of our mills, last fall, and the loss of our logs, last spring, you are, therefore, to supplicate an abatement of a part or the whole of tax No 5.

There was also a very considerable expense arose to individuals in this town, in the year 1785, in taking and receiving three pirates. You are requested to have those accounts passed and paid.

You are farther requested, to procure an addition to an Act made for the preservation of the fish, in the Counties of Cumberland and Lincoln, that it may be extended to the different rivers, as far East as the river St. Croix.

In general matters we would not wish to control you, as you will be present and hear what is offered for and against the questions proposed; and therefore leave it to your good sense to decide.

STEPHEN JONES	} Committee
RALPH H. BOWLES	
STEPHEN PARKER	
JEREMIAH O'BRIEN	

VI.

Petition for a Remission from Taxes, 1789.

To the Hon^{ble} Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in General Court assembled. The petition of the Selectmen of the town of Machias, humbly sheweth

That the General Court, in the year of our Lord 1786, taxed the town of Machias the sum of £302.10s. towards paying off the debts and the support of Government. The inhabitants of this town was always ready, and stood foremost, in this County, during the late War, in defending the same; and, since Peace, have exerted themselves, to the utmost, in the support of Government and to pay their just proportion of all the taxes for that purpose; but, under their great embarrassments and late misfortunes, they are under the necessity of applying to your Honors, for relief; and beg leave to lay before you facts.

This town, several years before the late War, had a Minister regularly settled, to whom they paid £86 P^a annum. When the War commenced and the lumber trade was entirely cut off, they were unable to pay him, yearly; and when Peace took place, they found themselves indebted for the deficiency of his salary the sum of £930, which they was obliged to raise to pay, besides his yearly salary since, £200 raised for building and repairs for Meetinghouse, £80 a year for School, together with taxes for the poor and other charges, with taxes for roads, &c., amounting to no less sum than £2932.15s., which the town has been necessitated to raise since the Peace, exclusive of their State and County taxes. Add to this, the last year, we have had the misfortune to have two double saw-mills and one grist-mill destroyed by fire, with a large quantity of boards near them; and, this spring, a high freshet carried away the

boom across the river, by which 3000 logs went over the dam. The loss by these misfortunes, at the least estimation, cannot be less than £600.

We are informed that the Hon^{ble} Court have been pleased to abate two-thirds of the tax laid, the same year, on several plantations, Westward of this town, provided they lay out the same in support of a Minister and a school, which this town has had and continues to do. Your petitioners therefore humbly request Your Honors will be pleased to take their distressed situation into your wise consideration, and be pleased to grant them such relief as you in your wisdom may think fit; and, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

MACHIAS, Dec. 16, 1789.

STEPHEN SMITH	} Selectmen.
PETER TALBOT	
RALPH H. BOWLES, Town Clerk.	

VII.

The action of the town, on the proposed separation from Massachusetts, 1797.

The inhabitants assembled, as by adjournment, Hon^{ble} Stephen Jones, Esq., Moderator.

The Report of the Committee was read.

The foregoing Report being taken into consideration, and, after debated upon,

VOTED, UNANIMOUSLY, That the same is accepted as the sense of this town, and a copy thereof be transmitted to the Representative from this town to the General Court of this Commonwealth, for his directions.

REPORT.

The Committee appointed by the town of Machias, to take into consideration an anonymous, printed paper, called an *Address to the numerous and respectable inhabitants of the great and extensive District of Maine*, The intention of which and the sentiments therein advanced appears to be calculated to make the Citizens of this Commonwealth, in the five Eastern Counties, dissatisfied with the present happy form of government, and an endeavour to persuade them that a division of this Commonwealth, into two separate States, is necessary, beg leave to report:

That they consider the measure taken, in sending such papers and dispersing them thro' the several Counties of the Commonwealth, is unjustifiable, as it declares it to be the sentiments of the Senators and Representatives of these Counties, without mentioning their names, wherefore it may be considered that the same may have been fabricated by some contentious person or persons, with a design to create discord and confusion in the Commonwealth—mislead the Citizens of it—that they may have a opportunity of taking an advantage of such confusion, by executing the public opinion in

their favour, to get elected into posts of Honour and profit, which they cannot obtain at present. This is the more apparent, by the reflections cast on the Boston seat, which has been so long filled with the most shining characters and men of as great abilities as any in the Commonwealth, from whose exertions and patriotism, this and other States are greatly indebted for their attention to the public good; and their opposition, in this instance, appears to arise from a full conviction that it would tend to the injury of the several parts of the Commonwealth; and the opinion of such respectable characters ought, in some measure, to have weight in the present case.

Your Committee think it very improper to obtain the sense of the inhabitants in the way proposed. What right has any individual person, by a printed paper, without his name appearing, to endeavour to mislead the people and, by surprise, to obtain their approbation to a measure, big with such great and important events? This is too apparent to need an answer.

Your Committee are fully of opinion that, in general, such papers ought not to be taken notice of; but, in the present instance, they consider that, for this town to remain silent would be improper, and that they ought to give their reasons why they disapprove of the proposed division. As several reasons are set forth in a printed paper, your Committee think it necessary to point out the objections against each.

Your Committee was in hopes the Portland Convention would never again be brought into view. Conventions of such a nature has always had a tendency injurious to the public weal. The design of their promoters must be apparent—to hunt up grievances—make the people dissatisfied—and wish for innovations, which, in fact, is striking at the root of Government, making every thing precarious, and destroying its intention; and, when it is considered the small number the Portland Convention consisted of, and how often they have adjourned, for want of a sufficient number to form a meeting with any kind of decency, we are confident they do not speak the sentiments of the people, and we were in hopes that that Convention would never be again mentioned.

The first reason offered (in the said anonymous printed paper) is, that Congress has assumed the greater part of this State debt. Large sums of old money in the treasury—money due for lands sold—and land may be sold to a considerable amount. Altho' it must be pleasing to every friend of his country to find that the embarrassments we have labored under is, in a great measure, removed: but, surely, this cannot operate in favour of a separation, as we shall enjoy all the benefits arising from this, united, as if separate.

The second argument is, "Congress having erected us into a separate District." We are of opinion that this step was necessary for the ease of the citizens, in judicial proceedings. If this separated us, Congress has again united us, by their Excise Acts, appointing the whole State one District. But we consider this to be entirely, from the merits of the case; and a separation cannot be claimed, on this ground, any more than the several Districts of the Customs claiming each to be erected into separate, free, Sovereign, and Independent States.

The third argument mentioned is that there is an intervention of part of the State of New Hampshire, between the western part of the Commonwealth and the District of Maine; but it does not appear to your Committee, that there is any greater inconveniences in riding through twenty miles of the State of New Hampshire than there would be in riding through any part of this Commonwealth the same number of miles, as we are citizens of that and every other State in the Union, therefore, not subject to any imposition but what is laid by the Legislature of the Union. And that part of the State of New Hampshire which they must travel through, to attend the General Court at Boston, is in high cultivation, with good roads and Inns where persons may find refreshments on as reasonable terms as any part of this State; but, whatever weight this argument of theirs is entitled to, in regard to seeking for a separation, we leave to the candid to judge.

The fourth argument mentioned in said Paper is "that Governmental taxes operate very unequally between the citizens West of New Hampshire and those East, it being much easier for the western citizens to procure specie to pay their taxes than for the Eastern." It is highly probable that this is really true; but how we are to be relieved from that difficulty by a separation, appears to us rather mysterious; for we are confident that our new Governor, Councillors, Secretary, Treasurer, Attorney-general, Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court, and other necessary officers of Government, will not take their pay in boards, clapboards, shingles, laths, fish, cord-wood, or any other specified articles; but those articles must be freighted to Boston and sold for money, that being the most likely place for market, and then that money, instead of being, as now, paid into the public treasury must be risked back again, from thirty to one hundred and thirty leagues, to the different towns in the different Counties; paid to the different Collectors; and they must, then, be at the trouble and expense of conveying it near three hundred miles, (for some) to the public treasury. For, if we become a separate Government, we must have the necessary Executive and Legislative Officers.

In the highest Department of the State, they ought, certainly, to be men of the best education and of the greatest abilities, and of proved integrity; and the public have no right to expect the services of such persons, or any other they may choose, without they allow them handsome compensations. Therefore, instead of the taxes being lessened and made to operate more equally by our becoming an independent State, we are of opinion that they will be greatly increased, and the means of discharging them much more difficult than at present, which we conceive is a very weighty argument against a separation,

The fifth argument made use of in said paper "is the great distance from the office of the Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court, which made it difficult obtaining copies of papers." There will always be some difficulty attending business of that kind; but we are persuaded that the inconvenience is not so great as is pretended, as vessels sail, daily, from every part in this District to Boston, by which such papers can be easily obtained, or they may be obtained in the three upper Counties by the post, which comes weekly to Pownalborough. It is much easier for any part of the Counties of Washington and Hancock to obtain papers from Boston than from Portland or Pownalborough, in one of which towns, it is probable, the Clerk's office would be held, in case of a separation. Upon the whole, your Committee is fully persuaded that the Counties of Hampshire and Berkshire labor under as great, if not greater, inconveniences, in this respect.

The sixth argument is "the great expense and inconvenience experienced by our Senators and Representatives who are obliged to travel to the General Court and, partly, through another State." But as the Senators are paid for their time and trouble, and the Representatives for their travel, out of the treasury of the Commonwealth, therefore, that is no hardship or burden on the particular County or town which sends them; and the compensation that is allowed them for their travel, we believe, is adequate to the fatigue; and, as to the traveling through a small part of another State, we conceived it sufficiently answered before.

The seventh argument is "that the number of souls in the District of Maine is nearly double the number there is in the State of Rhode Island," etc. The late wretched policy of Rhode Island is sufficient to excite us never to wish ourselves in the situation they have been in; but that the States of Delaware and Georgia have always been separate Governments, therefore their coming into the Union, as such, could not be avoided. Vermont was, by the ill policy of the State of New York (when a British Government) formed into a separate Government or State, and it became a matter of necessity or

policy for the United States, finally, (with the consent of New York State) to receive that State into the Union, as such; but we do not think their being States (tho' some of them are inferior in numbers to this District) is evidence that it will be a benefit to the inhabitants of the District of Maine to be made an independent, sovereign State. Your Committee must here observe, that Massachusetts is, at present, from its numbers, one of the most respectable States in the Union, and its weight in the general government is well known: if a separation takes place, the same policy may not govern each, whereby the present respectability may be lost, and, as the Counties of Hampshire and Berkshire labor under almost the same difficulties as this District, they may, with the same propriety, request to be erected into a separate State; and when States begin to divide, how far the novelty of it may be carried is uncertain, perhaps till each County is a State by itself, and, instead of being one respectable Commonwealth, be only so many petty corporations.

The eighth argument offered in said paper, for your consideration, is, "That the population of this District must rapidly increase upon our becoming independent, as thousands would annually come and settle among us, had we the power to exempt their polls and estates from State, Town, and County taxes, for a given number of years;" but this is rather problematical, for we are apprehensive that, if we were once invested with the power, we should want the ability and, consequently, the will, to exempt any part of the State from State taxes, much less from County and Town taxes, and really think the first would be greatly increased; and it is a poor encouragement to old inhabitants to be informed that they are to support the whole of the County and Town charges, and new settlers to be exempted; and, at the same time, to receive equal benefits; and no Town can be supported without some charge; and, at present, there are many Towns that have not above five or six families in them: would it be just to compel them to bear the whole expense, when settled by a hundred? and how is the charges in those Towns, now unsettled, to be paid, when settled, upon the principles advanced? it must be by the State or County, which we conceive will never be the case.

Your Committee would further observe, that the inhabitants in the greatest part of the District are in very indigent circumstances, for it is a melancholy truth that there is only seven or eight settled Ministers in the County of Lincoln, only one in the County of Washington, and two in the County of Hancock, and but very few public schools, which is the strongest proof of the poverty of the inhabitants; and we are fully of opinion that, unless Government affords

some aid, it will be a considerable time before there will be any alteration; and, if separated, with additional taxes to pay, consequently the situation of these Counties must be much worse.

Your Committee therefore beg leave to submit these observations to the consideration of their fellow-citizens, and they should be wanting in the duty they owe this Town and the County, if they was not to declare it their decided opinion that a separation would be highly injurious; and recommend that the Representatives from this town to the General Court be directed to oppose it.—All which is humbly submitted.—

STEPHEN JONES	} Committee
JAMES AVERY	
GEORGE STILLMAN	
JEREMIAH O'BRIAN	
PETER TALBOT	

The Instructions for the Representative from this town was then read, and debated, and unanimously accepted by the inhabitants, and Voted that a copy be transmitted to him, for his directions, when attending at the General Court of this Commonwealth.—

Instructions to Mr. Phineas Bruce.

SIR: The town of Machias have now given you the strongest proof of their confidence in your integrity and ability, by electing you to represent them in the General Court of this Commonwealth for the ensuing year. It is their decided opinion that their Representative never ought to be tied down by positive Instructions, but think there is a propriety in mentioning their sentiments respecting such matters as may be likely to come before the Legislature, finally leaving it to your good sense to decide, as it shall appear to you to be proper, after hearingsuch arguments as may be offered during the debates, on any question before the House.

In the first instance, you are to support all such measures as are necessary for maintaining the dignity, sovereignty, and every part of the Constitution of this Commonwealth and that of the United States, and duly observe that neither infringes on the rights of the other.

As there has been different opinions and different divisions ever in the two branches of the Legislature, respecting the eligibility of persons, citizens of this Commonwealth, holding appointments under the United States, to a seat in the Legislature of this Commonwealth, we are therefore of opinion (if it can be done without violating our Constitution) that an Act of the whole Legislative body, pointing out what (or whether all) offices under the United States shall disqualify a citizen for holding a seat in our Legislature, would have a very good

effect, and prevent any disputes arising between the people and either branch of the Legislature; and should a law be brought forward for that purpose, it would be pleasing to your constituents, if it meets with your support.

An anonymous paper having been laid before the town, at their meeting for the choice of Representatives, purporting to be the opinion of the gentlemen who were sent as Senators and Representatives to the General Court, the last year, from the District of Maine, in which they say that the opinion of the inhabitants of this and the other towns and plantations, in this District, ought to be taken respecting the propriety of making application to the Legislature of this Commonwealth and to that of the United States, for erecting said District into a free, Sovereign, and independent State, the sense of your constituents, respecting the propriety of an application of that nature, will be fully conveyed to you in the Report of their Committee raised for the purpose of taking into consideration the aforesaid paper, which Report was unanimously accepted by the town, and a copy of the same ordered to be communicated to you and will accompany this. We therefore trust you will oppose any measures that shall be brought forward, in the General Court, with a view of separating us from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

The gentlemen on the Boston seat we highly respect, for their abilities, integrity, and great information. You will, therefore, act agreeable to the sentiments of your constituents, in consulting them on all important matters.

It would be a happy circumstance for the inhabitants of this Commonwealth who live on the eastern borders of this State, if the lines between the Commonwealth and the British Government of New Brunswick could be finally ascertained and established, so that no doubt might arise, in future, to whom they owe allegiance and where they have a right to look for protection and the civil officers know how far their jurisdiction extends. This is a matter of importance: you will, therefore, particularly attend to it.

You are well informed the smallness of our County, as to the number of inhabitants, and of the very great expense that has and will arise in building a Goal, paying jury-men, exploring and laying out a County-road, through an hundred miles of wilderness, and many other incidental charges that naturally arise, and a number of the inhabitants unable to afford the least pecuniary assistance towards defraying the charges of the County, and, in fact, our County reduced much below what was expected, by a number of towns, now in the eastern part of the County of Hancock, which, previous to the division of the County of Lincoln, it was always

expected would be incorporated into this County, and for what reason they were annexed to that we are yet to learn, as we cannot find it was by any request of the inhabitants of those towns. This County really stands in need of some assistance from the Legislature; and a Petition from the Justices and Grand-jury of the County will be presented, praying that the duties on commissions, licenses, and the excise due from this County may be appropriated for the use of the County; which Petition you will not fail of giving your utmost support.

There is also some back taxes that are due from the inhabitants of this County to the Commonwealth, which we really think would, in the end, be for the real benefit of the State if they were appropriated for the use of the County, as it would serve to increase our numbers by encouraging others to move into the country, and, finally, add to the strength and wealth of the Commonwealth; but to be exempted from Town and County-taxes is what we never expect.

There is now before the Committee of Acc^{ts} two bills exhibited by this Town against the Commonwealth, for support of the States' poor, and will receive another of the same tenor. You will use your influence to have those allowed. For what reason the two former have not been passed upon, we are not able to say. The like acc^{ts} are, every Session, passed in favor of other Towns; and you can represent the true state of this Town. Being the frontier of the Commonwealth, is more liable to have poor foreigners imposed upon us than any other except Boston. If any other vouchers or information is necessary on this subject, you will apply to John Cooper, Esq., who is well acquainted with our situation, and can give any necessary information; and we have no doubt of his friendly aid upon the business. If Genl Campbell goes Senator from this District, we doubt not of his assistance in accomplishing the several matters mentioned.

With great esteem, we are your friends.
May 10th 1797

STEPHEN JONES
JAMES AVERY
GEORGE STILLMAN
JEREMIAH O'BRIAN
PETER TALBOT

The meeting was then adjourned without day.

RALPH H. BOWLES

Town Clerk

I hereby Certify that the foregoing is a true copy from the Records of the Town of Machias.

JOHN S. KELLY Town Clerk

[Machias, September 1850.]

VI.—A NAVAL HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND :—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 25.

BY HON. JOHN RUSSELL BARRETT.

XIII.

EAST INDIA SHIPS TAKEN AT LOUISBURG. REPLY OF GOVERNOR WANTON TO ADMIRAL WARREN TO HIS CALL FOR MEN AND SUPPLIES. THE ENTIRE CREDIT OF THE LOUISBURG EXPEDITION DUE TO GOVERNOR SHIRLEY. RHODE ISLAND TROOPS TO REMAIN AT LOUISBURG. ATTEMPTS TO DEPRIVE RHODE ISLAND OF CREDIT FOR HER SERVICES IN THE WAR. HER SERVICES SET FORTH.

On the twenty-fifth of July, Commodore Warren again wrote to Governor Wanton, from Louisburg, informing him that two of his squadron had taken a rich East India ship; and proposed to sell her cargo there, if the merchants will come from Rhode Island, to purchase it. At the same time, he sent an advertisement to be printed and distributed, announcing the sale of this rich prize.

To the several urgent calls for men, provisions, ammunition, and shipping, which had been made upon the Colony by order of the King, as well as by Admiral Warren, Sir William Pepperrell and Governor Shirley, before-mentioned, Governor Wanton replied as follows:

"NEWPORT, August 23, 1745.

"SIR:—Since my last to you, I have had the opportunity of laying before the General Assembly of this Colony, your letters, with a copy of His Majesty's orders, signified by His Grace, the Duke of Newcastle, to the respective Governors of the Colonies in North America, to assist you with men, provisions, and shipping, for the relief of any of His Majesty's settlements, or for making any attempts upon those of the enemy.

"And I am directed by them to assure you that none of His Majesty's subjects more sincerely rejoice at the glorious success of His Majesty's arms, in the reduction of a place of such vast importance to his obedience, than this Colony; and that none of His Majesty's Provinces or Colonies, will be more ready than this to give you their utmost assistance in making any attempts against His Majesty's enemies, or in the securing and defending this most important acquisition; but, as this Colony is very small, and by its situation very much exposed to the attacks of the enemy by sea, and great numbers of our men employed on board of our Privateers to distress the enemy in their trade and navigation, and as they have already been at very great expense in keeping their only vessel of war at Cape Breton, ever since the beginning of this expedition, and in sending and victualling three Companies of soldiers to assist in defending

"Louisbourg; and also in allowing a large bounty to a number of seamen to enlist and serve in the squadron of His Majesty's ships, under your command; they hope these will be looked upon as their full quota, and as sufficient demonstrations of their duty and loyalty to His Majesty.

"I am, Sir, further directed to assure you, that if His Majesty's service should require our three Companies of soldiers to remain in garrison at Louisbourg, all winter, in the pay of this Colony, that all due care will be taken by this Government to send them, in season, provisions, and all other necessities for their subsistence.

"The General Assembly thank you for the favor and respect you have shown to Capt. Fones, the commander of our Colony's sloop *Tartar*; and they hope you'll be so good as to discharge her as soon as the nature of His Majesty's service will admit of it, she being the only vessel of war that we have for the protection of the trade and navigation of this Colony.

"Your known generosity leaves us no room to doubt that you will do justice to this Colony in letting His Majesty know what assistance we have given in this expedition; and we the rather request this favor of you, Sir, because we have reason to believe that some of our neighbors have no great inclination to represent our conduct in the best light.

"We heartily congratulate you, Sir, on the success of His Majesty's ships under your command, in taking so many rich and valuable prizes. May zeal and fidelity in His Majesty's service be always thus rewarded; and may success attend you in all your attempts, until your name become a terror to a haughty and insolent enemy.

"I heartily wish you health, and am, with best regards, in behalf of the General Assembly, Sir, yours,

GIDEON WANTON.

"To the Honorable Commodore WARREN.

"P. S.—As the General Assembly have ordered the Brigantine which transported our soldiers to Louisbourg, to return home immediately, unless any directions should be come from His Majesty to dismiss our soldiers in a short time, they have directed me to desire you'd be pleased to give her a pass to depart."

Massachusetts had strained herself, to the very utmost, in the Louisbourg expedition, which was originated, planned, and successfully carried out by her. Besides draining herself of men, provisions and clothing, Governor Phipps wrote to Governor Wanton that she had expended more than two hundred thousand pounds in defraying the expenses of the expedition, "besides the great loss and damage by taking off so many of the substantial inhabitants of the Province

"from their business, and the stagnation of trade occasioned by the expedition." In a later communication to Governor Wanton, in speaking of the Louisbourg expedition, Admiral Warren says, "Human prudence could not have formed a more advantageous expedition, for the good of the British Colonies in particular, nor for our country's interest in general, than this; the great merit of which, I must, in justice, attribute to the indefatigable pains taken by Governor Shirley, who concerted and carried this great design into a thorough and most successful execution, with the assistance of a very few of the Colonies, and a squadron of His Majesty's ships, which must be, by the latest posterity, thought of with the highest gratitude and honor, of those who contrived, assisted and executed so glorious an expedition; upon the success of which the ease and happiness of us and our descendants does in a very great measure depend."

Governor Phipps speaks of a second East Indiaman with a rich cargo which had been taken from the French; and says it is judged that the value of the captures made on the coast, by his Majesty's ships, amounts to one million pounds, none of which would have fallen into their hands, if the Louisbourg expedition had not taken place and been so successful.

Under date of the thirteenth of September, Sir William Pepperrell writes to Governor Wanton that he shall retain the three Companies of Rhode Island troops, and desires him to "make the speediest provision for them during the approaching Winter, of provisions, good bedding and warm clothing, fit for soldiers, in the most inclement climate." He also apprises the Governor that there is a squadron of French men-of-war on the coast.

It appears that representations had been made to the Ministry, by parties in Massachusetts, that Rhode Island had not performed her part in the late expedition against Louisbourg, a charge which gave great uneasiness to the Governor and the good people, and caused Governor Wanton to write to Richard Partridge, the Colony's Agent, in London, in order that he might vindicate the Colony, "which had always distinguished itself by joining with readiness and zeal in all expeditions ordered by the Crown." He says that when Massachusetts first applied for assistance, the Colony had expended all its funds to defray the unfortunate expedition against Carthage. That the tax for putting the Colony in a state of defence was unpaid; the people burdened with the expense of defending our Charter privileges; and for carrying on the suit about the boundary. That the Colony was then drained of men to an uncommon degree; and that, of two hundred and fifty sent away in the West India expedition, not

twenty had returned. Furthermore, that they had eight or ten well-manned Privateers then cruising, which greatly embarrassed them in raising seamen. But, notwithstanding all these, Rhode Island had fully manned and sent out the sloop *Tartar*, and permitted Massachusetts to raise men in the Colony, besides voting a bounty of forty shillings each to every man who enlisted.

The Colony's sloop *Tartar*, which has been often mentioned, mounted fourteen carriage and twelve swivel guns. She conveyed the Connecticut troops; and proved of great service in the expedition. Besides this, it is stated that the inhabitants of Newport subscribed seven thousand pounds towards the pay of a Privateer manned and partly owned there. The three full Companies of troops, afterwards sent and retained to garrison the fortress of Louisburg, and the seamen to man the large ship *Vigilant*, taken from the French, have before been mentioned.

"This," says Governor Wanton, "is the assistance we have given, which was really the utmost we were able to give, the Colony never having exerted itself with more zeal and vigor on any account; and it ought to be observed that no other of the remaining Colonies, except Connecticut and New Hampshire, could be induced, at the first, to give any assistance at all; nor, afterwards, all of them together, to give so much and such effectual assistance as this little Colony cheerfully afforded, at the hazard of leaving our sea-coast unguarded, and our navigation exposed to the enemy's Privateers." He further sends letters from General Pepperrell and Admiral Warren, acknowledging the aid they had received from Rhode Island in the expedition.

XIV.

RHODE ISLAND DEFENDS HERSELF AGAINST THE ASPERSIONS OF MASSACHUSETTS. ROGER WOLCOTT'S CERTIFICATE OF HER SERVICES IN THE TAKING OF LOUISBURG. A NEW EXPEDITION TO CANADA DETERMINED UPON.

It seems that the Colonies of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania did not escape the censures and aspersions of Massachusetts, which was some consolation to Governor Wanton. These Colonies furnished no aid; which "makes it evident," continues Wanton, "that our own avowed enemies, the Massachusetts, are for catching at every shadow of advantage, whereby they imagine they may prejudice us, and gain their point concerning the boundaries."

Mr. Partridge, although a Quaker, stood forward, manfully, in defending Rhode Island against the aspersions of Massachusetts, by laying before the Secretary for the Colonies the

facts contained in Governor Wanton's letter. In his reply, he says he made known the loyalty and obedience of the people of Rhode Island to the Crown, and called the Secretary's attention to the promptness which they had exhibited in embarking, in every expedition ordered by Great Britain, and in furnishing their quotas of troops; farthermore that "in the wars by sea, the Privateers from Rhode Island did more execution against the enemy's Privateers that infested their coasts, than all the ships of the Massachusetts, or, indeed, of all the Colonies in those parts put together." He adds "I wish thou couldst get a few lines from Commodore Warren and send me in justification of the Colony, to take off the edge of those assertions" [of Massachusetts] which I believe have been spread by Agent Shelby, here." The Governor profited by the suggestion of Agent Partridge; and the General Assembly, at its October Session, 1745, passed a Resolution appointing Peter Bours a Committee, to wait upon the Hon. Roger Wolcott, Deputy-governor of Connecticut, and Major-general of the forces that reduced Cape Breton, and request of him a certificate of what he knew respecting the conduct of this Colony in the expedition against Cape Breton and Louisburg. Commodore Warren, probably, was not accessible; and, if he was, General Wolcott had more direct intercourse with the Rhode Island troops than he.

General Wolcott promptly complied with the request of the General Assembly, by furnishing the certificate required, in which he recapitulates the important services rendered by Rhode Island, in the troops and seamen which she furnished: the convoy of the Connecticut troops to Cape Breton; and the services of Captain Fones with the sloop-of-war *Tartar*. This, together with the letters of Admiral Warren, Sir William Pepperrell, and others; the various Acts of the Assembly for the raising of troops, furnishing vessels, provisions, ammunition, etc., together with a general account of all the expenses which had been incurred by the Colony, connected with the expedition, were ordered to be procured and forwarded to the Home Government, without delay.

At the close of the year 1745, a great calamity befel the town of Newport, which had ever been active in fitting out Privateers against the enemies of the country. Two large and costly vessels of this kind had just been completed, at Newport, where they were owned and manned, although Colonel Malbone was the chief owner. Each of these Privateers mounted twenty-two guns, and was manned by over one hundred men; most of whom were residents of and had families in Newport. The ships set sail the day before Christmas, at the commencement of a

violent North-east snow storm, bound for the Spanish main. The gale increased to a hurricane, and lasted two days. The ships were never heard of after; and the belief was, that they foundered at sea, with all on board. "By this fearful disaster says Mr. Arnold, in his *History of Rhode Island*, "more than four hundred lives were lost, and nearly two hundred women in Newport were made widows."

In the Spring of the following year, the Duke of Newcastle addressed a letter to Governor Wanton, informing him that two Regiments would, at once, be sent to Louisburg, for the better support and maintenance of its garrison; that Admiral Warren was about to retire, to be succeeded by Admiral Knowles; and that, if the latter should have occasion to apply to him "for assistance, either by raising any number of men to reinforce the garrison, or in any other manner, that shall be thought proper," he shall use his utmost endeavors to furnish him with it.

It is almost incredible to look back a century, when the population of the Colony was less than that of the City of Providence, at the present time; when her resources consisted of the meagre products of her soil, with no manufactures and a limited commerce; and find her so frequently called upon to aid her Mother Country, Great Britain, in the wars in which she was so constantly engaged. Whether, in a war with the Spaniards, it was necessary to send men to the West Indies; to reduce the Indians on the frontiers of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania; to stop the progress of the French, at the then distant posts of Niagara and Oswego; to arrest from them the Colony of Cape Breton; or, finally, to embark in the grander enterprize of reducing Canada, our little Colony seems to have been called on, alike, for troops, seamen, provisions, ammunition, and ships. With four times the population, and a hundred times more wealth, we should deem such demands large, even in our day; but, it must be remembered, that, at the period in question, Rhode Island was the most powerful, at sea, of either of the English Colonies in America, and held a comparatively high rank, among the few Colonies from which the thirty-four States of the Union have sprung.

In the Spring of 1746, the war-sloop *Tartar* had returned from Louisburg, where she was refitted, manned, and sent off on a cruise, as far eastward as Marthas' Vineyard, and as far Westward as Sandy Hook. At the same time, in consequence of applications from the Governors of the Provinces of New York and Massachusetts, the General Assembly passed an Act to appoint Commissioners to confer with those of the other northern Colonies, to provide for mutual defence against the common enemy.

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The gentlemen appointed as this Committee were Abraham Redwood, Peter Boura, and Stephen Hopkins.

A month later, than the letter before mentioned, on the ninth of April, 1746, another letter was received from the Duke of Newcastle, conveying the important information that the Government, flushed with its success at Louisburg, had determined upon a great expedition for the reduction of Canada. Five Battalions of troops, under the command of General St. Clair, were to be transported, with a convoy of men-of-war, to Louisburg, where they were to be joined by two Regiments from Gibraltar and such others as shall be levied in North America.

The Rhode Island troops suffered greatly during the Winter they remained at Louisburg. One of the Companies lost its Captain and half its men, which rendered it necessary to consolidate the remainder into two Companies. The General Assembly, therefore directed Governor Wanton to write to General Pepperrell and Admiral Warren, requesting them to discharge all the Rhode Island troops, agreeable to their promise, except such as had enlisted in the King's service, and to send them back with their arms, together with all other property, with them, that belonged to the Colony. At the same time, and before Warren and Pepperrell had received Governor Greene's letter, they wrote to him that they should "keep their faith with the old troops" by sending them home; but, nevertheless, they still enjoined him to encourage new enlistments among them, as well as to raise and forward, as soon as possible, the new levies called for.

XXV.

THE COLONY AGAIN RAISES TROOPS FOR THE CONQUEST OF CANADA. RHODE ISLAND PRIVATEERS SEIZE CUBAN SPANIARDS AND SELL THEM AS SLAVES. THE GOVERNOR OF CUBA SEIZES AND IMPRISONS AMERICANS. RENEWED CALLS FROM ADMIRAL WARREN FOR AID FOR THE CANADA EXPEDITION. A GREAT FRENCH SQUADRON ON THE COAST. THE TARTAR SLOOP DISPATCHED TO CONVEY THE NEWS TO THE BRITISH FLEET.

The *Tartar*, manned with ninety men, exclusive of officers, was again sent to sea, in order to guard the coast; at the same time, a letter was written to the Governor of Connecticut, requesting that their Colony-sloop might join the *Tartar*, in her cruise.

The war-fever, by this time, had extended itself to the other Colonies; and an earnest desire was manifested to join in the common cause, against the French. The Governors of New York and Massachusetts, George Clinton and William Shirley, requested Rhode Island to appoint Commissioners to meet those of the other Governments, to consider measures for their

"mutual security, defence, and conduct, during "the present war."

Determined not to be backward in the emergency, William Greene, who had just been elected Governor of Rhode Island, convened the General Assembly, at Newport, in June, 1746, when an Act was passed, in conformity with the wishes of His Majesty, made known through His Grace, the Duke of Newcastle, providing for the raising of forces for the proposed reduction of Canada. Three Companies of one hundred men each were ordered to be raised forthwith; and a Committee consisting of John Cranston, Abraham Redwood, Jonathan Nichols, and George Wanton, were appointed to procure military stores, provisions, and transports to take these forces to Louisburg and thence, up the river St. Lawrence, to Quebec or other place required. As an encouragement to men to enlist, a bounty of fifty pounds, in bills of public credit, and a suit of clothes were offered to each soldier. A bounty of two hundred pounds, in addition to their wages, was also offered to pilots who were acquainted with the navigation of the St. Lawrence. The *Tartar* was recalled from her cruise, and ordered to accompany the expedition; and an appropriation of eleven thousand, two hundred and fifty pounds was made in a new issue of Bills of Credit, to defray its outfit and expenses.

While these events were taking place, the Colony was involved in a controversy with the Governor of Havana, on account of the illegal proceedings of some of its Privateers, which, too often, took an attitude unauthorized by their Commissions, as was too apt to be the case after a long period of successful privateering. A half century before, English Privateers became regular filibusters, and, in some instances, were denounced as pirates.

In the case in question, it seems that two Rhode Island Privateers, the *Defiance* and the *Duke of Marlboro'*, commanded by Captains John Dennis and Robert Morris, had, in their cruise, seized twenty-two Spaniards, which they brought to the northern Colonies and sold as slaves. To retaliate for this outrage, the Spanish Governor subsequently captured nineteen of the crew belonging to the *Defiance*, and threw them into prison, at Havana. Daniel Denton, one of these prisoners, was sent to Rhode Island, on parole, to show the illegality of the seizure of the Spaniards, on the ground that they were freemen and not slaves, and to procure their release. The Government of Rhode Island became satisfied that the acts of Dennis and Morris were unlawful; and the General Assembly lost no time in making every reparation in their power. The Sheriff of Newport was directed to take into his custody all the "freemen, subjects of the King "of Spain, that were brought to this Colony by

"Morris and Dennis, and sold as slaves;" and, as a portion of these men had been sold in the Colonies of New York and Massachusetts, the Governor was requested to write to the Governors of those Colonies, asking for their release. It was also provided that the Spaniards thus liberated, accompanied by Denton, should be sent back to Cuba under a flag of truce. He was also instructed to procure the release of the Englishmen which the Governor of Havana had retained in prison. Farthermore, the owners of the Privateers were required to reimburse the purchasers of the, so-called, slaves, the money they had paid for them.

The Government was not inactive in its efforts in aid of the proposed expedition for the reduction of Canada—enlistments were vigorously made; transports were ordered to be got ready; and the Sheriff of Newport was empowered to impress as many seamen as were necessary for manning the transports. The enlistment was to be continued until the eighth of July, when the whole force was to be concentrated at Newport.

While these preparations were going on, the most urgent letters were received from Admiral Warren and Governor Shirley, for both seamen and soldiers, but particularly for seamen, whence one would suppose the Colony was an immense nursery for these men which could never be exhausted. "I am of opinion," writes Admiral Warren to Governor Greene, "that "all the seamen should be engaged that you can "possibly meet with, to go in the armed vessels "from each Colony; and that no time be lost, "as the season will soon render it impracticable "to make the attempt this year; in which case, "however, I hope Crown Point, from whence our "frontiers have been annoyed, may be reduced "as a proper place of rendezvous, and for stores "for the army destined to go to Montreal.

Governor Shirley, after urging upon Governor Greene the necessity of completing the levies for the proposed expedition, says, "this "will, in all probability, be the only favorable opportunity of attempting to drive off the French "from the northern part of this Continent, "which, if neglected, may never be redeemed; "but followed close by an endless train of disadvantages and difficulties to all His Majesty's "northern Colonies, too many to be enumerated here, and too obvious to need it." Besides the quota of troops required to be furnished by the Colony, Governor Shirley and Admiral Warren requested that it should provide two Brigs or Snows, with eighty men and ten guns each; and that the whole force should be provisioned for ten months.

To the various letters from Admiral Warren, Governor Greene wrote the following in reply,

by order of the Assembly ;

"PROVIDENCE, July —, 1746.

"SIR :—I acknowledge the favor of yours, upon your arrival in Boston, and would beg leave to observe to you, that, however small the quota of men proposed by Rhode Island may seem, when the votes of the several Governments for raising men are compared, yet, if the smallness of this Government be considered, and its present circumstances, the quota of men voted must be looked as many as, in reason, could be expected from this small Colony.

"Upon a fair and exact computation, the number of men in the Colony of Rhode Island, proper for bearing arms, cannot be computed to be more than three thousand ; which number must be greatly lessened within these few months past by the number of vessels fitted out and cruising against His Majesty's enemies.

"There being out of this Colony, and fitting out on that account, three ships of about twenty guns each ; one snow and four brigantines, of about sixteen guns each ; and four sloops, of about twelve guns each ; which are all manned from this place, and are actually out on their cruise, saving one brigantine and two sloops, now fitting out, and which, in this small Government, must necessarily greatly exhaust the number of men fit for His Majesty's service on the present occasion.

"However, this Government considered the expedition intended for the reduction of Canada, as an undertaking of the utmost consequence to all His Majesty's Colonies in America ; and that they might be aiding and assisting as far as the strength and circumstances of this small Government would admit, cheerfully ordered three hundred able-bodied soldiers to be raised and sent to join His Majesty's land forces ; and one hundred seamen in the sloop *Tartar*, lately in His Majesty's service, at Louisbourg, to attend on the sea force.

"As it has appeared by long and melancholy experience that the peace and welfare of His Majesty's subjects in North America can never be established as long as Canada subsists, it was with the greatest joy that His Majesty's subjects in this Colony received the news of his intentions to reduce it, and the appointment of Admiral Warren to have the chief command of the sea force, made the joy more universal ; and, as in this Government, it has been a means of raising the soldiers and sailors with the greater ease ; it is not doubted, but under the influence of Providence, will be

"of as happy consequence in the designed effect.

"Whatever directions shall be communicated respecting the forces from this Government will be received with pleasure, and put in execution with all possible expedition, by, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"WILLIAM GREENE."

The transports, before mentioned, having been procured, were anchored off Goat-island, and the three Companies of troops sent on board. One of these Companies, commanded by Captain Sayer, was filled up in Newport-county ; the second, under Captain Rice, was filled up in Providence-county ; and the third, under Captain Cole, partly from each. None of the people from Kent-county were impressed ; but for what reason it does not appear.

While Great Britain and her Colonies were thus active in raising an army and navy for the invasion of Canada, France was quietly preparing an expedition, on a much grander scale, having in view, not only the recovery of Louisbourg and her other lost possessions, but the conquest of all the British Colonies in North America. A fleet of sixty-six sail, with fifteen thousand men and a land force of eight thousand, had sailed from Rochelle, under the Duke D'Anville ; and had been seen off the coast, before the Colonists were aware that any such expedition was contemplated. The Colonies were greatly alarmed at this unexpected news ; and, at the request of Governor Shirley and Admiral Warren, who were then in Boston, the Colony's sloop *Tartar*, Captain Fones, was dispatched, without delay, to convey the news to Admiral Lestock, who was then expected upon the coast of Nova Scotia, with an English fleet. Meanwhile, the most active preparations were made, by erecting new works on Goat-island and otherwise providing for the defence of the Colony against the great fleet which was expected soon to show itself off the harbor of Newport.

The French squadron, which had caused so much alarm, did not appear, as had been expected, during the Summer ; and the fears of the Colonists were only quieted late in October, when Governor Greene received a letter from Governor Shirley and Admiral Warren. In this letter, these officers thank the Colony for the spirit it has shown, "by so cheerfully promoting a service of so much importance as the relief of Annapolis Royal, and the saving of it from falling into the enemy's hands." They also learn from French prisoners that the much dreaded fleet had met with some serious reverses ; and that it was in a very weak condition. A subsequent letter from Governor Shirley informed Governor Greene that an officer had just arrived with dispatches from Annapolis,

with information that the French fleet had been seen sixty leagues South-west of Cape Sable, whence the inference was that they were in a miserable, sickly, and weak condition; and were making their way to the West Indies. A few days after, the news was received that the dreaded Armada had been dispersed and disabled by a violent storm; that the men had suffered greatly by sickness; that the Admiral D'Anville was dead; and that the Canadian camp, before Annapolis Royal, had been broken up.

Misfortune also attended the transports from Rhode Island, with their troops. Overtaken by a violent storm, some of them were wrecked on Mount Desert, and half their men perished. Others suffered severely by the weather and disease. A portion landed at Martha's Vineyard, whence they reached Boston. The expedition thus proved a total failure; and no further attempts were made, during the following Winter, to reinforce Annapolis Royal.

XVI.

RENEWED DEMANDS FOR TROOPS AND SUPPLIES FOR ANOTHER EXPEDITION AGAINST CANADA. THE COLONY DECLINES TO FURNISH THEM. DIFFICULTIES IN GETTING MONEY FROM ENGLAND FOR THE EXPENSES INCURRED. PEACE WITH FRANCE. WAR AGAIN BREAKS OUT. PREPARATIONS FOR THE CAMPAIGN.

Although the expeditions by sea, for the proposed conquest of Canada, had failed, it was determined to send a large body of Colonial troops into the interior, for the purpose of taking Crown Point, then occupied by the French. Rhode Island was again called upon to furnish men for this campaign; but, owing to the lateness of the season, having no stores on the Hudson, and being without transports and men in condition for it, they were unable to take any part in it. Connecticut also declined to furnish troops. But it was necessary still to send reinforcements to Nova Scotia, in order to secure the conquests made there the preceding year; and, with this view, Governor Shirley again called upon Rhode Island. "The 'ready spirit,'" writes Governor Shirley, "which 'the Government of Rhode Island showed for 'assisting in this important service, upon the 'very first application to Your Honor for that 'purpose, leaves no room to doubt, but that 'they will exert it now, with equal vigor, and 'not let slip the opportunity of employing the 'same Companies, or what may be left of them, 'so beneficially for His Majesty's service and 'the good of the Colonies, as the sending of 'them to Annapolis Royal, at this critical juncture.'"

Governor Greene convened the General Assembly and submitted the letters of Governor

Shirley to them. They would gladly have entered into his schemes, had it been possible; but the want of provisions and stores on the Hudson prevented their acceding to the first request, while for the alternative, as it was mid-winter, it was equally impossible. The cheering news reached the Colony, soon after, that Parliament had made a grant of eight hundred thousand pounds for paying the charge of taking and keeping Cape Breton, by the people of New England; as well as for the charge of raising forces for the expedition that was designed against Canada.

Urgent calls came out again, in the Spring, in letters from the Duke of Newcastle, for the New England Colonies to furnish troops for the maintenance of British power in the island of Cape Breton. Governor Shirley and Admiral Knowles reiterated the demands of the King, in their letters to Governor Wanton. They particularly desired that Sir William Pepperrell and Lieutenant-general Phillips might be permitted to fill up their Regiments by recruits from the New England levies, whose term of service had expired; and earnestly begged Governor Wanton to use his influence and authority in enabling them to effect so desirable an object.

The Colony made bitter complaints, at this time, at the backwardness of the Home Government in repaying it for the heavy expenses incurred by it in the expedition against Louisbourg, and the more recent expenses for sending troops and supplies for the relief of Annapolis Royal. A long correspondence, between the Governors of Rhode Island and Massachusetts, took place on the subject, which is given at length in the *Colonial Records*. From Governor Wanton's letter to the Lords of the Treasury, transmitting the vouchers for expenditures by the Colony of Rhode Island, it is shown that, for the expense of raising three Companies of soldiers, in purchasing arms, ammunition, tents and provisions, in advancing them pay, in hiring transports, and in equipping and manning a convoy for the late expedition to Canada, she expended no less than seventy-six thousand and eighty-three pounds, eleven shillings, and fourpence, New England currency, which reduced to sterling was ten thousand one hundred and forty-four pounds, nine shillings, and sixpence, for which sum the Governor drew on the Treasury, through Richard Partridge, the Agent of Rhode Island, in London. Of this sum there was allowed but seven thousand five hundred and four pounds, four shillings, and fourpence. The Treasury also allowed six thousand three hundred and twenty-two pounds for the Cape Breton expedition, which was subsequently reduced to three thousand seven hundred pounds,

but not paid until the year 1750; and then only after the most urgent calls. The Colony also received seven thousand five hundred and seven pounds for the expenses of the campaign of 1746-47.

A Treaty of Peace between England, France and Holland was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle on the nineteenth of April, and made known to the Colony, in a letter from the Duke of Bedford, who directed the King's Proclamation to be published, that all his subjects might pay due obedience thereto. By this Treaty, the conquests made by New England troops reverted to the French—a great disappointment to the Colonies which had spent so much money and made such sacrifices during the war.

The war-sloop *Tartar*, commanded by Captain Holmes, anxious for another brush with the enemy, went to sea without orders; and, soon after, fell in with a Spanish vessel, pretending to bear a flag of truce, which she captured and sent into Newport, in charge of Lieutenant Vaughan, where her cargo, consisting of sugar, was discharged. This sugar was intended for one of the northern Colonies.

As there was supposed to be something illegal about this seizure, the subject was brought before the General Assembly. The Committee to which the matter was referred reported that the sailing of Captain Holmes without orders was a great misdemeanor; but it appears that it was without any bad design, and to keep his men from deserting. The Committee thought Holmes did wrong in putting his Lieutenant on board the prize as a pilot, as he was second in command on board the *Tartar*. They also blamed him for not reporting himself to the Governor, or his Deputy, immediately on his return. Upon the whole, though it appeared to the Committee that Holmes had been guilty of several misdemeanors, they did not amount to a sufficient cause for a suspension from his post as Captain.

After this, the *Tartar*, which had done such effective service, was dismantled, and her crew discharged. Subsequently, the General Assembly ordered her to be sold at auction, with her equipments.

Complaints were made to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, at this time, that an iniquitous trade was subsisting between the Colony of Rhode Island and the King's enemies, under color of flags of truce. The result of the inquiries showed that, during the previous year, above twenty sail of vessels, commissioned as flags of truce, by the Government of Rhode Island, to carry prisoners to the West Indies, had really taken but few prisoners; but, under color of their commissions, had carried cargoes of provisions to the French, and, in return,

brought back the produce of the French sugar plantations.

The Peace, so lately concluded with France, was not of long duration. In 1753, war again broke out; and the English American Colonies rushed once more to arms. Fort George was put in thorough repair at an expense of ten thousand pounds; to raise which, a tax was levied on the Colony. Soon after, came an order from England to raise three thousand men, in New England, who were to be placed under the command of Generals Shirley and Pepperrell. The General Assembly was convened by Governor Greene; and the letters from Secretary Robinson and Governor Shirley laid before that body, who promptly passed an Act raising four Companies, of one hundred men each, "to be employed on a secret expedition." Fearing there might be a short supply of provisions in the northern Colonies, Governor Shirley urged upon Governor Greene the necessity of preventing the shipment of all provisions and warlike stores which would find their way to the French. Massachusetts had passed an Act prohibiting the exportation of these articles; and, it was but right that the other Colonies should do the same.

The preparations for carrying on the present war with France were on a more extensive scale than those of the previous wars, the operations connected with which were confined to the eastern Provinces of Nova Scotia and the adjacent parts. Now, the designs of the French were to drive out the English from the western parts of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, and confine them to a narrow strip along the Atlantic coast; indeed, it was even proposed to drive them from the continent entirely. On the other hand, the English Colonists, fearing a subjugation, were determined to organize and carry out a series of operations against their enemies, extending from the extreme limits of Nova Scotia to the Mississippi. They were to be attacked at Quebec and Montreal; at the frontier posts of Crown Point, Oswego, Niagara; and at Fort Du Quesne, (now Pittsburg.) The campaign began with the attack by General Braddock on Fort Du Quesne, where the French had erected a strong fortification, and where he met with a total defeat. It was in this unfortunate campaign that Washington, then a Colonel, was engaged.

Governor Shirley of Massachusetts was one of the most active spirits in this great war, conceiving, organizing, and carrying out some of the most wise and important measures. In his letter to Governor Greene, of the twenty-fourth of February, 1755, he says, "the expedition in Nova Scotia and the schemes which occupy the attention of the French and a great part

"of their forces on the Ohio, afford a most favorable opportunity for the five Colonies of New England, and those of New York and the New Jerseys, to erect such a fort near Crown Point as may command the French fort there and curb the city of Montreal." An expedition, therefore, against Crown Point, became a leading measure of Shirley, and one to effect which, all the resources at his command were to be employed. This fort commanded the principal pass to the heart of Canada; and the plan was "to build a fort so situated as to command Fort St. Frederick, at Crown Point, to be made defensible against the strength which the French might suddenly bring against it from Montreal." Colonel William Johnson, a most active and influential man, living in the Mohawk country, in the Province of New York, and more particularly distinguished for the great influence he had, for many years, obtained over the Six Nations of Indians, was placed at the head of the intended expedition.

As on former occasions, Rhode Island was called upon alike by the King, through Secretary Robinson, and by Governor Shirley, to furnish its quota of troops, as well as to supply provisions and other necessities for the war. The former intimates that "as there is a considerable number of foreigners, particularly from Germany, in the Colony, who will be capable and willing to bear arms upon this occasion," that a portion of the desired recruits may be obtained from them.

At the May Session of the General Assembly, an Act was passed for raising four Companies of troops of one hundred men each, for the express purpose of carrying out the designs of Governor Shirley, which troops were "to join and act in conjunction with those of the other Governments of New England, under the command of the General of the whole army." An Act was also passed to emit sixty thousand pounds, old tenor, in paper money, towards defraying the expenses of the expedition.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VII.—AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER FROM THE CAMP, JULY, 1780.

COMMUNICATED BY WILLIAM L. STONE, ESQ.

CAMP PRACKNESS N. JERSEY 15 July 1780

DEAR & HONORED SIR

You will undoubtedly be glad to know that your son has safely arrived at camp, & with health sufficient to do the duty of a Soldier.

I left New Haven the day after my father did & at evening reached Stamford. As I passed through Fairfield & Norwalk (the first time I have seen them since their destruction) I was

almost persuaded to vow eternal enmity to the name of Britons. My better feelings were aroused by reflecting on the baseness of human Nature, & compassionating the situation of the unhappy sufferers. I tarried at Stamford six days.

From Stamford I came to West Point—at which place I tarried long enough to take a view of all the principal fortifications there. My knowledge of fortifications is very trifling; but I could, however, make up my judgment partly from my own observation, but more from the remarks of others who have both ability and opportunity to become perfectly acquainted with the natural as well as artificial strength of the Post. Every hill on each side of the River upon which forts are erected appeared formidable by Nature; but the amazing strong works which are raised on every convenient place, make them terrible to the view & much more so if approached in an hostile manner. From many considerations it is believed that the Post is only defended by a small force, although it should be attacked by a very large one.

From West Point I travelled in company with General Arnold to this Place. The most of the Army I found destitute of Tents & encamped in a Wood, with no other security from the inclemency of the weather than the boughs of Trees or now & then a bark Hut. The evening after my arrival in Camp a rain began, which continued almost two days—the most of which time I was wet to my skin, as were all that were with me. This served as an hardening, but it gave me a cold, the effects of which I am not perfectly rid of yet. But we have now the happiness to be covered by Tents of the best kind, which, with the prospect I have of regaining my health, makes me very contented. I find all the gentlemen & indeed all the Lords of the Regiment to which I belong very destitute of almost every convenience. I thought the place of their encampment very suitable to their appearance, & I still think they ought not to have left the woods till they had been clothed anew from head to foot. Besides being very ragged and very dirty (which, by the way, they were unable to prevent for want of a change of clothes) they were supplied with but half allowance of Meat, Bread or Rum. Whilst I pityed the poor fellows for the neglect with which they were treated, my admiration was drawn forth at a view of the patience with which they bore it. Not a single complaint have I heard made by a Soldier since I joined the army. Every one seems willing to wait for a compensation till his country can grant it to him without injuring herself—which happy time we expect is near at hand. The arrival of the French Fleet at Newport, of which I doubt you have full information, very greatly exhilarates

our Spirits, and gives us the glorious prospect of soon retaliating for the loss of Charlestown [Charleston?] We expect speedily to have the pleasure of joining the troops of our glorious Alley at the White Plains—the consequence of which must be nothing short of a complete *Clintonade*. The only regret I feel on the occasion is this “that America should be so lost to “her own glory as well as interest, and at a time “too when she abounds in the best of Soldiers “as to suffer a foreign force to enter her territories and fight her battles.” It carries with it a disgrace which she will never be able to wipe out. This is at present my opinion, which I am sensible is worth very little, & which I may probably have reason to alter in a very short time. I wish I may.

Should an attempt be made upon New York the danger will be great, and Death will be very busy, for the besieged will doubtless defend themselves with the most obstinate bravery. Then, Sir, I know you will shudder for your Son. But at the same time you wish for his safety, I hope you will as ardently wish that his conduct may be such as may do honor to himself & to his friends—so that if it should be the will of Heaven that he shall be found among those who shall nobly fall in the defense & for the support of so glorious a cause as that in which we are engaged, you may have reason to say “I thank thee “Heaven! My Boy has done his duty”

But it is time for me to put an end to this very long letter. However, you will consider, Sir, that your patience will not be exercised in this way very often. The Bearer is a Soldier of the Regiment whose time is out. I doubt not he will be paid for his trouble—that is fed, & if he wants it, lodged. My best regards to Mamma—respectful compliments to Capt. Whiting & Mrs. I shall wish much to hear from home, but do not wish my Father to write me unless he has a very direct opportunity. The Army will soon move from this place—perhaps to White-Plains. With every sentiment of the most dutiful respect,

I am your

Son

SAM^L. COGSWELL

Mr. COGSWELL,

WINDHAM.

VIII.—POPULAR ERRORS IN REGARD TO THE BATTLES OF THE WAR.*

By GENERAL J. A. EARLY, C. S. A.

FIRST BATTLE OF MANASSAS.

So much of trash and falsehood has been written and published in regard to the operations of our late great war, that it may well be

doubted whether an accurate history of it can ever be written. Certain it is, that the historian, who, in the future, shall undertake to eliminate the truth from the mass of falsehood and error which obscures it, will find his task a most difficult, if not an impossible, one. The first accounts of battles which met the public eye were from the pens of anonymous newspaper correspondents, and telegraph dispatches by irresponsible parties, on both sides. These were eagerly read by an impatient and unreflecting public; and formed the *data* upon which the great mass of readers based their opinions as to the events which were transpiring. They were gathered up and treasured by literary adventurers, anxious to forestall the demands of the reading public by hastily written and crudely digested narratives. When the Official Reports, often unavoidably delayed, for a long time, did appear, the public attention was attracted from them by new and important events, which were hurrying fast upon the heels of each other; and the consequence was, that most men retained the impressions made upon their minds by the first accounts. It resulted from this state of things that many erroneous opinions as to important facts obtained; and and these have been perpetuated by the many books, claiming to be histories of the war, which have been given to the world, both during and since the close of hostilities. The authors of these books, in most cases, do not seem to have deemed it necessary to scrutinize closely the authorities upon which their facts are stated; and, in numerous instances, they have utterly ignored the Official Reports. If they are careless as to their facts, they are unsparing in their criticisms or lavish of their praises, as their prejudices or partialities prompt them.

A book has been written and published by an intelligent foreigner, who was present with McClellan's army, as an observer, for some time, and was subsequently within the Confederate lines, which shows, on its face, very clearly, that the author was anxious to state the truth and to do justice in his observations; but, unfortunately, he has been led into many errors by writers of the class above mentioned. This book is a *History of the American War*, in three volumes, by Lieutenant-colonel Fletcher, Scots Fusilier Guards, published in London. The author is evidently a gentleman and a soldier of intelligence and training. The tone of his work

* This paper originally appeared in the February, 1869, number of *The Land we Love*, a Magazine edited by General D. H. Hill and published at Charlotte, North Carolina; but as the errors in that publication of it were subsequently corrected by General Early, for our use, and as all the Notes, except one, are now printed from his manuscript, also kindly sent for our use, the article, as it now appears, possesses the character of an original article, expressly prepared for us by its distinguished author.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

is admirable; his remarks and criticisms are often just; and he does justice to the valor and patriotism of the Confederate armies and to the public spirit of the Southern people. He fully appreciates the great disparity in numbers and resources of the two armies; and, as a natural consequence of his being a trained soldier, understanding something of the subject about which he is writing, he is much less pretentious and dogmatic, in his criticisms, than the writers who never learned to "set a squadron in the field;" but he gives them with a modesty and hesitation becoming a gentleman and a soldier. It is a great pity that he did not have the materials for writing an accurate history of the war; but he has been misled, in many particulars, by others, and has adopted some of the currently-received errors.

As a sample of the prevailing delusions as to many important facts, it is only necessary to refer to the first battle of Manassas, called by Northern and English writers, "THE BATTLE OF BULL RUN." It would seem that, by this time, that battle ought to be understood. It was the first great battle of the war; and the materials for a true history of it undoubtedly exist. At that day, Federal commanders had not learned to distort facts as well as they did afterwards; and McDowell's Report furnishes a very fair account of his side of the battle; while the published Reports of Generals Johnston and Beauregard are very full. Besides these, there were the Reports of subordinate commanders on file, for years, in the Adjutant-general's office, at Richmond, which would have given all necessary information as to minor details. On the Federal side, the reports of "masked batteries" and "legions of Black-horse Cavalry," which existed only in the imagination of frightened correspondents and stampeding teamsters, have been very effectually exploded; but it seems not so easy to get rid of the false accounts given by Southern correspondents. Even so learned and able a writer, so conscientious a gentleman, and so earnest an investigator of the truth, as Doctor Dabney, has been imposed upon by some of the current fictions in regard to this battle; and has incorporated them in his life of General Jackson.

Of all the facts connected with the battle, it would be presumed that there ought to be less doubt about who commanded on the victorious side, than about any other; yet, a very gross blunder has been committed, in this respect, by all the writers who have attempted to describe the battle, except the two most interested, and who knew best—Generals Johnston and Beauregard. The prevailing opinion at the South, at the North, and abroad—shared in, too, by very many officers and soldiers who

participated in the battle—is, that General Johnston yielded the command, or chief direction of the operations on the field, to General Beauregard, his junior. The latter fact has been stated in various ways, all, however, substantially the same. The following is the manner in which Colonel Fletcher has stated it: "On his arrival at head-quarters, General Johnston would, by right of seniority, have been entitled to take the command; but, with rare unselfishness, and with a full approval of the plans of General Beauregard, he waived his privilege, and agreed to serve under his junior officer."

It will be a matter of surprise to very many to learn that there is no truth in this statement, except that General Johnston approved and adopted a plan of attack, proposed by General Beauregard, which was to have been made by the troops of the latter, and followed up by the troops which General Johnston had brought with him, but which was frustrated entirely by subsequent events. Yet such is the case, and the facts were these: on his arrival, at Manassas Junction, on the twentieth of July, General Johnston assumed the command of the whole army, and promulgated the fact in a written Order of that date. He at once determined to attack the enemy, the next morning, and, as General Beauregard was familiar with the country in front and the relative positions of the two forces then confronting each other, that officer was very properly consulted as to the plan of attack. General Beauregard proposed a plan of attack, which he had previously matured and communicated, in confidence, to his Brigade commanders, who were in position, ready to carry it out when the opportunity occurred. General Johnston approved, and adopted the plan, and ordered General Beauregard to make the attack with his troops, as proposed; but the former still retained the general supervision and control of all the troops, and the chief direction of the operations. That is, he remained the actual Commander-in-chief of the army; and General Beauregard was intrusted, in a subordinate, but still conspicuous, position, with the execution of the plan of attack he had proposed. This plan of attack was, however, thwarted entirely by the movement of McDowell against our left; and the battle was fought on ground not contemplated by General Beauregard, and according to a plan which had to be devised on the emergency. Instead of being a battle on the offensive, as contemplated by General Beauregard's plans, we were thrown on the defensive, by General McDowell's flank movement; and the ground on which the battle was fought, was of the enemy's choosing.

To set this matter at rest, the following extract is given from a letter from General Johnston to the writer of this article. This letter was written nearly eighteen months ago, and was not intended for publication, but as the extract is in reference to a matter of great historical importance, no hesitation is felt in using it.

General Johnston says, in reference to the command at the battle: "General Beauregard's influence, on that occasion, was simply that due to my estimate of his military merit and knowledge of 'the situation.' As soon as we met, I expressed to him my determination to attack next morning, because it was not improbable that Patterson might come up Sunday night. He proposed a plan of attack, which I accepted. It was defeated, however, by the appearance of Tyler's troops, near the Stone Bridge, soon after sunrise. He then proposed to stand on the defensive there, and continue the offensive, with the troops on the right of the road from Manassas to Centreville. This was frustrated by the movement which turned Cocke and Evans; and the battle fought was improvised on a field with which General Beauregard and myself were equally unacquainted. Early in the day, I placed myself on the high, bare hill, you may remember, a few hundred yards in the rear of Mitchell's-ford; and General Beauregard soon joined me there. When convinced that the battle had begun on our left, I told General Beauregard so; and that I was about to hasten to it. He followed. When we reached the field, and he found that I was about to take immediate control of the Brigades engaged, he represented that it would be incompatible with the command of the army to do so; and urged that he should have the command in question. I accepted the argument. This, however, left him under me."

This statement would not be doubted if it depended alone on General Johnston's assertion; but it is also in conformity to the facts stated in General Beauregard's report.

It has been supposed by some, that General Beauregard claims, in his Report, that the chief direction of the operations on the field had been yielded to, and was exercised by, him; but such is not the case, as will be seen by a careful examination of the Report itself.

In the first part of the Report, General Beauregard says: "General Johnston arrived here about noon on the 20th of July; and, being my senior in rank, he necessarily assumed command of all the forces of the Confederate States, then concentrating at this point. Made acquainted with my plan of operations

and dispositions to meet the enemy, he gave them his entire approval, and generously directed their execution under my command."

He then proceeds to show how the plan for the attack on our part had been frustrated, and to describe the commencement of the battle on the left, to which point he and General Johnston proceeded; and he further says: "As soon as General Johnston and myself reached the field, we were occupied by the reorganization of the heroic troops whose previous stand, with scarce a parallel, has nothing more valiant in all the pages of history, and whose losses fully tell why, at length, their lines had lost their cohesion. It was now that General Johnston impressively and gallantly charged to the front with the colors of the fourth Alabama Regiment by his side, all the Field Officers of the Regiment having been previously disabled."

* * * * *

"As soon as we had thus rallied and disposed our forces, I urged General Johnston to leave the immediate conduct of the field to me, while he, repairing to Portico—the Lewis House—should urge reinforcements forward. At first he was unwilling, but reminded that one of us must do so, and that properly it was his place, he reluctantly but fortunately complied; fortunately, because from that position, by his energy and sagacity, his keen perception and anticipation of my needs, he so directed the reserves as to insure the success of the day."

At the time of which General Beauregard is speaking, the only troops on the field and engaged, were Evans' demi-Brigade of a Regiment and a Battalion, Jackson's and Bee's brigades, Hampton's legion, (less than a Regiment,) and several Batteries of Artillery; and it was these troops of which he took the immediate command. Subsequently to this, three Brigades and three Regiments were brought up and went into action. Five Brigades remained further to the right, guarding Bull Run, below, and watching the force threatening our right and centre—two of which Brigades were ordered to the field, but did not arrive until the battle was over. It was, therefore, very proper, that, at this juncture, General Johnston should not take the active command on the field of only a small portion of his troops, who were engaged in the attempt to hold their position until reinforcements arrived; and that he should yield that command to the second in rank, while he himself directed the movements of the approaching reinforcements, and superintended the general operations of the whole force from right to left. He did not leave the field, to direct the movements of the reinforcements; but remained upon it, on

horseback, in the proper position for the commanding General to be, and there the writer found him, on his arrival, and received from him, in person, the orders which carried his Brigade into action. It was the skill with which General Johnston ordered the reinforcements into action that turned the tide of battle and insured the victory, which, before, hung in the scales. General Beauregard, with admirable courage and skill, performed the duty assigned him, and richly earned the promotion awarded him; but to General Johnston is due the credit attached to the chief command.

To place the truth before the world, is not to do injustice to General Beauregard, as he is entitled only to the glory which he actually won; and that is sufficient to give him undying fame. General Johnston is entitled to the honor of having, as Commander-in-chief, won the first great victory of the war; and let it be given to him.

Another most remarkable misapprehension in regard to this battle, is the generally received opinion that General E. Kirby Smith, while passing, with a body of troops, over the Manassas Gap Railroad, heard the roar of battle; stopped the trains of cars, then on their way to Manassas; and moved directly for the battle-field, so as to come upon the enemy's right flank and rear, and, by a vigorous assault in that quarter, to turn the tide of battle. This alleged feat has been described in a variety of ways. One account has it, that as he was seen approaching from the unexpected direction, General Beauregard mistook his column for a fresh force of the enemy and sent directions to prepare for a retreat; but soon a gentle breeze unfurled the Confederate flag over the approaching column; the mistake was discovered; the previous orders for a retreat countermanded; a new attack ordered; and the enemy put to flight. Another account, contained in a book published in London, by an Englishman who professes to have been in the Confederate Army, as a Lieutenant of Artillery, is, that President Davis arrived at the Junction, during the battle, and, learning that our troops were being defeated, jumped on a horse and galloped to the field for the purpose of sharing the fate of the army. On nearing the scene of action, he discovered our army in full retreat before the victorious Federals; but, just at that critical moment, Smith's command came up, in the rear of the enemy; recognized the Confederate President; gave a wild cheer; and rushed upon the hitherto victorious columns, which, unable to withstand the onset, fled in utter confusion and dismay.

All these accounts are very graphic and very glorious, but, unfortunately, there happens not to be a word of truth in the whole story. Gen-

eral Smith, even if he heard the noise of the battle while on the cars, certainly did not stop them, but arrived at the Junction with Elzey's Brigade of Infantry and a Battery of Artillery, under Lieutenant Beckham; and, finding orders for him to move to the battle-field with the rest of the command, after detaching one Regiment for duty at the works, did so very promptly. Moving on the direct road, he came upon the field in rear of our line, where he was wounded, very shortly after his arrival. Elzey then moved to the left, under orders from General Johnston; met and checked a column of the enemy which was attempting to flank our left; and participated in the final struggle which ended in the enemy's repulse and rout. These facts are stated with great clearness and precision by General, then Colonel Elzey, in his Report, which happens to be the only one of the Reports of Brigade commanders which was published; and it is to be found in Moore's *Rebellion Record*, volume I. page —, a work, in several volumes, collated and published at the North, containing much trash and falsehood, with some truth.

All the published accounts of the battle, except the official ones, contain this alleged exploit of General Smith, with comments on it; and it is a little singular that none of those critics professing to give authentic histories, have ever thought of looking to the Official Reports to verify the truth of it.

General Johnston's Report is not at hand to quote from, but here is what General Beauregard says in regard to this matter: "Another important accession to our forces had also occurred about the same time. At three o'clock, P. M., General E. K. Smith, with some one thousand seven hundred Infantry of Elzey's Brigade, of the Army of the Shenandoah, and Beckham's Battery, came upon the field from Camp Pickens,† Manassas, where they had arrived by railroad, at noon. Directed, in person, by General Johnston, to the left, then so much endangered, on reaching a position in rear of the oak-woods, South of the Henry House, and immediately East of the Sudley-road, General Smith was disabled by a severe wound; and his valuable services were lost at that critical juncture.

"But the command devolved upon a meritorious officer of experience, Colonel Elzey, who led his Infantry at once somewhat farther to the left, in the direction of the Chinne House, across the road, through the oaks skirting the West side of the road, and around which he sent the battery under Beckham. This officer took up a most favorable position, near the house, whence with a clear view of the

† Camp Pickens was at the Junction.

"Federal right and centre, filling the open fields to the West of Brentsville-Sudley-road, and gently sloping southward, he opened fire, with his Battery, upon them, with a deadly and damaging effect.

"Colonel Early, who, by some mischance, did not receive orders until two o'clock,† which had been sent him at noon, came on the ground immediately after Elzey, with Kemper's Seventh Virginia, Hays' Seventh Louisiana, and Barksdale's Thirteenth Mississippi Regiments. The Brigade, by the personal direction of General Johnston, was marched by the Hollaham House, across the fields, to the left, entirely around the woods, which Elzey had passed, and under a severe fire, into a position in line of battle near Chinne's House, outflanking the enemy's right."

Then ensued the last conflict, which resulted in the enemy's defeat. The last portion of the above extract is not given for the purpose of disputing with Generals Smith and Elzey for the honor of the alleged attack on the enemy's right and rear, but to show that the present writer was in a position to know that of which he speaks. He was on the extreme left, and in a condition to know that none of our troops came upon the rear of the enemy's right flank. General Smith was entitled to great credit for the promptness with which he moved to the battle-field, and the timely arrival of the command, and its subsequent movement to the left under Colonel Elzey, undoubtedly averted a disaster. The latter officer gallantly won his promotion on that occasion; and subsequently showed himself eminently worthy of it.

A brave man does not feel complimented by having ascribed to him deeds which he did not perform. He desires credit only for what he has done. Neither the hero of Richmond, Kentucky, nor the gallant Elzey stands in need of fictitious laurels.

Another error, into which many writers have fallen, is a statement that Holmes' Brigade came up and participated in the final repulse of the enemy; whereas the fact is, it did not reach the battle-field at all, or if it did, not until the battle was over and the enemy in entire rout.

The foregoing are some of the glaring blun-

ders in regard to this battle, committed by writers claiming to be historians of the war—blunders committed, not by a few, but by many. It is true, they are sustained in them by the common opinion; but this does not make history. The historian who adopts common rumor, not founded on actual knowledge, when authentic annals are within his reach, is underserving the name.

In view of such errors in the accounts of the first battle of Manassas, the authenticity of the remark attributed to the lamented Bee, from which the surname of "Stonewall" was given to General Jackson, may well be doubted. Fortunately the fame of that great hero does not rest on the authenticity of the incident, though he will forever remain endeared to the Southern people and their descendants by the popular appellation; and the name itself will be as immortal as that of "*Cœur De Lion*." But it is a question whether any better authority can be vouched for Bee's exclamation, than that of the "reliable gentleman" so often quoted. There was nothing more likely than that the gallant Bee, in his appeal to his shattered troops, should have referred them to the example of Jackson and his brave men; but a stone wall gives no appropriate idea of Jackson's character as a soldier. He was not likely to remain stationary long enough for the comparison; and he was more like a thunderbolt of war, than so pacific a thing as a stone wall.

Where writers of history commit such errors in regard to facts as those which have been pointed out, what weight is to be attached to their criticisms on the events they relate? Yet they pronounce them with unhesitating confidence, and with a positiveness which is intended to estop all dissent.

No event of the war has elicited more unsparing criticisms than the failure to prosecute the victory at Manassas to the capture of Washington. The opinion that Washington city would have fallen into our hands, if we had advanced at once, is expressed in the most dogmatic manner. It is said that the Federal army was utterly routed and demoralized, and, if the Confederate army had gone on, the Federal authorities and soldiers would have fled from the city; and it would have fallen without a struggle. The ignorance and incompetency of the self-constituted historians is not more signally shown in their relation of the facts of the battle, than it is in their criticisms upon the failure to follow up the victory. There is

† This is a mistake in regard to the time the Order was received. It was received between twelve and one o'clock though there had been some delay in its transmission, as it came through General D. R. Jones, in a note to him, and was in these words: "Send Early to me." If the Order had not been received until two, the Brigade could not have been marched from the rear of McClean's-ford, where it was, at the time the Order was received, to the battle-field, by the time specified, though the utmost haste was made, as the survivors of the Brigade will well recollect. It is a little singular that General Beauregard had, in his Report, previously stated that the Order, here alleged to have been sent at noon, had been sent at 10:30 A. M. This shows how errors will creep into the most carefully prepared documents.

‡ Doctor Dabney has since vouched very good authority for the remark by Bee. Though, in his book, he effectually rebuts the appropriateness of the comparison, by using, in regard to Jackson, just at that time, the following expression: "He rode, the presiding genius of the storm." Which did not furnish a very good exemplification of a "stone-wall."

one important feature in the geography of the country which they utterly ignore. They take no note of so important a fact as the existence of the Potomac River. Now, rivers are very easy things to cross in times of peace, where there are bridges and ferries to facilitate the passage, but in war they furnish very formidable obstacles to the passage of armies. The Potomac at Washington and for many miles above is a wide and deep river, not fordable; and, at that time, with no bridges except those at Washington and Georgetown, both of which, besides being very destructible, were susceptible of defence by a mere handful of men against an army of any size. There was, in addition, the aqueduct of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, which was still more easy of defence, and could also have been readily destroyed. When any man undertakes to declare that Washington city could have been captured by an advance, immediately after the battle of Manassas, let him state how the river could have been crossed, first, in the face of an army, however small and however demoralized; and if he cannot do that, then let him say how the river could have been crossed, if the city had been evacuated after the bridges had been burnt, the aqueduct blown up, and all the boats destroyed. When he comes to answer these questions, then perhaps he may realize some of the difficulties in the way of the capture of the Federal capital, even at the time it was in the greatest dismay.

General Johnston, in a letter published in the *Selma Times*, near two years ago, in review of some comments of Doctor Dabney, in his life of General Jackson, on the failure to advance, has stated why Washington was not and could not be captured, after the victory of Manassas. He does not attempt to evade the responsibility, or to shift it on to the shoulders of another, but boldly assumes the responsibility attached to his position as Commander of the army. His facts are true, and his reasoning is unanswerable.

Washington could not have been captured; and it is idle to talk about it. Our army, formed of new levies, just taken from civil life, and officered, in a great measure, by civilians, unaccustomed to command, was, itself, in a great measure, demoralized by the victory. The troops which had been actively engaged in the battle, had not won their victory without being themselves considerably shattered. It required time to restore order and put the various commands in a condition to move. The writer had occasion to ride over the battle-field; in the direction of Manassas, the night after the battle, and he saw enough to discover that most of the troops which had been engaged in

the battle, were in no condition to move the next day. It was one of the evils inherent in raw troops. A year later, on the same field, the case was very different,—but, at the first battle, we were all new in the practice of the art of war; even our Generals were inexperienced in command; and they are not to be judged by the same rules applicable to experienced commanders with disciplined troops to control.

But independent of all other considerations, the Potomac furnished to us an impassable barrier against our advance to the Federal city. That river is a mile wide, at Washington; and we had no guns of range sufficient to fire across the river, into the city. If we had, therefore, moved promptly on the morning of the twenty-second, and the Federal troops had abandoned entirely the South bank of the Potomac, on our approach, we could not have forced a passage of the river, even if we had had the means of crossing, after getting there. Runyon's Division of McDowell's army did not get up to the battle ground, nor even to Centreville; and it was intact. Mansfield had remained in Washington, with fifteen thousand troops, when McDowell advanced. Besides, there were war-vessels lying near Washington, with heavy, long-range guns. These latter (Mansfield's troops and the war-vessels) would have been sufficient to dispute the passage of the river with us, successfully, even if the whole of McDowell's army, including Runyon's Division, had been utterly paralyzed or dispersed. It is folly to suppose that the city would have been evacuated and the bridges left intact. If all the civilians and politicians had stampeded, still there were some old soldiers there; and they would have retained their senses. There was not a ford on the Potomac practicable for Infantry, nearer than White's-ford, about six miles above Leesburg and about forty miles above Washington. Below White's-ford, there was no bridge except the Chain-bridge at Georgetown, and the Long-bridge, at Washington. We had no pontoons and no means of constructing them. White's-ford was an obscure ford, in a farm; and, in 1862, the banks of the river had to be dug down at that place, to permit the crossing of the trains and artillery of Jackson's Corps. Before the time at which our army could possibly have reached it, if it had moved promptly, the rain which began to fall the morning after the battle, had rendered the river unfordable at all points. We could not possibly have followed so closely on the heels of the routed army, as to have entered the city along with it, even if that had been practicable, had we been able to follow closely enough to make the attempt. The most of the

enemy's troops were in Washington city, or under the protection of the guns at Arlington Heights, by light, next morning. Who imagines that it would have been possible for our men to have kept up with the panic-stricken fugitives from the battle-field, in such a race as they made?

The obstacle furnished to us, therefore, by the Potomac, was an insurmountable one,—if there had been no other difficulties in the way. We were not then in a condition to undertake a war of invasion; and it would have been folly to have undertaken it. Most of our men were wholly unused to marching; and if we had attempted to go into Maryland, or Pennsylvania by the upper fords of the Potomac, the army would have been broken down and demoralized for the want of proper seasoning. The most that an advance could have accomplished, would have been the transfer of our lines to the banks of the Potomac. But what good would that have done? We could have taken that line before the Federal troops crossed into Virginia, but it was then deemed untenable; and if we had taken it after the victory, we would have had to abandon it for the same reason it was not taken in the first place. If we had had a force of serviceable Cavalry, the routed army might have been pursued, and, doubtless, many more prisoners and wagons captured than we got; but we had no cavalry then. What was called Cavalry, consisted, at that time, of nothing but inexperienced mounted men, with very inefficient weapons, which they could not use on horseback; and these mounted men were few in number.

The battle had accomplished the purpose for which the position at Manassas, had been taken. The Confederate Capital had been saved, and the invading army had been arrested in its progress, and hurled back upon the Northern frontier. To have expected more, would have been expecting impossibilities in the then condition of our means of prosecuting the war.

After the victory, the question of an advance by his army, was one for General Johnston to consider and decide. None could be so well informed of the condition of his army and the means at hand for making a successful advance, as himself. Upon him was the responsibility of the decision; and he decided, and decided wisely. Such must be the judgment of all intelligent military critics, upon a full view of the facts, whatever may be the opinions of inexperienced.

If the war could have been fought by fireside Generals, and with paper pellets, doubtless it would have been brought to a speedier and happier end; but, unfortunately, it had to be fought by a very different class of men, and

with much more deadly weapons.

Of all the writers on the war, none have perpetrated greater blunders as to facts, or delivered more presumptuous and erroneous judgments, on military operations, than Mr. Edward A. Pollard, author of a book which he styles *The Lost Cause*. He assumes to be the chosen historian of the South. His book claims, on the title page, to have been written with the sanction of the leading Confederate Generals; and on the back, it is stamped "The Standard Southern History of the War." His publishers, E. B. Treat & Co., of New York, put forth the following circular on the appearance of the work:

"The Only Official and Authorized Southern
"History of the War, now Ready
"for Delivery.

—o—

"THE LOST CAUSE,

"BY EDWARD A. POLLARD,

"Of Virginia.

"Comprising a full and authentic account of the
"rise and progress of the late Southern Confed-
"eracy, the Campaigns, Battles, Incidents and
"Adventures of the most gigantic Struggle of the
"World's History.

"Complete in One Large Royal Octavo Volume of 800 Pages.
"With twenty-four splendid steel portraits of dis-
"tinguished Confederate Leaders."

"The Publishers take pleasure in announcing
"that they have secured the talents of this dis-
"tinguished Author and Historian, in preparing
"a work worthy of the theme and the occasion.
"The history of the vanquished has too often
"fallen to the pen of the victor, and to insure
"justice to the Southern cause, the pen must
"be taken by some Southern man who is will-
"ing to devote his time and talents to the vin-
"dication of his countrymen, in a history
"which shall challenge the criticism of the
"intelligent and invite the attention of all hon-
"est inquirers.

"Such a work will be of peculiar interest to
"the candid and intelligent public of the North,
"and is of the utmost importance to the people
"of the Southern States.

"MR. POLLARD, of all writers in the South,
"is doubtless the best qualified to prepare a com-
"plete and Standard History of the War, and
"to commit to the present and future genera-
"tions, a faithful and worthy record of their
"great struggle, and a cause lost, save in honor.
"Having been employed during the entire
"period of the war as editor of a Richmond

"newspaper, and thus trained to the best sources of information, and by especial research has collected a quantity of historical material pertaining to the secret history of the war which no one else in the country has, or can now obtain.

"He comes to the work with the encouragement and authority of Generals R. E. LEE, J. E. JOHNSTON, BEAUREGARD, "DICK" TAYLOR, FITZHUGH LEE, EX-GOV. WISE, and other distinguished Confederate Leaders.
"PRICE IN CLOTH, \$5. SHEEP (LIBRARY STYLE,) \$6. HALF CALF (ANTIQUÉ,) \$8.

This Work is sold only by subscription; to parties where we have no Agent, we will forward the Book upon receipt of retail Price."

The claim thus persistently made for Mr. Pollard, that he is the chosen historian of the Confederate leaders, is not without its effect. Foreigners cannot understand how a man can have the effrontery to set up such a claim unless it is true, especially when it is made for such a length of time without a disavowal. In England, no writer would dare thus use the names of others without permission; and the consequence is, that Mr. Pollard's book is accepted by Englishmen and others desirous of examining the southern accounts of the war, as the work put forth by the authority he claims for it. The claim is certainly not true, as regards some of the gentlemen whose names are specified; and it can hardly be true as to any of them. If Mr. Pollard or his publishers have made use of the names of the distinguished Confederate Generals mentioned, without their authority if in fact he did not come to the work with their "encouragement and authority," it is respectfully submitted whether they do not owe it to themselves, to the truth of history, and to the cause, to make a disavowal, in some form or other. It is most probable that the Circular has never met the eye of any of the gentlemen named in it.

As, in this article, some important historical errors are noticed and corrected, the writer appends his signature.

J. A. EARLY.

DRUMMONDVILLE, CANADA.

I state authoritatively that the claim set forth by the Publishers of *The Lost Cause* is untrue,

I had, then, the written statement of General Johnston that he had not only not given the work his sanction, but he had never seen it or any of Pollard's works. General Lee has since assured me that the statement, so far as he was concerned, was entirely without foundation. He also said that, when Pollard was engaged on his *Lee and his Lieutenants*, in a reply to a request from him for materials for his (General Lee's) Biography, he declined to furnish them; and Pollard made a garbled extract from the letter written to him.

as far as Generals Johnston, Beauregard and Wise are concerned; and I believe it is equally untrue with regard to General R. E. Lee and the other officers named.

EDITOR LAND WE LOVE.
[General D. H. Hill, C. S. A.]

IX.—UNPUBLISHED LETTERS, FROM VARIOUS COLLECTIONS.

1.—John Langdon to Caleb Stark,*

PORTSMOUTH, [N. H.] April 6th 1810

MY DEAR

The last evening's mail brought me your highly esteemed favor of the 20th Inst. I most sincerely take you by the hand and rejoice with you on the pleasing prospect of the Election in Massachusetts; indeed the Republicans of both our States, deserve well of their Country. There appears a glorious prospect of our citizens returning to correct principles. The deceitful game played by the Federalists, will strengthen our Republican Government.

The ingratitude of the Grecian States to the "illustrious Socrates" was great indeed, but may we not, my dear friend look at home in our own Country for this infernal spirit; have we not lately seen in our papers the insult offered to my worthy friend your Hon^d Father, the Hero of our Revolutions. Satan himself would have been ashamed of such black ingratitude, but some of our Federalists, have lost all shame. I sincerely pray we may be henceforth governed by "reason & Common Sense" and old fashioned honesty. Please to accept the homage of my great esteem and respect.

JOHN LANGDON

CALEB STARK Esq.

I had wrote the foregoing before I perceived that I had been writing on a half sheet of paper—pray excuse it.

2.—General Arnold to Lord Cornwallis.†

LONDON Decr. 10th 1799.

MY LORD

Nothing but my very great Confidence in your Lordships goodness, which I have experienced on so many occasions, and my extreme solicitude to make some provision for my Son Could induce me to again take the liberty of troubling your Lordship. He is extremely anxious to go out to India, and having failed in my endeavors to procure him a writership, he has for some time past been qualifying himself for

* From the collection of C. H. Morse, Esq.

† From the collection of C. De F. Burns, Esq., of New York.

an Engineer, in which he has made great proficiency, and proposes spending the Winter in studying with the Master of the Academy at Woolwich, and has no doubt in a few months of procuring their testimonials of his being perfectly qualified for that situation. Your Lordship was once Kind enough to offer him a Cadetship to India, and the offer has lately been repeated by a friend here, which he will be happy to accept provided he can be assured of Respect with which I have the honor to be

Your Lordship's
Most Obedt & Most Humbl^e Serv^t.

B. ARNOLD.

3.—*Samuel Hopkins, M. C., of Kentucky, to John Coburn, Esq., of Maysville, Ky.*†

CITY OF WASHINGTON, July 20th 1813.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 16th May is received, to render you Any Benefit or pleasure will be all ways Grateful and pleasing, because I have long since claimed you as a Friend.

I could wish You to be more explicit as to the Offices or Employment you would Accept, —I have kept my Ideas perhaps too Much employed on Judiciary prospects. if any Office in the Revenue worthy Your Acceptance occurs, I Should claim it for you.—the Severe indisposition of the President has prevented his Seeing Company for near Six Weeks past, and the Bustle & Confusion incident to the alarm here on the Approach of the enemy, & which will increase until they retreat from the Potowmac, have very Much Paralysed every kind of business—the Secretaries of War & State are with the Troops down the river, & 'tis said Will not return During the Invasion.—Congress will adjourn in Ten days at most having nearly finished the taxation System, which is estimated to produce Six Million of Dollars, this has reassured Public Credit, & Braced the Nerve of the Administration.—the Senate have refused to Confirm Galatin's Appointment,—the French have Gained Splendid Victories,—& our armies are—eating—& Sleeping—like Sheep Scattered without a Shepherd.

I am Dear Sir Your Friend

SAM. HOPKINS.

4.—*Joseph Brant to Governor Clinton.*‡

NIAGARA, 23 January 1793

Dr SIR

Since I last wrote you we have had the pleasure of receiving an answer from General Knox to our requisition from the Miamis, to

which Congress has readily agreed—In it they sett forth that they'll meet us at the Miamis, this is a mistake. Lower Sanduskie is the place we appointed and is intended by the Indians,—at this Treaty I expect the end wished for (Peace) will be established Congress well knowing our determination respecting the boundary line, this I hope their Commissioners will be invested with full power to arrange fully, if they prove sincere in their former professions. I think there is little doubt we will then come to understand each other better than heretofore. We wish much to see some of our New York & Pennsylvania friends such as Col Willet &c who know the nature of Indians and their business, exclusive of the Commissioners from Congress, this would afford still greater satisfaction than otherwise, knowing there were men present we look upon as real friends and would do us justice to give us what to us appertains, and we wish it more on account that our reasonableness will not be reported perhaps the reverse of what it is. I am just about despatching an express to the Miamis to make known Gen^l Knox's speech and shall recommend it to them to refrain from all hostilities and which I dare say will be readily complied with.

Mr. Ferguson a gentleman married to one of my nieces was last Summer in your State in order to recover the Lands the family of my sister left. he was only able to get what belonged to the younger daughter, the rest it being reported had left their home after they were of age, this permit me to assure you is not the case. Peter Johnson who was the elder of the family was born in the year 1759 and left home in 1775 by this youll perceive the impropriety of the report. I must therefore again solicit that youll be so obliging as to give Mr. Ferguson (who is again going down) any assistance you possibly can for the recovery thereof, this favor will be gratefully acknowledged. I have the honor to be Dr Sir with compliments to my friends Col Willett, &c

Your Most Obedt^e
Hble Servant
JOS. BRANT.

His Excellency Gov^r CLINTON.

5.—*Hosea Moffit, M. C., from New York, to Chas. R. Webster, of Albany.*||

WASHINGTON, March 1st 1814.

DEAR SIR,

Yours of the 14th of Febr^y last, and one of a more recent date (not by me your last) for which please to Accept of my Acknowledgements. it is really a happy Circumstance that we have in one branch of Our State Legislature a

† From the collection of C. H. Morse, Esq., Washington, D. C.

‡ In the collection of Colonel T. Bailey Myers, Esqr.

|| From the collection of C. H. Morse, Esq., Washington, D. C.

power Able to Neutralize that State: any thing Short of that, the Same Mad projects which mark the proceedings of the Genl. Govt. here would be seconded in Albany. which would if possible Accelerate our ruin—Granger P. M. Genl^a. removal may be traced back to the time of the President's last Election (Madison altho Small in Stature, Diminutive in Appearance his Vengeance never Cools) at which it was known Granger fav^d Clinton's Election to the Presidency, from that moment Granger's fate has been Determined. his Appointment of Leib to be post Master, Occasioned this Open Rupture. Mr. Ward from Boston boards in the House with me. from his Communications it Seems Massachusetts and the U. States have come to An Armistice till May next, when the Legislature meets again—to-day is the 18th day the Loan bill has been under Discussion, I presume we should not take the Question till the 15th of April next. I am told the Majority will put on the Screw this day, *the previous Question*. Mr. Pickering Spoke on Saturday and yesterday (Monday) he Closed three O'Clock P. M. he is an Uncommon Man—about 70 possesses his Voice, Recollection, his manner as at 30, he Litterally gave Chapter and Verse and Communicated more real information then was Disclosed in the whole 15 days before. His Speech Printed would be a Correct Journal of the Movements of our Govt. thus far on their Road to Ruin. Hampton has resigned in Disgrace. Hull is to be Convicted and Sentenced to be S—and pardoned, Wilkinson is also to be Tried disgraced and Compell^d to quit the Army Dearborn was Driven from the Army under Disgracefull Circumstances his Servile Subserviency to the Mandates of the palace, and his Cringing Deportment to the Secretary has suffered him to have his pay Continued, that with his \$500 Coat Satisfies him—these 4 Genl^a are to Answer the Same purpose to the Administration which the Scape Goat did to the Jewish Nation. In this way the Parade will be Cleared of the Superannuated Rubish the GREAT Secretary at War will have Browns and Izards sufficient to Command the Army Men who know their Military Creator, who are not to think for themselves And as Obedience Constitutes the whole Duty of Man morally—it is in the same way Militarily; with an Army of 66,000 men offered to his mind (which is now progressing in the Senate from day to day) 50,000 Volunteers which the President has Accepted: choice Spirits possessing all the Feelings of the Legion of Honour. with a Lieut. Genl, at their Head Commanding all the Armies of the U. States—and Very probably Vice Admiral of the same—to adopt the Language of Mr. Quincy—He may Conquer for himself and his Legion of Honour

Not for his Country—Monro will be willing to Grant his Rival any thing he may require, to Clear the way to the Presidential Chair for himself—

Adieu. it is a dry time here for news—I suppose it would be improper to Show this to any but a friend and perhaps it is not worth Reading

I will not Neglect, if I cannot inform or Entertain you—

I am with Due respect

Your H. Serv^t

H. MORFITT

6.—Robert Morris to John Nicholson.¶

HILLS, Novr. 16th. 1797.

JN^o NICHOLSON, Esq^r

DEAR SIR

It is now 7 o Clock in the Evening and I have not written you one line in all this long Cold, Chilling, Merciless day; Merciless to me for I have been unhappy on Mr Cottringers Account. There is another Card out against him and he is gone from hence. I must bring him of clear, but how to accomplish it is the difficulty in this instance, as indeed it is in all the unfortunate cases in which you and I are involved & others with or for us—I have this evening rec^d your notes N^o 1 to 6 of this day. I am pleased that you determine to see me on Sunday and hope nothing will happen to prevent it. William searched the Docket to discover the Notes on which Hunts suits were founded in which Higbee was bail, they were not to be found there, He then applied to Mr. Tilghman, he had not them, but said he would send to Hunt for them and write to William and there the matter now rests, probably Mr Hunt has sent them to Mary^a against poor Boone, in that case could we not get the action dismissed as no Cause of action appears on the Docket or elsewhere. I wish you would find out the Person that will advance Money to relieve Dunlap & Carleton upon an assignment of the Security they hold & a Bonus, for I dont know one that will lend a Doll^r. You say we must pay Martin & Key, but you forget that I have paid my part being I believe all they have received. I shall be glad to have a Copy of the list of Suits and defence that you mention in No. 2 to be making out for Mr. Gibson, as my defence in most of my Suits must be the same as yours. I observe by N^o 3 the course you are taking with Charles Young but I do not know what you mean by our joint letter as I have not rec^d any from you intended for him unless one Some time ago which was then sent. I agree

¶ In the possession of William Duane, Esq., of Philadelphia.

that the subject of the Trustees shall as you propose in N^o 4 be referred to Sundays Conference. I am glad your Family is so near you & wish mine were near me for the intercourse begins to be difficult. I have rec^d M^r Bronsons Protests in N^o 5, have signed them and enclosed the same to him at New York. poor G. C. is so far clear but I am trembling for him—

You ask a hard question in N^o 6. how shall we stop the sale of our property, I dont know is the only answer I can give, I suppose it must go sooner or later for we can get no help and the Cormorants must have food. Good night.

Yours.

ROBT. MORRIS.

7.—Z. R. Shipherd, M. C., from New York, to Charles R. Webster, Esq., of Albany, N. Y.*

WASHINGTON, Dec^r 12th 1814

DEAR SIR

We spent Saturday from 10 in the morning until 7 in the evening upon Gile's Conscrip^t bill there has been much good speaking particularly Mr. Stockton of N. Jersey who was very able.

Mr. Miller from N. York moved on friday to strike out the first section of the bill—and made a very long speech in support of his motion—Duvall of Kentucky opposed him—The order then was Shepherd & Webster for—Barnett & Johnson against—Saturday Stockton, Sheffy & Grosvenor for the motion and Forsythe & some nameless spouters spoke against the motion.

We are not yet thro with the Amendments of the Committee. The advocates of the bill expect that the passage of it will endanger the Union. They have no doubt but it will be resisted and I am decidedly of opinion from what has transpired that many of the majority desire anxiously to cut away the bond of Union.

Barnett [M. C. from Georgia] a very decided democrat told me the other day that the Union would be divided—and he should wish to have the event happen without bloodshed as it might be done by agreement he also observed that we at the North should be ruined by division as we could not live without the South.

I am yours most cordially

Z. R. SHIPHERD

CHARLES R. WEBSTER, Esq.

P. S. Patrick McGruder our Clerk has been found guilty of an atrocious defalcation of nearly \$20,000 a bare faced piece of fraud.

Admirals in the American Navy. A bill authorizing the Appointment of three Admirals has passed the Senate of the U. States.

8.—Robert Morris to John Nicholson.*

N^o 4 Dec^r 4. 1797

DR SIR

What do you think of a fresh alarm at 6 o Clock in the Everfing of this Cold Night, an officer who calls himself Donaldson, Piloted by Crouch's Boy came here just now, the Dogs gave the alarm & I spoke to him out of the Window. He says he is employed by Dunwoody, so that Mr D—seems determined to have me if he can, I sent my Comp^{te} to him, saying, "have patience and I will pay thee all." It seems as if I should have hot Work this week, I am however more anxious about Jn^o Baker than any other, I wish he was clear of us & we of him—

R. MORRIS.

J^{no} NICHOLSON, Esq^r

X—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness, and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.]

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

CELEBRATION OF FOREFATHERS' DAY, A CENTURY AGO. *Extracts from the "Boston Post Boy" of January, 18, 1770.* We hear from Plymouth that the twenty-second of December, last was there observed by a number of gentlemen by the name of the Old Colony Club, in commemoration of the landing of their ancestors in that place.

On the morning of the said day, a cannon was discharged and an elegant silk banner hoisted at their hall with the following inscription:

"OLD COLONY. 1620."

At eleven of the clock A. M., the members of the Club met at the Hall and from thence proceeded to the house of Mr. Howland, which is erected upon the spot where the first licensed house in the Old Colony formerly stood; at half after two, a decent repast was served up consisting of a large baked whortle-berry pudding, saugnetash, codfish, clams, oysters, a haunch of venison, (roasted by the first Jack brought to the Colony) sea fowl, frost fish, and eels, dressed in the plainest manner, all appearance of luxury and extravagance being avoided, in imitation of their worthy ancestors.

At 4 o'clock P. M. the members of the Club, headed by the Stewards, carrying a folio volume of the Laws of the Old Colony, hand in hand,

* From the collection of C. H. Morse, Esq.

* From the collection of William Duane, Esq., of Philadelphia.

walked in procession, to the hall. Upon the appearance of the members in front of the hall, a number of the descendants of the first settlers of the Old Colony drew up in regular file and discharged a volley of small arms, succeeded by three cheers, which were returned by the Club. After this, at the private grammar school, opposite the hall, a number of young gentlemen, to express their joy upon the occasion and their respects to the memory of their ancestors, in the most agreeable manner, joined in singing a song very suitable for the day. At sunset, a cannon was fired and the flag struck.

In the evening, the hall was illuminated and a number of the principal gentlemen of the town (being previously invited) joined the Club, and the President (being seated in a large and venerable chair, formerly possessed by William Bradford, the second worthy Governor of the Old Colony, and presented to the Club by Dr. LeBarron of that town) delivered several toasts to the memory of Bradford, Standish and others, which were drank by the company.

After spending the evening in an agreeable manner, in recapitulating and conversing upon the many and various adventures of our forefathers in the first settlement of the country, and the growth and increase of the same at eleven o'clock in the evening a cannon was again fired, three cheers given, and the company withdrew.

BOOTH AND LINCOLN—A NEW THEORY.

The *La Crosse Democrat* of July 20th, unfolds a theory of the Lincoln assassination which is worthy of more attention than it has received. Translated from the overstrained diction in which it is made, the revelation is this:

Beall, a special agent of the South—a spy—was arrested and sentenced to death.

John Wilkes Booth resolved to make a grand attempt to save the life of his friend, Beall.

At this time, Booth loved a daughter of John P. Hale, United States Senator from New Hampshire.

One night, in Washington, after Beall was doomed, John Wilkes Booth and John P. Hale called on G. W. McLean, of Cincinnati, who was then in Washington. They wanted McLean to go with them to find Colonel John W. Forney, and, with him in company, call upon Lincoln.

The narrative goes on to say:

"It was past midnight when the carriage containing Hale, Booth, and McLean left the hotel where the latter was stopping, and was driven to Forney's residence. Forney was in bed, under the influence of liquor.

"After some little talk and explanations, he arose, bathed his head in ice-water, made a

"hasty toilet, and took a seat in the carriage.

"The party were then driven to the White House, reaching there about two o'clock in the morning. They were admitted past the guards, and found President Lincoln in his room, not yet retired.

"Then came an explanation of the object of the visit.

"President Lincoln sat by the side of Senator Hale, and listened to the particulars. Booth then and there told that *once he was in a scheme to abduct the President, not to injure him, but to aid in the release of certain friends, who could not be exchanged. He told that that was of the past, so far as he was concerned.*

"And then he asked for the reprieve of Beall, promising, *on his honor as a man, to ever after be as good a friend to Mr. Lincoln as a man could be to one who had rendered such a favor, —to warn the President if it came to his knowledge that his life was in danger, and to hold himself personally responsible for the good behavior of Beall, ever after.*

"President Lincoln was greatly moved, even to tears, and gave to Booth *his word of honor as a man, that Beall should be pardoned.*"

Seward persuaded Lincoln to forfeit his promise. Beall was executed; and Booth swore to avenge him by killing the President with his own hand. He did so. He left Seward to the hands of others.

It was not to a political cause, but to a personal provocation that Lincoln fell a martyr—such is the theory. Hale, Forney, and McLean, witnesses to one of its incidents, live to corroborate that part of the narrative.—*Argus.*

SOUTHERN PRISONERS AT ELMIRA.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE WORLD:" I beg here-with (after having carefully gone through the various documents in my possession pertaining to the matter) to forward you the following statistics and facts of the mortality of the rebel prisoners in the Northern prisons, more particularly at that of Elmira, New York, where I served as one of the medical officers for many months.

I found, on commencement of my duties at Elmira, about eleven thousand rebel prisoners fully one-third of whom were under medical treatment, for diseases principally owing to an improper diet, a want of clothing, necessary shelter, and bad surroundings. The diseases were consequently of the following nature: Scurvy, diarrhoea, pneumonia, and the various branches of typhoid, all superinduced by the causes, more or less, afore-mentioned.

The Winter of 1864-5 was an unusually severe

and rigid one, and the prisoners arriving from the Southern States, during the season, were mostly old men and lads, clothed in attire suitable only to the genial climate of the South. I need not state to you that this alone was ample cause for an unusual mortality amongst them. The surroundings were of the following nature, viz.: narrow, confined limits, but a few acres of ground in extent, and through which slowly flowed a turbid stream of water, carrying along with it all the excremental filth and debris of the camp; this stream of water, horrible to relate was the only source of supply, for an extended period, that the prisoners could possibly use, for the purpose of ablution and to slake their thirst, from day to day; the tents and other shelter allotted to the camp, at Elmira, were insufficient and crowded to the utmost extent; hence, small-pox and other skin diseases raged throughout the camp.

Here I may note that, owing to a General Order from the Government, to vaccinate the prisoners, my opportunities were ample to observe the effects of spurious and diseased matter; and there is no doubt in my mind but that syphilis were engrafted in many instances, and ugly and horrible ulcers and eruptions of a characteristic nature were, alas! too frequent and obvious to be mistaken. Small-pox cases were crowded in such a manner that it was a matter of impossibility for the Surgeon to treat his patient individually; they actually laid so adjacent that the simple movement of one of them would cause his neighbor to cry out in an agony of pain. The confluent and malignant type prevailed to such an extent that the body would frequently be found one continuous scab.

The diet and other allowances by Government for the use of the prisoners were ample, yet the poor unfortunate creatures were allowed to starve; but why, is a query which I will allow your readers to infer, and to draw conclusions therefrom. Out of the number of prisoners, as before mentioned, over three thousand of them now lay buried in the cemetery located near the camp for that purpose; a mortality equal, if not greater, than that of any prison in the South. At Andersonville, as I am well informed by brother officers who endured confinement there, as well as by the records at Washington, the mortality was twelve thousand out of, say, about forty thousand prisoners. Hence it is readily to be seen that the range of mortality was no less at Elmira than at Andersonville.

At Andersonville, there was actually nothing to feed or clothe the prisoners with; their own soldiers faring but little better than their prisoners; this, together with a torrid sun and an impossibility of exchange, was abundant cause for their mortality. With our prisoners at El-

mira, no such necessity should honestly have existed, as our Government has actually, as I have stated, most bountifully made provision for the wants of all detained, both of officers and men. Soldiers, who have been prisoners at Andersonville, and have done duty at Elmira, confirm this statement, and which is in no wise, in one particular, exaggerated; also, the same may be told of other prisons managed in a similarly terrible manner. I allude to Sandusky, Fort Delaware and others; I do not say that all prisoners at the North suffered and endured the terrors and the cupidity of venal sub-officials; on the contrary, at the camps in the harbor of New York and at Point Look-Out, and at other camps, where my official duties, from time to time, have called me, the prisoners, in all respects, have fared as our Government intended and designated they should. Throughout Texas where food and the necessaries of life were plentiful, I found our own soldiers faring well, and to a certain extent contented, as far, at least, as prisoners of war could reasonably expect to be.

Our Government allowed the prisoners of war the following rations (*Vide Regulations*, Page, 224, *Articles* 1, 190, 1, 191): 12 oz. of pork or bacon, or 1 lb. of salt or fresh beef; 1 lb. 6 oz. of soft bread or flour, or 1 lb. of corn meal; and to every one hundred rations 15 lbs. of beans or peas and 10 lbs. of rice or hominy, 10 lbs. of green coffee or 8 lbs. of roasted do., or 1 lb. 8 oz. of tea, 15 lbs. of sugar, 4 quarts of vinegar, 30 lbs. of potatoes, and, if fresh potatoes could not be obtained, canned vegetables were allowed.

Page 107, Article 746, *United States Army Regulations*—"Prisoners of war will receive for subsistence one ration each without regard to his rank, their private property will be duly respected, and each shall be treated with regard to his rank, and the wounded are to be treated with the same care as the wounded of our army." How faithfully these regulations were carried out, at Elmira, is shown by the following statement of facts: The sick in hospital were curtailed in every respect (fresh vegetables and other anti-scorbutics were dropped from the list) the food scant, crude, and unfit; medicines so badly dispensed that it was a farce for the medical man to prescribe. At large, in the camp, the prisoners fared still worse; a slice of bread and salt meat was given him for his breakfast; a poor, hatched-up, concocted cup of soup, so-called, and a slice of miserable bread was all he could obtain for his evening meal; and hundreds of sick who could in no wise obtain medical aid died, "unknelled, uncoffined, and unknown."

I have in no wise drawn on imagination, and the facts as stated can be attested by the staff medical officers who have labored at the Elmira

prison for the rebel soldiers.

EX-MEDICAL OFFICER UNITED STATES ARMY.

THE CLOVE CHURCH.—About two miles North-west of Deckertown, Sussex Co., N. J., stands a plain, unostentatious Church. As to size it is but medium. It is unadorned as to a spire, and hence no bell to summon the hearers on the Sabbath morn. Perhaps some member of the Reformed-church or Minister of the same, spending his vacation amid the hills of Sussex, would pass it by, and regard it as not of any interest to him, as it is now connected with the Presbyterians. A common country Church; no marked man ever was its Pastor, are his thoughts, and hence not worthy of a passing consideration by me, a (Dutch) Reformed. But not so when its first Pastor's name is mentioned—the Rev. Elias Van Benschoten. And here he lived and preached for about a quarter of a century. Therefore some unpublished items in reference to him and his Church, perhaps will be of interest to the readers of the *Intelligencer*.

Van Benschoten was called to the Churches of Minisink, Walpack, and Makerkemack, in 1785. These were all situated in the valley of the Delaware. But while he ministered to these Churches, he also seems to have crossed the mountains and preached in the valley of the Walkill. Probably some of his members now living here was the reason; but, as yet, there was no organized Church. One of his out-preaching posts was in the vicinity of the Clove-church. About eighteen months after the commencement of service in this neighborhood, application was made to the Classis of New-Brunswick for the formation of a Church; and their request was granted. The Reformed (Dutch) Church known by the name of the "Clove Church," was recognized under the Classis of New-Brunswick, on the sixteenth of April, 1788. It commenced with fifty members—twenty-five males and the same number of females. Its organization took place in the barn of Helmas Titworth; and this building served them some time, as a Meeting-house. The Domine then resided West of the mountain; but, in a few years, removed his home to Mr. Titworth. About this time, a church-edifice was completed, within a few rods of the barn where it was formed. That building served as a sanctuary for about forty years, when the present one was built, which is soon to be renovated. In a few years, the Domine withdrew his labors from the Delaware valley and served the charge and Church of Westtown, some ten miles North. This is also a Presbyterian church, at present. But the last few years of his ministry he devoted to the Clove-church, exclusively. Here, within two miles, about 1800, he purchased a farm

of some seven hundred acres; and on that he died.

The last two years of his life, he did not preach in this place; and after his death, the pulpit was supplied by the Classis of New-Brunswick, but the distance was so great and Ministers of our Church so few, that it was deemed best by the Congregation to unite with the Presbyterians. Hence, at a congregational meeting, on the twenty-fourth of November 1817, the Reformed (Dutch) Church of the "Clove" was dissolved by a vote of its members, and merged into the "First Presbyterian church of Wantage," organized, on the eleventh of August, 1818.

The labors of Van Benschoten, God smiled upon, with more than one glorious revival. During the three years of his successor, the Rev. Gershom Williams, sixty-four were received on confession, and four on certificate. After him came the Rev. Edward Allen, who labored for nine years, until 1830. During his ministry, three hundred and forty-two were added to the membership. Ill-health compelling Mr. Allen to resign, he was succeeded by the Rev. Peter Ranouse, who remained with them about four years. The fruits of his ministry were one hundred and sixty-three. Its Pastors, since that date, have been Rev. George Pierson, from 1835 to 1839; then the Rev. Anthony McReynolds, until 1843; when the Rev. Sylvester Cook, who resigned last April, on account of age, having passed his three-score and ten. Like his predecessors, the pastorate of Mr. Cook was abundantly blessed.

As yet, no successor has been chosen. Few Churches have been blessed with out-pourings of God's spirit more than the "Clove." The "old people" still cherish warm affection for the memory of their first "Pastor," and in pride assert that all of their Ministers have been men of ripe scholarship, like Domine Van Benschoten, save one.

And it will be difficult to find a section of country where the fame of a "country minister" is so inwrought in the minds of the people as that of the Rev. E. Van Benschoten, through the portions of the three States, where he preached, especially as a man of learning. The opinion among many of the Ministers of our denomination is, that he was not much of a student. The examination of his books proves that this is an error. On the pages of some, are to be found notes and corrections in the Latin, Greek, and often Rabbinical Hebrew. Enough to indicate that he was a "scholar rare." He was also systematic as a business man. This Church had a grant of land from the "Original Proprietors" of the County. This, in time, was sold; and it was deemed best to

place the fund in the charge of the Domine, every farthing of which is accounted for, in the "Church Record," each year. Neither was he as wealthy as is generally supposed. Until 1798 or '99, he was dependent mostly upon his salary; but, about this time, he received his father's estate, which was a lengthy period in course of settlement; and, at this time, he purchased his farm.

This was bought in several parcels. His account book shows him to have been a model farmer, in some respects at least, as every item of his business is carefully noted down. This farm was not given to his nephew (as has been stated), but sold to him at a moderate price, with easy payments, and is still held by the family. This farm must have constituted the larger part of his possessions. Most of his affairs were arranged by himself. As a good man should do, he set his house in order, so that after his departure there was but little to be done. His will, which was made but a short time previous to his death, is very brief, and refers only to two or three items, a matter of form rather than necessity.

Enough, however, has been written upon this topic already, and more, perhaps, than will be entertaining to the readers of the *Intelligencer*; but sufficient, it is hoped to show, that in the history of the "Clove Church" and its first Pastor, we, as a denomination, have a part.—*Christian Intelligencer*.

CONGRESSIONAL SOVEREIGNTY. LETTER FROM
GOUVERNEUR MORRIS TO TIMOTHY
PICKERING, IN CONGRESS.

MORRISANIA, Dec. 22, 1814.

MY DEAR SIR.—What can a history of the Constitution avail towards interpreting its provisions? This must be done by comparing the plain import of the words with the general tenor and object of the instrument. That instrument was written by the fingers which write this letter. Having rejected redundant and equivocal terms, I believed it to be as clear as our language would permit, excepting, nevertheless, a part of what relates to the judiciary. On that subject conflicting opinions have been maintained with so much professional astuteness that it became necessary to select phrases which, expressing my own opinions, would not alarm others, nor shock their self-love; and to the best of my recollection, this was the only part which passed without cavil.

But after all what does it signify that men should have a written Constitution, containing unequivocal provisions and limitations? The legislative lion will not be entangled in a logical

net. The Legislature will always make the power which it wishes to exercise, unless it be so organized as to contain within itself the sufficient check. Attempts to restrain it from outrage, by other means, will only render it more outrageous. The idea of binding legislators by oaths is puerile. *Having sworn to exercise the powers granted, according to their true intent and meaning, they will, when they feel a desire to go further, avoid the shame, if not the guilt and perjury, by swearing the true intent and meaning to be, according to their comprehension, that which suits their purpose.*

THE ABORIGINES OF NEW ENGLAND.—PALFREY AND ARNOLD.—The poor Indian ever has been, and ever will be, a favorite theme with the poet, the philosopher and the historian. His history excites our strongest curiosity, his fate enlists our deepest sympathy, and his silence should command our highest candor. The little we know of the unhappy race is culled from the lips of their exterminator; indeed the relation of the two was not very unlike that of a cat or a weasel to a mouse, and it seems as if, with a kind of theological intensity, this antipathy, lingering, never dying, sometimes penetrates and distills its spirit even in the sober study.

Mr. Arnold, in his able *History of Rhode Island*, written with a truth-loving spirit worthy of Roger Williams, devotes some of his introductory pages to the characteristics, religion and life of the Indian, in the tone of an impartial and candid historian; by the side of this fresh volume lies Mr. Palfrey's new book, in which he also treats of the same topics. Each is presented to us as a well-considered and finished representation. Published at the same time and coming from independent sources, a comparison of them is naturally suggested, and the examination will be instructive and interesting.

The position from which Palfrey views the subject is easily indicated. He declines "entering into the question of an original diversity of the human race," but in the same breath declares that "few American animals, if indeed any one, can be referred to species known in the other hemisphere," and then positively avers that "the American Indians are a separate family of mankind," and quotes Morton! Indeed, it is beyond "question," in Mr. Palfrey's mind. Morton, Nott, Gliddon! The views of this school of philosophers may be found in a volume called *Types of Mankind*. Christian scholarship and philosophy have everywhere had but one voice on this matter.

With fitting confidence, the reverend author declares, in his Preface (xv) "with the belief

"which I entertain, I could not have been admitted to any Church established by the fathers, if, indeed, an attempt to propagate my belief would not have made me an exile from their Society." We believe it. Admirable basis for a *History of New England*! seeking place in her libraries, and readers among her sons and daughters! fit companion for the volume of Mosaic history!

The reader can already judge whether this be the work of a prejudiced or of a candid mind, whether it is a "history" or rather an essay on ethnology.

But we have only entered the vestibule, and now we will proceed—thus; "The native population of New England hold a low place in the scale of humanity the lymphatic temperament indicated the same preponderance in them of 'vegetative nature' which marked other animals of the same continent;" and to this lucid remark Guyot is quoted, that "there is even in the tropical man of the Old World, in Africa, at least, a somewhat . . . which places him higher than the Indian of tropical America."

Now what has "*tropical America*" to do with New England? We wish the ingenious author had condescended to point out the peculiar ethnological relation of the "*tropical American*" savage to the New England Indian.

"If they were continent, it can only be to coldness of constitution this was due; but no instance is recorded of their offering insult to a female captive, or soliciting her familiarity; and the coyness of their women repelled approach on the part of European visitors. If there was noticed a remarkable exemption from physical deformities, this was probably not the effect of any peculiar congenital force or completeness, but of circumstances which forbade the prolongation of any imperfect life Their demeanor, so grave, when exposed to notice, was apt to be taken for an indication of self-respect, but was equally susceptible of being interpreted as betokening a mere stolid vacuity of emotion and thought He knew no drink but water, except when he could flavor it with the sweet juice for which, in Spring, he tapped the rock-maple tree.

"If he drew lines and figures on trees and rocks, they might be for use in guiding him through the labyrinth of the forest, and possibly, in rare instances, for chronicles and memorials; but were never essays in fine arts.

"With such vital defects of understanding, we do not expect to find that he had accomplished anything in the way of scientific observation or discovery," but he "had learned the medicinal virtues of a few simples; they

"bound up wounds in bark, with mollifying preparations of leaves; and they practiced a cure of fevers by opening the pores of the skin with a vapor bath," but then "the treatment of disease is a matter which forces itself upon attention."

These extracts faithfully exhibit the manly candor which "the poor Indian" finds at the author's hands. His very virtues are put in a questionable shape, "if" he had any. The essay presents the Indian in his worst light; omits not a little that is favorable to his intelligence or creditable to his nature; and tortures even his good into sources of detraction. Any writer who will reverse Mr. Palfrey's method, and, without any theory or mock philosophy, present the aggregate of favorable matter candidly, will produce a picture of equal truth, and in strong contrast with this *bad* chapter. If any reader is in a mood for a literary scalping entertainment, let him read these pages we have noticed; and if he does not rise from the exhibition with sorrow, if not contempt, then nothing can disturb him.

Occasionally, the early voyagers and chroniclers are quoted; but, usually, it seems only for the sport of knocking them over with a rap of the philosopher's wand, raising a sneer at their credulity, or to discover their lack of penetration; for instance—"though the Indian passed most of his life under the open sky, it was not ascertained that his observations extended to any groupings of the stars;" and the proof of this is from Rosia, who says, "they have names for many stars;" from Winslow, that "they know divers of the stars by name;" and Roger Williams, that "they much observe the stars, and their very children can give names to many stars;" that "they give to the constellation of Ursa Major their own name for the bear;" and that "they designate the morning star, and two others." Again, of numbers, the Indian "scarcelly knew more than he could tell off on his fingers; his frequently recurring rhetoric respecting the sands on the beach and the leaves of the forests, was the natural shift of his arithmetical unskillfulness;" and to prove this are quoted Wood, the intelligent observer, the apostle Eliot, and Roger Williams, who gave the Indian numbers to twenty, to a thousand, and to an hundred thousand. The same criticism might not spare the Abrahamic blessing "as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon the seashore.

"There has been a disposition to attribute to the red man the power of eloquent speech. Never was a reputation so cheaply earned. A few allusions to familiar appearances in nature and to habits of animals constitute nearly all his topics for oratorical illus-

"tration. Take away his common places of the mountain and the thunder, the sunset and the waterfall, the eagle . . . and the material for his pomp of words is reduced within contemptible dimensions." The genial critic should next turn his attention to the simple rhetoric of the Gospels.

We must remember that "whatever information the European settlers obtained concerning the theories of the natives, on the subject of religion, reached them through the treacherous instrumentalities of a language," &c.; but what other source of information has the author, or can he have, in virtue of which this high commission of censorship is established. Really, at first blush, one would suppose that a little reverence is due to the intelligence, the learning, the judgment, the discernment of such men as we have quoted. But some modern philosophy was not "dreamed of" in those days of simple fact and faith, when Eliot and Williams had their eyes open.

We intended to have contrasted with this, Mr. Arnold's truly historical pages, but we must defer it, other than to say that his *object* is to be "reliable," and that a cursory examination shows that he is true to it; at least, on this subject he has not been warped by any preconceived ideas; not prejudging by whosale and damning theories, but with a gentle yet impartial spirit and a severity and thoroughness of study, he presents the whole truth, the good and the bad, and his picture is sad enough; yet there is an occasional gleam of light and warmth over the hard and ruined features. LENITAS.

—*Evening Transcript*, [Boston] Feb. 17, 1859.

REMOVAL OF AN OLD ESTABLISHMENT.—Messrs. Brewer & Tileston have announced their removal from their old quarters, No. 131 Washington-street, to a new place of business, 17 Milk-street. The quarters they relinquish and those they are to occupy are equally full of interest in the past. The latter is well known as the birth-place of Franklin. The old building on the westerly side of Washington-street, next below the corner of School-street, wherein they have hitherto transacted business, and whence they have just removed, was first occupied for a book-store by John West, in 1792. The same at that time numbered 75 Cornhill. His rent was £18. per annum, which was doubtless satisfactory for the times, especially under the complaint then made that the situation was "too high up in town"! Nevertheless, the premises, or that portion to be used for Mr. West's shop, were taken, and he there commenced business, continuing the same alone for fifteen or sixteen years. After this—about 1807—the firm be-

came successively John West & Company, West & Richardson (Eleazer T. F.), West, Richardson & Lord (Melvin), Richardson, Lord & Holbrook, (John C.) Subsequently, in the course of time, other changes and transfers of interest in the business and alterations in the firm occurred, until, finally, the establishment became vested in the present proprietors, Brewer & Tileston, who thus became the legitimate successors and representatives of the original establishment, which was begun seventy-eight years ago, under the same roof.

As evidence of the identity and continuity of this concern, though at times carried on under different managers and conduct, the fact may be stated that the now *Old Farmer's Almanac*, by Robert B. Thomas, for the year 1797, was published and issued by West from this identical building; and from this same spot, the same work has since been annually issued by his several successors, until and including the present year, 1870.

Likewise other long-standing copyright works have descended from one and another of the concern down to the present owners. The proprietors of this establishment have, at all times, been largely engaged in the publication of school-books, and have undoubtedly issued more works of this kind and in greater numbers than any other house in New England; the present parties being still extensively engaged in that department of trade, supplying more or less all parts of the country with some of the best school books, from the Primary Spelling-book to the great Quarto Dictionary of Dr. Worcester.

Boston, February 16th 1870.

M. L.

REMINISCENCES OF THE BURR TRIAL AND ANDREW JACKSON.—The *Richmond Enquirer* publishes some interesting details of the Burr trial, in 1807, obtained from Mr. Thomas H. Drew, of Richmond, a gentleman now eighty-six years old, who was a Deputy United States Marshal at the time.

Mr. Drew traveled on horseback from Richmond to the Ohio-river, and through other parts of the State, in quest of competent jurors, who were hard to get. (John Randolph, of Roanoke, it will be remembered, was foreman of the jury.) The trial commenced on Monday, the ninth of August. We quote from the *Enquirer*:

"On Monday morning, when Court opened, every man of the twelve answered to his name; and Colonel Burr vied with his Counsel, Messrs. Wickham, Benjamin Botts, Jack Barker, John Lee of Alexandria, and Luther Martin of Maryland, in efforts to get from these

"uncouth and unlettered veniemen, admissions which would disqualify them. The first man called was named Creele (there were three of this name summoned), and all manner of questions were asked him. In response to one, he said it was reported in his neighborhood that Colonel Burr was too intimate with Mrs. Blannerhassett. The Creeles went originally from Prince William-county, and were rejected, as were all the rest of the twelve, except Morrison, because they had either made up or expressed an opinion as to the guilt of the accused. Morrison was asked why it was that everybody else in his neighborhood had formed an opinion in regard to Colonel Burr's alleged treason except himself, to which he replied that one day he heard one thing and the next day the reverse, and not knowing which to believe he had formed no opinion. Finding he could not be gotten rid of by that process, Colonel Burr remarked, excitedly, 'then I resort to the peremptory challenge.' Morrison, with strong Irish tongue, as he left the stand remarked, 'My name is a terror to you.' Morrison's Christian name was Hamilton.

"One morning, during the trial, Mr. Drew went to the post-office, then on Tenth-street, between Main and Cary, about where Ainslie's shops now stand, and the Postmaster informed him that, from an inscription made on the back of a letter, by the Postmaster at New York, he had learned that a vessel had arrived there from Havana, which met the New Orleans packet going into that port, with General Wilkinson and staff on board, who were en route for Richmond, to attend the Burr trial. Mr. Drew mentioned this, and it reached General Jackson's ears, who was then stopping at the old Washington-Tavern (now the Monumental). Old Hickory, it was said, thereupon remarked that Wilkinson would never come to Richmond while he was here—using a pretty strong figure, as was his habit, to give expression to his opinion. The General did come, however, two days afterwards, and astonished the city by the glitter and glare of his epaulettes and elaborately decorated uniform. He testified in the case, but General Jackson did not—why, Mr. Drew never heard.

"Colonel Burr having been arrested in Mississippi, then a Territory, was taken before its District Court. It, therefore, became necessary for the United States Attorney, George Poindexter, afterwards United States Senator, to come to Richmond as a witness. He rode all the way on horseback; and was not examined for two days after his arrival. He thus had time to note and consider the manner in which

"witnesses were used by the Counsel for the Defence. While on the stand, Mr. Wirt asked him what the Practice was, in Mississippi, to which he replied, 'We endeavor to follow the Common Law of England very closely.' "

"Luther Martin thereupon sarcastically said, 'I reckon it is very common law you have in Mississippi.' " The witness said nothing for a moment; and death-like stillness pervaded the court-room. Then turning to the Chief-justice, he said: 'I have noticed the treatment of witnesses in this case, and I waited when insulted, just now, for the Court to protect me, but it did not, and I now tell Counsel that I shall hold them personally responsible, out of Court, for every word of affront offered me here.' " The Chief-justice, Mr. Drew says, remarked that he had observed, with pain, the course of the examination, and if gentlemen would persist in transcending the privileges of Counsel, they must take the consequences.

"The Jury brought in a verdict which was not in the usual form of Guilty or Not Guilty, but that, from the evidence before them, they could not find the prisoner guilty. Colonel Burr was indignant, and complained, with great feeling. A discussion of several hours followed; but the Chief-justice refused to interfere, and the verdict was recorded as first written."

[From the Mobile Register.]

We publish, in another place, an interesting account of some of the details of the famous trial of Aaron Burr, taken from the Richmond *Enquirer*. The part of it relating to Generals Wilkinson and Jackson recalls the memory of an incident related by the late Dr. William Crump, of Powhattan-county, Virginia, who was Minister to Chili under Mr. Tyler's administration. We give it from memory, where it has slumbered unwritten for long years:

Our informant—then a very young man—had been in Richmond in attendance on the Burr trial, or in expectation of it, but had occasion to visit his paternal home, in Powhattan-county, and was traveling thitherward, on horseback. He stopped at Hopkinsville to refresh himself and horses in the noon of a hot summer day. As he dismounted and entered the porch, he observed, walking up and down, in a state of much excitement, as it seemed, a man about forty years of age—tall, angular, sinewy, and swarthy. "I saw at once that he was not a gentleman," said the narrator of the incident—himself one of the most polished gentlemen of the Old Virginia school—"for he wore a black cravat; and, at that time, no gentleman wore a black cravat." His appearance, dress, and manner, in general, were unprepossessing to the young Virginian, and he was evidently in an ill humor.

The proprietor of the hotel made his appearance; and young Crump soon learned that the stranger was on his way to Richmond, but his horse had become so lame that he was unable to go any further. He had been trying to hire a horse from the proprietor; but the latter had only two, one of which was in the field, plowing, and the other had "gone to mill." It was for the return of this animal that the dark stranger was impatiently waiting, under a conditional promise from the landlord, whom, in the meantime, he was plying with other impracticable suggestions.

The landlord, who was well acquainted with Crump, asked him the news in Richmond, and especially the news from the Burr trial. As soon as he heard the question, the stranger turned to Crump, and, with a bluntness and imperiousness of manner that were not altogether agreeable, asked:

"You are just from Richmond, then, young man?"

"Yes."

"Is General Wilkinson there?"

"No—nor General Jackson."

"What do they say in Richmond about these two men?"

"Well," answered Crump, "the friends of General Jackson say that Wilkinson will not come at all; the friends of General Wilkinson say that Jackson is not coming."

There was a big oath—perhaps there were more than one—in the answer. Then turning to the landlord, the stranger added;

"I can't wait any longer. I must have that mare from your field, if I have to buy her. What is she worth?"

The landlord declined to sell, and still protested against having his only work-horse taken from the plow; but the stern stranger would listen to no excuse.

"Here are forty dollars," said he, "which will pay you for the hire of the mare and the loss of time. If you demand more, say so. My gelding, that I leave with you, is worth two hundred dollars, and will be sufficient security for the return of the mare. My name is Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee. Have the mare saddled at once."

The landlord made a last vain effort for time enough to have his mare fed. Jackson was already by this time fairly mounted on his high horse, and would brook no delay. In a very few minutes, he was in the saddle; and the last that young Crump saw of him was, as he passed, at full trot, the brow of the long acclivity in the road just East of Hopkinsville.

over the old Annals, we find that the common idea that the first Bank was established in Philadelphia, is a total mistake. A bank was established, seventy years before the period which is assigned as that of the first bank in Pennsylvania. In 1712, the Legislature of South Carolina established a Public Bank, and issued forty-eight thousand pounds, in bills of trust. These bills were called Bonds Bills; and the establishment was called a Public Bank. These were lent out at interest, or loaned on personal security.—*N. Y. Chronicle.*

OLD COINS AND MEDALS.—At a large sale of old coins and medals in this city Wednesday the following were some of the prices realized: Cent, 1793, \$3 15; pattern pieces, half dollar, 1838, extremely rare, \$7 37, and another at a little less price; cents, 1850 \$1 75 a \$1 95; half cent; nickel, 1855, \$1 67. Pine tree two-pence, 1652, \$3 75; do. three-pence, \$3 25; Pine tree shilling, 1652: \$1 20 a \$4 37. Colonial coins—Kentucky cent, \$3; New York cent, \$1 50 each; U. S. bar cents, \$1 50; Rosa Americana half-penny, a \$1 15, Virginia 1773, \$1 75; Auctore Plebis, \$1 95; Connecticut cents, 10 a 77; Vermont cents, 10 a 75; Massachusetts, 25 a \$1 30; New Jersey, 10 a \$1 30 Medals—Lincoln, \$2 20; Eccleston, \$4 25; Success to the United States, four, at \$1 15 each. Liverpool half-penny, \$1 05; Washington Grate cent. \$1 35.—*Boston Journal, Nov. 19, 1869.*

XI.—BOOKS.

1.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

A.—OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

1.—*University of the State of New York. Eighty-third Annual Report of the Regents of the University. Made to the Legislature, March 2, 1870. Albany: The Argus Company. 1870. Octavo. pp. xxxviii, 732.*

This large volume contains the record, for 1869, of New York's State-institutions for imparting a genteel education, very much at the general expense, to the few who can spare the time to enjoy that luxury. It is, too, the record of that dogged devotion, on the part of the gentility and of those who aspire to be genteel, to the by-gone and useless literature and ideas which, they suppose, were Grecian and Roman, or old-time English and French; and

THE FIRST BANK OF AMERICA.—In looking

the equally dogged contempt of every thing which is likely to be practically useful, in the every-day life and occupation of a republican, in America. It is the record of mis-spent labor and monies, by undue division, on imperfectly educated young men and young women, whose education could be made more thorough and more useful, to themselves and to the State, if there were fewer "Colleges," and better, instead of the struggling institutions, at every cross-road, whose respectability, as educators, is hardly equal to that of a respectable high-school.

As a specimen of what we condemn, there is scarcely any allusion to our own country, its literature, its institutions, its polity, or its history, in any of the Reports; while Columbia-college contents herself, in *any* history, with presenting Willson's *Outlines of Universal History* and *Livy* as her only text-books, and teaching "the Preface and first Book" of the latter, and "as far as the invasion of Greece by the Persians," to her Freshmen, and "from the foundation of Rome to the Battle of Actium" to her Sophomores—nothing this side of the Battle of Actium, except the handling of five or six millions of property invested in this enterprise, seeming to be worthy of the attention of the fossils who control the destinies and the properties of that institution.

Nor is Columbia-college an exceptional case. There is evidently a growing propensity, in our more refined classes, especially among educators, to consider as "vulgar" whatever is American, and to pass, as of little importance, whatever is not of Greece or Rome, France or England. The consequence is a gradual, but certain, undermining of our old-fashioned republican simplicity of habits and of our old-fashioned republican policy, and as certain and steady an approach to imperialism. We may not live to see it—we hope we shall not—but that people has been more than one-half conquered whose tastes have been corrupted and whose inclinations have been turned toward the enemy of the country.

Mr. Pratt, the excellent Assistant Secretary of the Regents, has continued his *Annals of Public Education in the State of New York*, commenced in a former volume of the Regents' Reports; but as it has been presented in another form, we shall defer our notice of it until we shall refer to it as a "Privately printed work."

2.—*The Legislative Manual of the State of Wisconsin*, comprising Jefferson's *Manual*, *Rules*, *Forms*, and *Laws* for the regulation of business; also, *Lists* and *Tables* for reference. Compiled by the Secretary of State, in the year 1870. Ninth Annual Edition. Madison, Wis.: Atwood & Rublee, State Printers. 1870. Octavo, pp. 392.

One half of the volume is occupied with the Federal and State Constitutions and the Parliamentary Manual and Rules of Order of the two

Houses of the State Legislature; and these are followed by *Annals of the Legislature*, or complete lists of members of each House, from the First Session, in 1836, until the last, in 1869, and tables exhibiting the dates of the meeting and adjournment of each Session; its length, in days; and the number of Representatives. Similar lists of Territorial and State Officers follow these *Annals*; and a great body of Miscellaneous and Election Statistics, relating to Wisconsin; lists of Officers of existing Federal and State Governments—including the Legislature for 1870—and a good Index close the volume.

The value of such a volume, for reference, to all who have anything to do either with or about Wisconsin will be evident to every one.

The volume is a very neat one.

3.—*Governor's Message and accompanying Documents of the State of Wisconsin. For the Year 1869.* Madison, Wis.: Atwood & Culver, State Printers. 1870. Octavo, pp. (Message) 24, (I.) 29, 300, (II.) 40, (III.) 20, (IV.) 20, (V.) 38, (VI.) 24, (VII.) 52, (VIII.) 48, (IX.) 81, (X.) 196, 188, (XI.) 81, (XII.) 83, (XIII. Adjutant and Quarter-master-general's Reports) 122.

In this portly volume we have a complete exhibit of the internal condition of Wisconsin, by her Governor, for the year 1869. It is a volume of great value to all who are interested in the progress to greatness of that thriving young State.

4.—*Water Communication between the Mississippi and the Lakes.* Memorial to the Congress of the United States, and Supplement, on the improvement of the navigation of the Wisconsin and Fox-rivers submitted by the Canal Conventions held at Prairie-du-Chien, in the State of Wisconsin, Nov. 10, 1868, and at Portage City, Oct. 20, 1869, and the Proceedings of the Conventions. Prepared for publication, under the direction of Lucius Fairchild, Governor of the State of Wisconsin. Madison, Wis.: 1870. Octavo, pp. 88.

The opening of a communication between the Mississippi and the Lakes is a subject which very nearly affects the best interests of the entire West and South-west; and there is no reason for surprise that there is so much anxiety on the subject. Convention after Convention has been held to urge the work upon Congress; and the volume before us is the Memorial of one of the Conventions referred to. It is illustrated with Maps and supplemented with elaborate Appendices; and, altogether, it is a very important local.

We have looked at the prayer and find that Congress is asked to only improve the navigation of an already navigable river, a distance of one hundred and eighteen miles, at an estimated cost of half a million dollars; and we have asked ourselves if all this fuss is made for so small an affair—four Governors, in as many States, uniting in a call for one of the Conventions—how small the subject must be, to ensure its execution with-

out the assistance of the *Federal* authorities? Verily, the old fable of the wagoner and Jupiter may be usefully read by these infantile communities, who run to Washington with every petty want.

5.—*The Roll of Honor*. (No. XXV.) Names of Soldiers who died in the defense of the Union, interred in the National Cemeteries at Fredericksburg, Va.; Mobile, Ala.; and Fort Gibson, Indian Territory; and names not heretofore published of Union Soldiers interred in the National Cemeteries at Hampton, Va.; Barrancas, Fl.; and Alexandria, La. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1870. Octavo, pp. 336.

The record of the last resting-place of twenty-five thousand, seven hundred, and sixty-six soldiers is made in this volume, the twenty-fifth of the series; and the arrangement of the record and the neatness of the printing render it a volume of great interest.

6.—*Statistics exhibiting the History, Climate, and Productions of the State of Wisconsin*, prepared for the State Board of Immigration. Published by Order of the Legislature. Madison, Wis.: Octavo, pp. 76.

Ystadegau o Adnoddau, Cynrychiol, a Phoblogarth Talaeith Wisconsin. Madison, Wis.: s.a. Octavo, pp. 32.

Wisconsin. Ein Bericht über Bevölkerung, Boden, Klima, Handel, und die industriellen Verhältnisse dieses Staates im Nordwesten der nordamerikanischen Union, Mit zwei Tabellen über Münzen, Masse und Gewichte Deutschlands und Amerikas sowie einer Karte. Veröffentlichung von der Staats-Einwanderungs Commission. Dritte Auflage. Milwaukee: s. a. Octavo, pp. 60.

Beskrivelse over Staten Wisconsin. Dens Klimat, Jordbund, Ugedyrkning samt Natur-og Kunst produkter. Udgivet efter Legislatorens Ordre af Statens Immigrations-Department. La Crosse, Wis: 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 40.

Wisconsin. Een verslag der bevolking, des bodems, en klimats en van Handel en Nijverheid, van dezen Staat in het Noordwesten der Noord-Amerikaanische unie, met bygaande kaart uitgegeven door de Staats-Commissarissen der Landverhuizing. Gedrukt te Milwaukee op de Stoompers der *Herald*. Octavo, pp.

Statistiques sur l'Etat du Wisconsin. Histoire-Climat—Productions. Publié par ordre de la Legislature. New York: 1868. Octavo, pp. 36.

This curious series of pamphlets, in English, Welsh, German, Norwegian, Low Dutch, and French, has been prepared for circulation, in Europe and elsewhere, in order to attract to Wisconsin, a portion of the mighty stream of population which is constantly flowing into our sea-ports, and thence westward.

The day is not far distant when these early sketches of the natural advantages which that State offers to settlers will be sought for, by those who will need them; and those who collect such "locals" should "make hay while 'the sun shines,'" by securing copies while they may be had.

7.—*Transactions of the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society*, with the Report of the State Horticultural Society and tabular abstracts of the Reports of County Agricultural

Societies. Vol. VIII, 1869. Prepared by J. W. Hoyt, Secretary. Madison, Wis.: 1870. Octavo, pp. 520.

The Reports of the Wisconsin Society have generally, we believe, contained more or less material for others besides farmers; and some of the most important portions of Wisconsin's historical and topographical literature, we are told, are to be found in the volumes of that Society's Reports. We were not unprepared, therefore, to find something of the same character in this volume: and the record of Wisconsin's mining, manufacturing, and commercial history, during 1869, extending over nearly sixty octavo pages, which we found there, is not unworthy of the Society's high reputation. Of course, the agricultural interests of the State are also duly noticed, in all their varied features; and the neatness of the volume will increase the pleasure which it will afford to every studious reader who shall resort to its pages.

8.—*Annual Reports of the Adjutant General and Quartermaster General of the State of Wisconsin, for the Fiscal Year ending Sept. 30th 1870*. Madison, Wis.: Atwood & Culver, State Printers. 1870. Octavo, pp. 84.

Besides an exceedingly brief presentation of the apathy which prevails, towards the military department, and as brief, but quite as urgent, an appeal for support from the tax-payers, there is nothing in these Reports which are worthy of notice—the re-production, from the Federal War Department's *Roll of Honor*, of the record of the burial-places of Wisconsin's dead is useful only to those who have not access to the latter.

9.—*Iowa: the house for Emigrants* being a treatise on the Resources of Iowa, and giving useful information with regard to the State, for the benefit of immigrants and others. Published by order of the Iowa Board of Immigration. Des Moines: Mills & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. 96.

This very handsome tract appears to be the first issue, by Iowa, for the information of those who are seeking homes in the West; and we notice in it a radical difference, in the character of its information and in the mode of imparting it, from those of the pamphlets, elsewhere noticed, in this number, issued for the same purpose, by the State of Wisconsin. It may be, that Iowa intends to appeal, through this volume, to our countrymen, those of New England who are abandoning their ancestral acres and crowding into the West; and, in that case, she could not have presented, in a more appropriate form or dress, the information she has to offer. But, for the use of those in foreign lands, who know nothing of the United States and are not very easily taught, it is hardly as well adapted, as it should be—it is too learned, if we may use the term. It presumes, too much, that the readers of this pamphlet, in the cottages and workshops of Europe, desire to know something of Iowa which

only very different classes will desire; and it is better adapted, therefore, to inform the already intelligent, cultivated reader, than to instruct the positively ignorant, from their ABC, concerning the West, in general, and Iowa, in particular.

As a hand book of Iowa, for permanent reference, it is admirable; and its neat dress adds to its attractions.

10.—*Eighteenth Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Indiana*. Being the fifth biennial Report, and for the years ending August 31, 1869, and August 31, 1870. To the General Assembly. Indianapolis: Alexander H. Conner, State Printer. 1870. Octavo, pp. 173, 180.

We are indebted to Governor Baker for this Report, in detail, of the Educational Department of the State Government, during the past two years; and we have carefully examined it.

We have not the room to spare for that purpose, or we should notice, at length, some of the absurdities of the author of this Report, in his zeal to fasten his State-school system in all its ugliness, on the inhabitants of Indiana. We wish we could find room for some of his recommendations and his reasons for presenting them; but we cannot. We content ourselves, therefore, by saying that the pedagogical Superintendent of Public Education, in Indiana, has not yet learned what it is to be a plain republican nor what the duties of a Republic are, to its members. He would make an admirable despot, in politics, or an admirable bigot, in religion; and his place is not in Indiana, but in Hungary or Poland, where the sovereign administrators not only the Civil but the Ecclesiastical Law, and demands the allegiance of not only the bodies but the souls of his subjects.

11.—*Twenty-second Annual Report of the Inspectors and Superintendent of the Albany Penitentiary, with the accompanying Documents, made December 18, 1870*. Albany: J. Munsell. 1870.

This Report comes from a model prison, at the head of which is the well-known General Pillsbury; and we may expect to find in it much that is important. Let us open it, and read.

FIRST: The *profits* of the establishment, during the year ending October 31, 1870, amounted to \$18,132.92—nearly one-third of the gross receipts of the establishment. This seems to be a profitable business: may not there be more establishments of this kind?

SECOND: Of the one thousand and ninety-three prisoners admitted, only fifty-three were Germans and three hundred and fifty-two Irish, while five hundred and sixty-eight were Americans. How does this tally with the outcry about the "ignorant foreigners" crowding our prisons, as criminals?

THIRD: Of the one thousand and ninety-three,

only two hundred "claimed to be temperate," while eight hundred and ninety three "admitted they were intemperate." This speaks poorly for rum and rum-mills, to say nothing of side-boards and private bottles.

FOURTH: Of the one thousand and ninety-three, only three hundred and forty-three "could neither read or write," while one hundred and eighty-two could read, and five hundred and sixty-three could both read and write. How does this agree with the pretence that *education prevents crime*? What will those say to this exhibit, who tell us that State-schools are conservators of the common weal, and necessary, since they say, virtue and intelligence go hand-in-hand?

12.—*Geological Survey of Ohio*. Part I. Report of Progress in 1869, by J. S. Newberry, Chief Geologist. Part II. Report of Progress in the Second District. By E. B. Andrews, Asst. Geologist. Part III. Report on Geology of Montgomery County, by Edward Orton, Asst. Geologist. Columbus: Columbus Printing Co., State Printers. 1870. Octavo, pp. 164.

Very few of the States have done so little for Science and the Arts, by neglecting to make proper surveys of their territories, as Ohio; and yet how necessary has it been, for the best interests of her citizens, that a different policy should be pursued.

After a couple of years service, in the field, at an expense of twenty-four thousand dollars, the financial crash of 1837 so alarmed the Legislature that the surveyors were dismissed; and not until 1869 was any authority given for a renewal of the work. The operations of the new Survey, authorized by the Act of March, 1869, commenced on the first of June of that year; and the first duty of the Corps, "the accurate determination of the geological structure of Ohio," seems to have been as carefully discharged as the facilities of modern Science will allow.

The volume before us, very neatly printed and carefully illustrated, records the results of the Summer's work; and we shall avail ourselves of its teachings, before long, in a more careful examination of the history and results of all the Surveys of Ohio than we can now afford to give them. Until that shall be done, we dismiss the subject.

13.—*Health and Education*. A Report on Health in the Schools, made by a Special Committee appointed for that purpose, by the School Committee of Providence. Providence: 1870. Octavo, pp. 80.

This is one of the most sensible works of the kind that we have seen; and its teachings should be laid before every parent and every teacher in the country.

B.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

14.—*Fitchburg in the War of the Rebellion.* By Henry A. Willis. Fitchburg: Stephen Shepley. 1866. Octavo, pp. 282.

It is well that some towns, as such, are not unmindful of their honor; and that the records of what they are and what they have been are perfected and sent down the stream of time, for the instruction of those who shall come after.

The volume before us is one of those records. It tells of what Fitchburg did, when the War of Secession reared its terrible front and what her burghers endured while that scourge was laid on our country.

It opens with the reception of the news from Sumter, in April, 1861—not in 1860, as the printer has made the author mis-state it—and it presents, one by one, the histories of the nine full Companies which were sent out from that town and glances, one after another, at that of the several Regiments of which those Companies were parts. Then follow narratives of the various Calls for troops and of the several Drafts; of the organized relief which was afforded to Soldiers and Soldiers' families; of the lives and services of those who died in the service; of the public obsequies of those who were buried in Fitchburg; of those who were imprisoned in the military prisons of the Confederacy; of the Receptions of returning Regiments; etc.; and a careful Roster of both Officers and men closes the volume—there is no Index to the work.

The plan adopted by the author is as full and as well-chosen as it conveniently could be; and, generally, the narratives are well-written and well-sustained by official documents. We congratulate Fitchburg that her history, during the recent struggle, has fallen into the hands of so judicious a scribe; and that her record has been so carefully and yet so modestly written. We would that the records of other Towns might be similarly written, and with as little extravagance of statement and as much earnest simplicity.

The volume is very fairly printed, if we except such carelessness as that already noticed; and it must be a very welcome testimonial to all who are residents of Fitchburg or interested in its good name.

15.—*The Bench and Bar of New York.* Containing biographical sketches of eminent Judges and Lawyers of the New-York Bar, incidents of the important trials in which they were engaged, and anecdotes connected with their professional, political, and judicial career. By L. B. Proctor. New York: Dosey & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. viii., 779.

This volume is not at all extended in its range of subjects, as representatives of the New York Bar; nor can we admit that its author has displayed much skill in making his selection. We miss, for instance, the sketches of such

leading minds as William Smith, William Livingston, John Morin Scott, James De Lancey, Colonel Burr, General Hamilton, Colonel Troup, Elisha Williams, Daniel D. Tompkins, Thomas J. Oakley, John Duer, Edward Livingston, James Kent, Martin Van Buren; although we have those of Benjamin F. Butler, Ogden Hoffman, Nicholas Hill, George P. Barker, James T. Brady, and other distinguished members of the more modern Bar, with casual reference to other gentlemen, both of an earlier and later period.

The sketches which are presented, as far as we have examined them, are very well written; and will serve an excellent purpose for merely general reading. They are, however, only sketches; presenting no close analysis of character and offering no criticism, beyond the ordinary common place expressions, of either the cases, the arguments, or the decisions which are referred to. They abound in anecdotes; portray the Courts and the contemporary Bar before whom the several subjects moved; and refer to the leading cases in which the subjects participated, as Counsel or Judges.

The volume is a very neat one.

16.—*The Bob Roy on the Jordan, Nile, Red Sea, and Gennesareth, etc.* A Canoe cruise in Palestine and Egypt, and the waters of Damascus. By J. Macgregor, M. A. With maps and illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 464.

The writer of this handsome volume made the remarkable canoe-voyage, through Egypt, Palestine, etc., of which the newspapers have told us so much; and within its pages are recorded the various adventures to which he was subjected.

It is a most interesting volume, relative to regions which are peculiarly attractive because of their antiquity and their connection with the men of old, who figure in the narratives of the Scriptures.

It is handsomely illustrated; and will be eagerly read by those who seek further information concerning the countries to which we have referred.

17.—*The Andes and the Amazon; or, across the Continent of South America.* By James Orton, M. A. With a Map of Equatorial America and numerous Illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Octavo, pp. 356.

In July, 1867, a party of gentlemen engaged in a scientific expedition to the equatorial Andes and the Amazon-river, under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution. It was composed of Professors Orton, of Vassar College, Staunton, of Ingham University, F. S. Williams, of Albany, and Myers and Bushnell of Williams College; and, after crossing the Isth-

mus of Panama and touching at Paíta, in Peru, the route pursued was from Guayaquil to Quito, over the Eastern Cordillera; thence over the Western Cordillera, and through the forest, on foot, to Napo; down the Rio Napo, by canoe, to Pebas, on the Marañon; and thence, by steamboat, to Para.

The narrative of this expedition, with some of the results, is in the handsome volume which is before us; and the story is certainly one of the most interesting, both for those who are inclined to be scientific in their tastes and for the general reader. We have room for only one or two features, which particularly attracted our attention.

The learned author, by his dedication to Charles Darwin, would seem to be a disciple of that philosopher; yet, while discussing the mixed races which inhabit Quito, he frankly confronts his master, and insists that, notwithstanding the mixed offspring of whites and Indians, which principally constitute the inhabitants of that city, it "is wonderfully free from 'ugly features.'"

Our ethnological readers will be pleased to learn that there is, in the Appendix of this volume, vocabularies from the Quichna, Zaparo, Yagua, and Campas languages; and the very full Index will gratify every reader.

The illustrations which embellish the volume are very good; and the typography is excellent.

18.—*Memorials of Methodism in New Jersey*, from the foundation of the first Society in the State, in 1770, to the completion of the first twenty years of its history. Containing sketches of the Ministerial Laborers, Distinguished Laymen, and prominent Societies of that period. By Rev. John Atkinson. Second Edition. Philadelphia: Perkinpine & Higgins, 1880. Octavo. pp. 435. Price \$1.75.

We call the attention of our readers, in this place, to what, to us, has been hitherto an unknown "local," of great value. The burden of its contents is clearly indicated on its title-page; but there are incidental allusions in it, to other matters besides Methodism which entitle the work to the respectful attention of all who shall desire to look into the details of that portion of New Jersey's history.

We are sure that many of our readers will thank us for thus calling their attention to what is really a useful book for the general reader as well as for the mere collector of "locals."

19.—*History of Raynham, Mass.*, from its first settlement to the present time. By Rev. Enoch Sanford, A. M. Providence: Hammond, Angell, & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. 61.

In 1793, the Pastor of the Town Church, the Rev. Doctor Forbes, published a history of this ancient Town; and, in this very handsome tract, we have another History, in which the

Town's annals are brought down from its first settlement to the present time.

There is not much to be said of the Town nor its inhabitants that will either startle the reader or excite his curiosity; but the quiet, industrious community—mixed in its pursuits, being both agricultural and manufacturing—has kept on its steady course of prosperity, slowly increasing in numbers and wealth while others have retrograded, and steadily maintaining its high character for the general good habits of its members and for their general thriftiness.

In this tract, the simple annals of this country Town are briefly but clearly exhibited; and, as the reader proceeds from one subject to another, each recorded with commendable particularity and yet with judicious brevity, he will feel that the Town has been fortunate in having secured so industrious and yet so discreet an annalist. Nothing seems to have been passed without notice; and we are sure that, both within and without Raynham, the work will be found a useful one.

It is very neatly printed by Knowles, Angell & Co., of Providence.

20.—*A List of Sees and Bishops in the Holy Eastern Church*. Philadelphia: McCalla & Stavelly, Printers. 1870. Octavo pp. 10.

This tract contains a list of the Patriarchs, Metropolitans, Archbishops, and many of the Bishops of the Greek Church, in Russia, Greece, Palestine, etc., with the dates of their ordination, where they had previously served, etc.

It is interesting to those whose tastes lead them to the study of modern ecclesiastical history; while its beauty, as a specimen of typography will secure for it the admiration of every one.

21.—*The Whisky War in Adrian; or, The Trials and Triumphs of Prohibition in Lenawee-county, Mich.* A Discourse delivered at the M. E. Church in Adrian, Michigan, July 17, 1870, by Rev. J. S. Smart. Detroit, Mich.: J. M. Arnold & Co. Same anno. Octavo, pp. 33.

Adrian seems to have been the theater of a most vigorous contest, during the past two years, between those who favored Prohibition and those who favored the traffic in Liquor, either with or without license; and the contest seems to have been conducted with a degree of vigor and resolute determination, on either hand, which seriously threatened, at one time, the peace and business prosperity of the city, and ended only with the present triumph of the Temperance-men.

In the pamphlet before us, we find a narrative of this unusual contest; and, besides the interest which it possesses to every teetotaler, it is

interesting to all collectors as a Michigan "local."

22.—*Martin Van Buren's Calumnies Refuted.* Hamilton's conduct as Secretary of the Treasury vindicated. [By] James A. Hamilton. New York: Scribner & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. 54.

Some year or so ago, the son of Mr. Van Buren published a manuscript *Inquiry*, which his father had left among his manuscripts, concerning the *Origin and Course of Political Parties in the United States*, which we noticed, briefly, soon after it appeared. It was, at most, if we remember aright, only a fragment of an unfinished work; was necessarily incomplete; and had not received the final touches of its distinguished author.

It seems that three sentences in this volume reflected, very briefly but very emphatically, on the official character and conduct of General Hamilton, while Secretary of the Treasury, charging him, *First*: with having "been faithful to one of the most sacred trusts that can be placed in man;" *Second*: with having done "more than any one, he had almost said than all his contemporaries, to counteract the will of the people and to subvert, by undermining, the Constitution of their choice;" and, *Third*: that his "course was an outrage upon liberty and a crime against free government." Against these passing allusions to his father, our venerable friend, Colonel James A. Hamilton, has been pleased to issue this formidable *Vindication*; and we have pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of a copy of it, from him.

This *Vindication* opens, after a brief recital of the case, with an examination of the expressed opinions, concerning "Hamilton's measures," of Mr. Jefferson, in which the latter bears testimony to the popularity of the measures of the new Administration, in 1790 and 1791—among which the particular measures which were designated as "Hamilton's" were very prominent. He then turns, successively, to these several measures,—Protective Tariff, the Funding System, the Assumption of State Debts—and introduces the testimony, concerning each of them, of Messrs. Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, John Q. Adams, Jackson, Van Buren, Gallatin, etc., all of which tends to approve, in certain cases, the principles involved in each of the measures which are called "Hamilton's."

Colonel Hamilton also defends his father, in the same manner, from Mr. Van Buren's charges that "Hamilton's funding system was drawn from that of Great Britain;" that "there was no warrant in the Constitution for the establishment of a National Bank;" that the Sedition Law "was passed upon Hamilton's suggestion;" that he "moused over the words

"of the Constitution for equivocal expressions;" that the measures of the Federal Party and its successors, as a whole, were "a contrivance invented for the purpose of corruption, and for assimilating us in all respects to the rotten as well as the sound parts of the British Constitution;" that General Hamilton had a design "to change this Government and give it a monarchical form;" etc. He strangely speaks of the Confiscation Acts as a "violation of the provisions of the Treaty of Peace;" of the three co-ordinate Departments, at Washington, as a "Government;" of the submission of the proposed Constitution "by the Congress to Conventions to be held in the several States, the members thereof to be elected by the people;" that "Jefferson was opposed to adoption, unless the proposed Constitution was amended;" that "the next parties were essentially personal;" etc. He then seems to consider that *The Fœderalist* needs certificates in order to sustain its respectability; and accordingly produces some, from authorities of very little weight; and a few facts, concerning the preparation of that work follow—it would have better pleased us had he presented more of the information concerning that celebrated work which is undoubtedly in his possession.

He glances at the history of the Administration of Washington; considers the division of parties, with Jefferson and Hamilton at their respective heads, as "essentially personal, resulting from the ambitious aspirations of Jefferson;" descends so far as to cite what various anti-Democratic writers have said of the latter; and draws the conclusion, by inference, that Mr. Van Buren was inspired, while writing the sentences which form the basis of the *Vindication*, by no other than his "illustrious predecessor," Thomas Jefferson.

We regret that Colonel Hamilton has employed his pen in the preparation of such a *Vindication*. We regret that he has not remembered that while it is his duty to favor General Hamilton's official action and to defend it against all comers, no such obligation rested on Mr. Van Buren; and that the latter was just as much entitled to maintain his views, concerning some portions of General Hamilton's official conduct, as the Colonel himself is. We regret it, too, because there are two sides to all these several subjects; and, very often, the side which is in the shade, out of sight, is quite as respectable as that on which the sun shines. How much better it would have been, therefore, we respectfully submit, to have let General Hamilton's reputation rest where it was, than to demand a general homage to it, the world over, with penalties on those who do not see fit thus to honor it; and thus to challenge the world to make inquiries

where it would not otherwise have done so, and to expose defects in his character and indiscretion in his action to which the great body of mankind was previously a stranger.

Colonel Hamilton has been pleased, however, to differ from us; and as he has opened the door, he must not expect that those who differ from him will not enter his castle and join issue with him, under his own roof, concerning his own household.

It matters little, in the abstract, what General Hamilton's opponents said of some of his individual measures; since those measures are not the particular subjects which are under examination. The expediency and constitutionality of the Protective Policy, of the Funding System, and of the Bank had little to do with Hamilton's general fidelity to his trusts, as a public officer; with his fidelity, as a citizen, to the *Constitution for the United States*, as it was established "between the States," by the several States, themselves; or with his respect for the cause of "liberty" and "free government," generally. These, and not merely the propriety of adopting "the measures of Hamilton," first referred to, should have been vindicated by the Colonel, if anything was to be vindicated; and he should not thus have overlooked the very purpose which originally aroused him and thus have wandered into an explanation of less important and wholly irrelevant subjects, without, for a single moment, returning to the original questions. The effect of all this is, that while he has admirably succeeded in showing that, in every question which he has been pleased to discuss, Messrs. Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, etc., were *as much in accord with Hamilton as he himself is*, and, therefore, *quite as much Hamiltonians as he is*, he has entirely neglected the particular vindication which he promised; and has left on the title-page and in the statement of the facts, in his first paragraph, all that we are permitted to know of either the alleged misrepresentation by Mr. Van Buren, or the promised vindication, by himself.

It seems to us that Colonel Hamilton continues to owe it to the world to rescue his father's reputation, if Mr. Van Buren has really outraged it and if he can properly vindicate it, notwithstanding this pamphlet has been issued; and we are sure that he will not be slow to correct his oversight and to finish the work which he has so far, only commenced.

23.—*Willson's Intermediate Reader*: on the original plan of the School and Family Series; embracing, in brief, the principles of Rhetoric, Criticism, Eloquence, and Oratory, as applied to both Prose and Poetry. The whole adapted to Elocutionary Instruction. By Marcus Willson. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 372.

This volume has been prepared, the author

tells us, "with special reference to Rhetorical "and Elocutionary Instruction, through the "reading lessons which it embraces;" and we know of few branches of information which are more important and yet more frequently neglected or more imperfectly taught, in our State schools. Indeed, a *good* reader, among our school-children, is almost as rare as a white black-bird; and if Mr. Willson, with a mere text-book, can remedy, or even lessen, the evil which is produced by careless or incompetent State teachers,—which, we fear, cannot be done,—he will be entitled to the gratitude of parents and pupils, the country over.

Nevertheless, the volume before us is evidently as well adapted for such a purpose as any mere text-book can be; and if it shall fall into the hands of careful and competent living teachers, it will undoubtedly be found useful and effective. In its elementary lessons, it is very clear in its definitions and its illustrations are appropriate and well-selected. The "pieces" selected to illustrate the various classes of composition—Narrative and Descriptive, Didactic Writings, etc.—also, are from the best writers and well-adapted for the purpose of the volume; and many of them are made more attractive by means of very neatly executed illustrations.

The volume is a very neat one.

24.—*Life, Letters, Lectures, and Addresses of Fred'k. W. Robertson, M. A., Incumbent of Trinity Chapel, Brighton, 1847—1853*. Complete in one volume. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 840.

Sermons preached at Brighton, by the late Rev. Frederic W. Robertson, the Incumbent of Trinity Chapel. New Edition. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 838. Price \$1.50.

The Reverend author of these volumes was a Clergyman of the Established Church of England; a member of a family of influence; a favorite of the fashionable world; and yet a popular preacher and speaker among the masses. He was active in good works among the people, whether in the Lyceums, the Mechanics' Institutes, or the Early-closing Associations; and his teachings are marked with great boldness, great beauty, and yet great simplicity of style.

In the volumes before us we have not only the Memoir of Mr. Robertson's Life, but selections are given from his Letters, his Sermons, his Biblical Expositions—"Lectures," he called them—his Addresses, etc.; and to those of our readers who incline to follow the narrative of an honest, earnest Pastor, conscientiously following the dictates of his duty, even in the face of personal danger, these volumes will be found peculiarly acceptable.

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AND

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OF

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TO OUR READERS.

In this Number we present to you a most interesting narrative of the discovery of the Columbia-river, on the North-west coast, together with a series of letters, from original sources, by Colonel Scammell, the accomplished Adjutant-general of the Army of the Revolution. We also continue Mr. Bartlett's interesting *Naval History of Rhode Island*; and, in Mr. Whitehead's Review of Attorney-general Cochrane's paper on the New Jersey Boundary, we continue that most important series, of which we have already published the first three papers—a series, which, when it originally appeared, arrested the attention of the leading members of the Bar in the two States, and played an important part in the then pending action before the District Court of the United States.

In our next, besides a continuation of Mr. Bartlett's *Naval History*, we shall present Mr. Dawson's Review of the question of the New Jersey Boundary, written in response to Mr. Whitehead's Review of General Cochrane's paper; a very important paper on *Hopkinsianism in the Early Presbyterian Church in America*, by Rev. Doctor GILLET; a Report of the second Annual Meeting of the Pioneer Association of Central New York; and other papers of general interest. It is already in the printers' hands, and well advanced.

THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

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SEPTEMBER, 1870.

[No. 3.]

**I.—COLONEL ALEXANDER SCAMMELL
AND HIS LETTERS, FROM 1768 TO 1781,
INCLUDING HIS "LOVE LETTERS" TO
MISS NABBY BISHOP.**

*FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, NOW FIRST
PRINTED.*

COMMUNICATED BY CAPTAIN WILLIAM F. GOOD-
WIN, U. S. A.

I. THE SCAMMELL FAMILY RECORD.*

Doct. Samuel Leslie Scammell and his wife (whose maiden name was Jane Libbey) landed at Boston Mass. A.D. 1738. Settled in that part of Mendon now Milford, (sailed from Portsmouth, England,) practiced Physic until his death A.D. 1753. He had two sons viz Samuel Leslie, born A.D. 1739, and Alexander born A.D. 1744.† They by their fathers request, after his death, were put under the care of Rev. Amasaiah Frost, the former until he was fitted for the study of Physic; the latter for college. Samuel, on leaving Mr. Frost, studied Physic and Surgery under Doct. —Wheat of Newton & Boston, & Doctor John Corbett of Bellingham whose daughter, Bethiah, he married; ‡ practiced Physic in Milford and died at Bellingham A.D. 1805, aged 66: his wife deceased eight days before him. And Alexander on leaving Mr. Frost, entered College at Cambridge Mass. graduated A.D. 1769: He then taught School at Kingston Mass., Portsmouth N. H. and Shepleigh, Maine. He spent some time with Thomas

Scammell, his Cousin, who was commissioned by the King of England, to survey timber in the District of Maine, and then he entered the Law Office of John Sullivan of — N. H. where the Revolution found him: Was then appointed Brigade Major in the Army, at Canal ridge; he afterwards served as Adjutant-General of the Army until a short time before the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, when he took command of a Regiment of Light Infantry, (as before this, he commanded a Reg. at the capture of Burgoyne) when having been sent out a few days, before the surrender of Cornwallis to reconnoitre the works of the Enemy, was taken by a party in ambush, from whom he received a mortal wound and in a few days died aged 37.

He was six feet two inches in height and unmarried.

MARRIAGES.

Samuel L. Scammell of Bellingham to Emily Stearns of Milford, married at Milford Oct. 10th, A.D. 1811, by Rev. David Long

Dr. John Scammell was born at Mendon, now Milford Dec. 30th, 1761 His wife was Hannah Jones, born at Holliston Nov. 29th, 1760. Married Nov. 1781 and died Sept. 9th, 1823.

THEIR CHILDREN.

Hopestill born May 6th, 1783. Married Otis Thayer, April 1807. died Oct. 13th, 1808, aged 25.

Samuel Leslie, born Nov. 25, 1784.

Mary — born Nov. 25, 1786. Married John Wheeler, April 1807, died Feb. 3, 1811, aged 24
Bethiah — born June 16th, 1791. married John Wheeler, April 1812, died March 7th, 1816, aged 24.

John Corbett — born Aug. 5th, 1793, died Jan. 2^d 1848, aged 54.

Samuel Leslie Scammell born at Milford Mass. Nov. 25, AD 1784.

Emily Stearns born at Milford Mass. January 14th, 1793.

* Copied from the Family Bible, in possession of John L. Scammell, Esq., of Milford, Mass., Sept. 26, 1860.—W. F. G.

† Harvard College Records say he was eighteen years and four months old when he entered College, and that he was born on the twenty-seventh of March, 1747. There are two independent records which confirm each other. If he entered the Freshman Class, in 1765, as is probable, the College Records would appear to be correct.—W. F. G.

‡ "Dr. Samuel Scammell of Mendon and Mrs. Bethiah Corbett of Bellingham were married January 3d 1760

"by Rev Amasaiah Frost Pastor

"of the Second Ch. in Mendon"

—Mendon Town Records.

Mary Wheeler Scammell, born at Bellingham, Mass. Dec. 23, A.D. 1812.

John Stearns Scammell born at Bellingham, Mass. May 26, A.D. 1816.

Doct. John Scammell, died March 9th, A.D. 1845, aged 83 yrs.

Emily Scammell wife of Samuel L. Scammell, died at Milford June 8th, 1854, aged 61.

Samuel L. Scammell died at Milford July 17th, 1855, aged 70.

David Stearns born at Milford Feb. 4th, 1749. Married at the age of 22 years, to Dinah Bullard aged 18 yrs, who died Oct. 23. 1789. aged 39: again married Joanna Adams, born June 15th, 1761, and when married 29 years of age by whom he had issue.

Nancy Stearns born March 1st, 1791

Emily Stearns born January 14th, 1793.

Joanna Stearns born Dec. 24th, 1794

Sally Stearns born Nov. 14th, 1796

The said David Stearns died June 28th A.D. 1826, aged 77. His said wife Joanna died Feb. 14th, 1843 aged 82.

2.—LETTERS.

I.

DEAR SIR,

I hope you will accept of my Acknowledgments, for the unmerited favor you have conferred upon me In writing to me; & I hope I shall be able to make you a more adequate Compensation, if ever I should return to College, if not I hope you will take up content'd with this (for it is all the paper I've got) indeed Sir a Word from Cambridge is to me a Word in Season. I want a letter from there every Day, to enliven my drooping Spirits. I am in a sad Condition since you left me, afflicted with a bad Cold & tormented with the impertinet Buzzing of a parcel of ignorant Souls asking about the Tutors & President's Study & the L—d knows what all; some say I am expell'd, some say I dare not return to College & with a significant Nod of their Crasy Heads say ah he is a sad Rogue & will now be paid for his pranks by the Gross; he'll have a humble Acknowledgment to make I'll warrant you; then Pride have a fall quoth the Other: But d—n em all, if they'd let me alone I woud them as the old woman said to the fleas. But however the most sensible part say I am keeping School which is matter of fact, but shall finish tomorrow Noon at your Service sir. I dont think you'd know me unless you see me in the Sellar Room, I am so pin'd away that I am almost afraid to look at myself & much less to feel of the sharp Bones that peep thro the Skin; & unless I Can enjoy your agreeable

Company & that of my old friends I shall soon make a fine Skeleton, which is the best Use I believe the can put me to. But however I am determin'd to banish this Gloomy Sadness as fast as possible for your Mother threatens to lick me if I dont chear up, but I tell her I'd rather make an Acknowledgement, which will be I hope next Week, & if not then not till the Week after Election. I Visit your House very Often, & view some of your things which seems to afford me some Satisfaction; for I am now obligd to unburthen my Difficulties, & Scruples of Conscience to the Empty Winds since you have left me. I never wanted to see you more in my Life, but must be contented with congratulating you upon your Reception into the Bosom of Alma mater; & condoling with you upon your loosing the Waitership. But much good may do the present Waiters & I believe it will be with them male parata male dilabuntur,* & we have this to console us, to say with the fox we dont want any favors at their hands, since we cant obtain any.—It is a general time of Peace & health in the Precinct, we have had one little shindy since you went down, but it didn't seem to do. your sisters & I when we meet have a general sympathetick Word Oh I wish frost was here, I want to see him unmassfully; we are afraid that you will be sunk in Spirits & College instead of being delighsom will rather be a burthen. But take a wish from us all, that you would Chear up & rise superior to all the Taunts & Insults of the little Godships.—If I dont come down till after Lection I hope you will get a Horse & come & persuade my Chum to come with you, for I expect Broomshire† will afford something entertaining upon y^e Day, to every speculative Mind all hands upon Deck are going to train, & those that cant get steel implements get woddlen ones & what cant get woddlen ones carry Clubs. I pray come up with my Chum if you can possibly get away so y^t all the Companies may have Levitt for their Priest. excuse the Defects of this Epistle by your extensive Candour & burn up the Letter as soon as possible & you will oblige your affectionate & sincere friend

ALXD^r. SCAMMELL

P S. all our family desire to be remembered to you.

MENDON May the y^e 10 1768.

[Superscribed]

MR AMASIAH FROST;

Student at

HARVARD COLLEGE

* Proverb: "Come to no good end."—W. F. G.

† Mendon, called "Broomshire," from the fact that Brooms were manufactured there.—W. F. G.

‡ These Letters to Mr. Frost, were found, September 25. 1860, in the garret of the old Frost house, in Milford, Mass.—W. F. G.

II.

KINGSTON, August y^e 15 1769

DEAR FRIEND

Our intimate & early acquaintance & friendship, render my separation from you very melancholly; alas my friend! I shall never enjoy your company with the same relish as formerly; tho' I am in hopes we shall be together again very frequently, yet it will not seem as when devoid of care we were wont to pass away the fleeting hours in each others company, both at mendon & cambridge. Then I enjoy'd pleasure unmix'd with care, & free from the vexations of this world. But now, I have landed into the world, left college my darling Elezium; & those hyllan sweets, y^e the sons of harvard enjoy, Left my native place, & friends of my youth, & am now a pilgrim in a strange land, & what is it for! for? why to get a scurvey livelihood, from the poor *pittance* (I dont very well understand y^e word) of 200 th an—. O my friend snatch the golden Opportunity, the precious span of time y^e now offers you, improve it to the best advantage, & live happy whilst you may; divest yourself of y^e cares of this world, & deceitfulness of riches; For I assure you y^e they will rush in upon you like a mighty torrent as soon as you have left Alma Mater. I seem at times to be deluged in vexation, & when I reflect upon what little progress I made in learning whilst at College I feel less yⁿ y^e least of all flesh. But reflection serves only to aggravate my present circumstances. I will therefore descend to some particulars of the present state of my pilgrimage. I begun school the monday after I left mendon in that part of Kingston which joins on plymouth, the heathern name of the place is rocky Nook. I board on the road to plymouth (N. B. I dont run at large) at one Cap^t Lowthrop's; within 3 Miles of my Chum, ah happy circumstance, for we are yet Chums in y^e strictest sence of y^e word, for altho we dont live in y^e same chamber & town yet we live in y^e same county; & y^e with relation to y^e wide world, my classmates; is as it were the paper'd cock-loft 3 stories high, (O by the by have you got the chamber?) My school consists of about 30 scholars between 4 & 13, abecedarians amongst them. 17 or 18 of y^m are writers & they are the most forward mannerly, tractable, obedient & ambitious little things y^t I ever saw in my life, my school house is in plain sight of the harbor, so that I have a prospect of all y^e vessels as they enter & pass out of it my boarding place is very agreable to me; & the people the most agreable I was ever amongst—I want very much to have some of my college friends take a tour to Kingston either by land or water, pray Sir if you can possibly take a ride this fall Vacancy, come down to see me, it is as pleasant

a journey as you can take, & you cant imagine how great pleasure & satisfaction it would give your sincere friend

& humble Ser^{ts},ALEX^r. SCAMMELL.

P. S. Please send me the british Grenadier; & send me word if you cant get a school this winter to suit your mind, & I will make enquiry after one in this part of y^e country.
[Superscribed.]

FOR

M^r AMARIAH FROST,

Student at

HARVARD COLLEGE.

III.

KINGSTON, October y^e

DEAR SIR:

I expect these Lines will find you preparing for Broomshire, big with the thoughts of vacancy & its diversions. Time was once when I could realize Y^e enlivening thought, but now I have far distant Scenes, the Approach of chilling Winter, & the continual din of pray Sir, & pray Sir. I wish I could spend y^e Vacancy with you, as we were wont to do, either in riding, or among y^e squirrels, & young Ladies, which serv'd not only to give strength & Vigor to the Body, but softened and embelished y^e mind. So y^t by the assistance of Squirrels, horses, & Ladies, we got a good relish for College. But now I have no Squirrels, but few Ladies & as few horses, You understood when here y^t I had engag'd Plymouth School; Well, Y^e Week after you was here Y^e had a town Meeting & sent over a Committee to see whether I would relinquish my Engagement. I told you I had no desire to keep the School if Y^e could possibly keep Mr Barrows in, & if Y^e would make me some very small allowance I would give it up. the next Monday both parties muster'd as strong as possible & after having quarrel'd all y^e Afternoon between daylight & dark Y^e voted Mr Barrows out of the School by y^e turning vote of y^e Moderator. Quarrelling has got to very great perfection among y^m so y^t I determing if y^e School Committee will release me, to keep as far from y^m as possible: & am now clawing off as fast as I can. But am afraid Y^e Y^e wont let me relinquish y^e Bargain. If Y^e do get me amongst y^m wo be to me! Barrows keeps for his party in his own house & seems desirous to live with y^m bad as Y^e are. all y^e principal ones of y^e town are against him. I was in great hopes when I came here, to have liv'd, at least, a peaceable life. But at present live a very vexatious one. However quarrelling or not I still remain your

Friend & very humble Servant

ALX^r. SCAMMELL.

P. S. Please to keep this Letter a part from my folks at Home, unless call'd upon by y^m to tell what you know, & I should be glad if you would not tell y^m but what I determine to stay at Kingston the whole year, tho at present it is very uncertain whether I keep more y^a my Quarter out. Please to remember me to all enquiring friends—A pleasant Vacancy—God bless you. Amen.

[Superscribed.]

To
MR. FROST,
at
Harvard College
in Cambridge, Student.

Filed—
Oct. 1769.

IV.

MY DEAR OLD MENDON FRIEND:

How fares you? God bless you, how does our Mendon Friends fare Y^e Cold Weather? does Broomshire border upon Mill River* yet, & are all our little circle of Friends well. Well have you been Keeping School, otherwise, Pedagogizing this Vacancy; & If you have, how much Patience have you left, if you have but little, burn this before you read more, for it will require very uncommon Patience to bear with this Nonsense, But it is all I have left having Epistoliz'd all my Stuff on paper to my Correspondents, to whom I should be glad if you would give my Litters a toss, i, e, as many as you can conveniently, & I should take it as a very great Favor to receive all the News y^t is stirring at Mendon Cambridge & the Towns adjacent. Since my last to you I have taken my Flight to Plimouth, amidst Friends & Foes, pell mell. some look'd at me some did'nt, but none assaulted me *Vi & Armis*. I liv'd here about 6 Weeks before I dar'd think of enjoying myself; till at length *mirabile dictu* I found myself in the good Graces of my most inveterate Adversaries. How long it will hold, I'll tell you as soon as possible; all I can tell you at present is y^t I find a fine parcel of hearty fellows here, & good Girls; we have Dances here as thick as Y^r can spatter. My old everlasting Chum lives close to me, as hearty as ever; & would be amazing glad to see you here by Water next April as well as your affectionate Friend

ALEX^d SCAMMELL.

P. S. Dont fail of writing every opportunity & excuse my Absurdities Y^t is in my letter, for

*The northeasterly part of Mendon was a parish, in 1741, called *Mill-river*. It was incorporated in 1780, by the name of Milford.—W. F. G.

I wrote it whilst Mr^s Bacon was washing Dishes.

[Superscribed]

For
MR. AMARIAH FROST,
at
CAMBRIDGE.

Filed:
Dec. 1769.

V.

MY VERY DEAR OLD BROOMSHIRE FRIEND,

The News of your being alive & that by your own Hand, was to me like an Husband to an old Maid, i, e, the best good Luck y^t could befall me, & now *Vice versa* Sabbath day Even, allows an Opportunity to send you a Scrawl. You Mention some *Tutorpresidentincorporation* Affairs, & the violent Tornados Y^t have happened at Cambridge, which seems to revive the the Memory of Days of Yore. Tho it seems you have got one Degree further towards Perfection than usual. We never us'd to go to the Superior Court, or have any Actions go up by *Demurage*, nor take our 1st & second Degree before we commenc'd A.B. This was the Case with you, but ye are washed, but ye are cleansed &c. But one thing has happend amongst you which argues a little Want of Foresight or great Forgetfulness, & Y^t is calling the old President up amongst you again. Had he obey'd, woe be to you! Your last State would have been worse than your first. I am very sorry to hear that so many of your Hands are blown over board, & hope that none of the Storms will be very frosty since you have got so near y^r Harbor of Commencement* i, e, the Ocean of y^r World & its Vanities. My friend you will then have sensations perhaps different from what you ever had before. But God bless you, & enable you to have merry Heart, & send you along before

* "DEAR SON:

"Wishing you a frugal, decent and happy Commencement, I Send you down, by Your Sister Olive, £51 15s old Tea^r with a little Cheese, the best and all I could get—hope You will pay off and Take receipts for all you owe at Cambridge. Except at Mr. Reeds, To whom no doubt we Shall be further indebted,—So that if your money does not hold out, nor mine, to pay him I must get him to wait on me till ye End of the Vacancy. I hope you will be as prudent as may Consist, with your approaching Sir-ship.—Your, Pauper Father, you know would act out of Character to pretend to do much at Commencement by way of Entertainment. I Shall leave what you have Entirely with your discretion—I purpose to be down ye day before Commencement.—So wishing the Divine Protection, & Blessing to attend you, With Sincere Affection, I am Your Father,

"MENDON;

"July, 5th, 1770.

"A: Frost.

"P. S. If you can purchase a little Tully, and a great Tully (Davidson's Translation), Second handed among your Class-mates, reasonable enough to pay you for your trouble; & for Ammidon's advantage—it would be Very acceptable to him, & heres ye money" * * * * *

† "Frost Papers" in possession of—W. F. G.

Commencement to see your most affectionate friend & humble serv^t

ALX^{dr}. SCAMMELL.

fail not of Appearance, it is impossible you could find a Place more agreeable or a person more glad to see you than me.

[Superscribed—]

For

Mr AMARIAH FROST,
at
College,
Pene AB.

Filed—

July 1770.

VI.

MY DEAR OLD PEDAGOGICAL BROOMSHIRE FRIEND,

I entertained sanguine Hopes of revisiting our native Place together, But not being able to leave Plymouth so soon as I expected, and being oblig'd to be at Portsmouth so soon after I leave Plymouth that I shan't be able to go to mendon in Y^e intermediate space of time. I tell you what if you and I were Lords or Dukes, or what is vastly preferable, if we were rich farmers worth £300000 (and as many more cyphers as you have a mind to add) we would shine out with most refulgent splendour, & cut a distinguish'd figure all over y^e world & more too, that we would—who in Nature has not made the same wish *iterumque iterumque vocavit*—You are still in y^e dreary regions of School-keeping, I am just Verging to a conclusion, & God grant I may'nt be reduc'd by any adverse dispensation whatever, to be envelop'd in the narrow walls of a School house any more, from this time forth & forever more amen—I arriv'd at Plymouth Sunday Evening after I left Andover, & the Fraternity, had like to have been wash'd away with the Dew of y^e Sabbath—My musical Organs are stuck full of the musical concotinations of that anthem which I heard sung at Mr Philips. Devotion, harmony, & rapturous Symphony go hand in hand in Y^e Composition, it almost broke my Back—If you go to mendon this Spring tell them how fares y^e in my Name &c That you may have little wood, few Scholars, & them good ones, & be endow'd with the double Spirit of Elijah (or Elisha I forgot which) is the ardent wish of yours in perpetuum.

ALX^{dr} SCAMMELL.

PLYM 19 of March.

[Superscribed]

To Mr.

AMARIAH FROST.
at

HAMPTON,
NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Filed March 19. 1772.

VII.

YOU OLD TOM FROST YOU (*Tut But*). This is Broomshire Language—well no matter for that, we were both kittend there, in spite of our Teeth, let us think what we will. & you have been to Commencement too, you have, whilst poor I have been breaking my Back over, Kennebeck, Andrascoggin, Penobscott, & a number of Names ten times harder than them, & more too, I mean I have taking the Plans of them, But hav'nt budg'd an Inch farther than Portsmouth tho, & dont desire to ; If I could help it. But pox on it all, in one Fort-Nights Time I must dive into the Blackness of Darkness amidst the inhospitable Wilds of y^e eastern Woods, where the melodious Musick of Nats, Musketoes, Wolves, Bears, & Wild Cats will continually sound a dreadful Peal in my Ears—Well what think you aught to do now, to make me a Recompence for going to Commencement, you must tell me whether the *Dons* gave me my Degree or not—whether you heard from Mendon, & what whether you see my Chum—whether you got Bungy—Whether you went into the Booth after Sunset &, &, whether or not, as much more as you please. I am all impatience till I hear, therefore writ to me the first Opportunity I charge you, by all the Broomshire ties that subsist between us. I fully intended myself Y^e Pleasure of Visiting you at Hampton, but my Business wont Permit. I shall soon quit these Parts. The Lord have mercy upon me, says your sincere friend Alxd. Scammell, and I hope he will smile upon your sincere endeavors to promote the Education of your young Pupils & instil into their Minds true Principles of Virtue & Knowledge. It gives me Pleasure to hear that your Conduct gives universal Satisfaction to your employers may you alway meet with the like Success in every Thing you undertake.

PORTSMOUTH, July 17th 1772*

Be sure & give me a minute Detail, if it fills a Ream of Paper, direct it to be left at Cap^t Tiltons Amen

[Superscribed]

For Mr.

AMARIAH FROST
Schoolmster.

at

HAMPTON.

VIII

WELL MY OLD BROOMSHIRE FRIEND.

I have got back safe and sound, and as hearty as an Indian notwithstanding I died last Sum-

* JULY 4, 1772 To an order to Mr. alexander Scammell "for ten Shillings and three Pence half Penny in full for keep-
"ing the Gramer Scool one week."—*Berwick, Me. Town
Records*—W. F. G.

mer. I have got my head so full of pine, and Hemlock Bows that my Ideas are as bad intangled—as I ever was in a Cedar Swamp, or climbing over Windfalls. But to the Case in hand—I have been above 60 Miles from Penobscot River Eastward by Land through the Woods, find the Life a very healthy one, *Silence enthroned in dreary Majesty wields her savage Sceptre throughout the gloomy Woods.* A Bed of Down made of Spruce Bows, & a roaring Fire at the feet preserves Health & draws off all the noxious Humours. I expect to winter at Berwick should be very much oblig'd to you if you would send me all Mendon & College News inclos'd in a Letter directed to

Alexander Scammell at Berwick.
Quick Quick

P. S.
Cap^t Tilton of Portsmouth will forward your Letters to Berwick,
PORTSMOUTH Decem^r 31, 1772
Come & see me if possible.*
[Superscribed]

To Mr
AMARIAH FROST
Schoolmaster
at
HAMPTON.

IX.

DEAR FRIEND :

I expect to go to Mendon next May If you have any Commands there they'll be taken charge of by me with the greatest Pleasure. Or if you have any News from there please to transmit them or it to Berwick, as I hav'n't heard from Broomshire lately. I wont promise you but what I shall take Hampton in my Way to Mendon, & should be extremely Glad if we could revisit Broomshire together; if your Business would permit. But you must write to me all about it, & excuse the Shortness of the Epistle, & Haste I am in.

Y^r ALXD^r SCAMMELL
PORTSMOUTH March Y^r 10, 1773.

X
DURHAM August 4th 1773.

DEAR FRIEND :

News from Mendon reviv'd me, and it gave me very great pleasure to hear that Miss Olive was coming to Hampton. Perhaps your Sister will have an inclination to see our capital Town. If it would be equally convenient to you, to wait upon your Sister to Portsmouth next mon-

day, as any other day, I will meet you there at the Business of our Office* at present is such, that I cant possibly come to Hampton. Or if you cant go to portsmouth that day, appoint any other day during the Stay of your Sister. and if possible, I'll do myself the pleasure to wait upon you I'll assure you that your Resolution of going to mendon makes me feel quite loansom already, & I am very desirous of seeing you before you quit our Province. You may perhaps have an inclination to show your Sister this part of the Country, & so take a Trip over to Berwick, as Col: Chadbourn would be very glad to see you. You might come thro Exeter go thro Dover so thro Berwick, call upon Mr. Spring in your way to Portsmouth. cross the ferry, & so go home again. A pretty excursion indeed in which short Ride your Sister would have the pleasure of seeing the very quintessence of all New-Hampshire, & the best part of the Province of main In riding less than thirty miles out. 20 Miles from Hampton to Durham (an easy ride before dinner) where you would stay that day & night. The next morning ride from Durham to Berwick, which is 12 miles (pleasant ride before breakfast: where we might tarry that day & night & the next day go to Mr. Springs who will be glad to see you & your Sister. If you will be so very kind as to come this way with your Sister it will very much oblige your sincere friend,

ALXD^r SCAMMELL,
P. S. If you could come this way please to send me word this week, & if you can meet me at portsmouth next monday or not write me word you may forward a letter to me Saturday by Major Sullivan, or friday Night—I shall be at Tiltens if you come to Portsmouth. Come to Durham if possible for you cant take a more pleasant ride. Give my Compliments to your Sister.

[Superscribed]
FOR
M^r AMARIAH FROST
at
HAMPTON
Schoolmaster

XI.

DURHAM August 17th 1773.

MY OLD BROOMSHIRE FRIEND.

I am extremely sorry that I cant have the pleasure of seeing you before you set out for mendon, & your Sister. As Major Sullivan is absent and I am oblig'd to stay in the Office this week, Pray be so kind as to forward the inclos'd Letters to the Persons they are directed to—If you call at College you may have an op-

* "March 19, 1773. Went to Berwick, dined at Col. Chadbourne's with Mr Scammell, visited his singing school &c. "The next Day went to their Parish meeting—from thence to "Capt Rogers's; from there to his Brothers up the River. "Spent the Evining in Dancing & Singing &c in Company "with Miss Hovey & Wallingsford &c & Crossed the River "on the Ice to conduct the Ladies to Summersworth." —Frost's Manuscript Journal in possession of W. F. G.

* Office of Gen. John Sullivan, with whom he read Law —W. F. G.

portunity to send the Letter to Mr. Wadsworth by Col. Warren's Son an undergraduate at College. I promis'd myself a great deal of happiness in taking the Tour with you & your Sister, which I propos'd in my last Letter to you, as I cant conceive of a more pleasant excursion that you could have taken, and still hope you will come this way upon a second thought And as to your Sister's geting a Surplusage I am not afraid of it since she has a more capacious Understanding than to be overcharg'd with y^e curiosities of New-Hampshire, Give my kindest and most respectful Regards to your Honr'd Father, Mother, & Sisters. Tell my Mother & Brother that my Demensions are as extensive as ever, I should be glad to be once more with you at our native Soil but dont expect to, for by the time that I can get there, (which will be I expect next September come twelve month) you will be discharging the great Gun of the Gospel at the Heads of impenitents, & if you put on a great long fac'd orthodox Fiz, I shall be afraid of you, but am very sensible you have too much Judgment, to dress up Religion in the habit of Austerity, and monkish grimace. Therefore shall be glad to see you, & hear your dispensations in Y^e evangelical way, where you begin to bear fruit.* May you succeed in your undertakings, be a rousing Preacher, get a steepled parish, handsome Wife, and above all a good Salary—As your affectionate friend, & Serv^t shall ever

Pray

ALAN^d SCAMMELL.

O, I wish you a good journey, give Miss Olive a Pocket full of Love, & as my Letter to Mr. Wadsworth is of great importance please to send it the *directest* way.

[Superscribed]

To

Mr AMARIAH FROST

at

HAMPTON

XII

MY DEAR REVEREND, ORTHODOX (FORTASSE)
BROOMSHIRE FRIEND :

I cant realize your being so near as Exeter and not come to Durham to see your sincere friend. Are you afraid of being contaminated

with good sound morality ? (such as prevails in our office) no, I am sure you are not, for charity induces me to believe that you have founded your Orthodoxy on the genuine Principles of Morality. If you have set out upon such principles, nor wreck of Nature, nor the crash of worlds, will sap your foundation. Ne Sutor ultra crepidem might be pronounced with great propriety from your Ecclesiastical Phiz. Hand dubitandum vel negandum—Least in confutation of my Assertion you should level the grape shot of Divinity at me viz, Predestination, Reprobation, non Salvation Transubstantiation, Transmigration &c &c—words full of sound but quite devoid of sence (common sense I mean) But stop I'll not write you a single word by way of punishment for your sin of Omission (in not writing to me). Of what pray ? why of what ought to be omitted. Ergo no crime, consequently I am absolv'd from my promise. I understand you are Amariah in Eremo; what my apostolical friend? are you going to Heaven through the woods? The way is difficult I have often heard but if it lays through woods, and these spruce & Hemlock; I shall halt till you have clear'd the road for me. But you have the Advantage, you may not only enlighten their bewildered minds, But clear up their woody Farms for them, that is whilst you recommend their doing penance for past folly, you may get them to work in a Spruce swamp, as the directest road to deep humiliation, and sure repentance. But is it true that you are going to settle on the Confines of Sam sett, is there nothing short of so long a Distance from me, can satisfy your rambling Destiny. If it be so I must set down contented & think of you, tho the Distance is almost to great even to think of any degree of intimacy. But upon the whole the farther you get from Old England the Better. Since like a cruel Stepmother she has withdrawn her fostering hand, forgot her dutiful Offspring, and true hearted descendants, forgot them did I say? Nay, she has even streched out her cruel hand of Oppression, the Iron Rod of Slavery, to trample us under the vile pedestal of abject Despotism. Assert that Liberty wherewith God and Nature has set us free; Display the Beauties of Liberty, with all the sacred Oratory of the Pulpit; set forth the charms of freedom with such energy as to warm the sourest Tory, convince your hearers that it is the Offspring of Heaven the celestial Donation of infinite Benevolence. Decypher the malignity, Malevolence, Terror, Baseness, and detestable consequences of Slavery in colors blacker than the deepest Hell. Tell them that the man who prefers life to Liberty or would basely submit to Bondage ought to be annihilated. Your Duty as a member of Community,

* FEB. 1774. Spent the most of this month in studying preparatory to the work of the ministry.

MARCH 31. was examined with Mr. Spring by the Association, & received from them a Recommendation to preach.

APR. 3. Began to preach, & after helping several of the Neighboring Ministers went to Townsend in New York, where I tarried Eight Sabbaths & went from thence to Hampton in New Hampshire; after continuing there 12 Sabbaths I preached at Moultonborough three Sabbaths, & from thence returned by the way of Hampton to Mendon again. Then went to Newton to keep school & supply the Pulpit.

"Thus the year is finished."—Frost's Manuscript Journal in possession of W. F. G.

Your Function as a Preacher your Conscience as an honest man demands it of you, with a Voice irresistably eloquent.

If you should go to mendon, give my most respectful compliments to Your Hon^d Father and Mother, and Regards to enquiring friends. Greet the sisterhood with an holy Kiss; and write a Line to your old friend

ALXD^r SCAMMELL

P S Please to convey the enclos'd Letter to Mr Jones. If this Letter comes to you timely, pray be so kind as to come this way & see me if you dont stay above a Fortnight: I fully intended to have come and seen you, But Business wont permit

[Superscribed]

To

Mr AMARIAH FROST

at

HAMPTON

Filed

July 1774.

XIII.

ST. JOHNS June 2nd 1776.

I had the pleasure of receiving your agreeable, and in some measure severe letter Yesterday, By Col^r Reed I assure you my dearest Nabby* to hear of your health and happiness gives me the highest Felicity—You tax me with Flattery and consequently insincerity. I will

* "MEDFORD December 7th 1752
"Theam I was married to Abigail Tufts the daughter of
"Simon Tufts Esqr.

"and my daughter ABIGAIL was born in October ye 5th:
"1753

"and my son John Bishop was born in November 20: 1755

"November 4th 1765, Theam my dear Sister departed this
"life, aged 46 years and 5 months.

"September 25—1775. Theam my hon^d Mother departed
"this life aged 75 years and five months.

"December 16th 1791. Departed this life, my beloved hus-
"band John Bishop aged 69 years, and eight months.

"December 17th, 1807. The widow ABIGAIL PUTNAM died
"aged 54 years

"Aug. 29, 1810. The widow Abigail Bishop departed this
"life aged 82 years 11 mos. 7 days.

"Feb. 8th 1833, departed this life John Bishop son of the
"above aged 77 years, 2 mos, & 19 days.

"April 6, 1722, Thin I was born, John Bishop, Senior,
"Abigail Bishop Senior, was born Sept 22, 1727."

In September, 1860, I copied the above from the family
record of the Bishop family, at Medford, Massachusetts.

Colonel Scammell was wounded at the siege of Yorktown, on
the thirtieth of September, 1781; and died at Williamsburgh,
Virginia, the sixth of October following.

Dr. Archelaus Putnam, of Danvers, Massachusetts, married
ABIGAIL BISHOP, on the twelfth of November, 1786, by whom
he had John Bishop Putnam, born January, 1788, died on the
sixth of June, 1792; Abigail, born on the twentieth of July,
1790, died on the tenth of May, 1829; James A., born on the
first of December, 1791.—W. F. G.

not arraign the Judgment of a person so dear to me as you are, but begg that you would attribute my warmth of Expressions to a sincere affection, and passionate fondness—Tis cruel my dearest, tis cruel to ever think I am insincere You wrong me to entertain the least Suspicion of that kind—I am extremely obliged to you for the dear Epistle, the Reception gave me a new flow of Spirits, and the Composition (except the severe part) the highest Satisfaction. I beg you would every Opportunity write to me. I am sorry to hear of your honord Mother's Indisposition, but hope her health will be restored and continued to her, as an invaluable Blessing, both to herself and Family. In my last I inform'd you of being ordered to Canada. I set out from New York the 4th of May, sailed up Hudson's River to Albany one hundred and sixty miles, thro' a most romantick Scene stupendous Cliffs and Mountains surrounded us on either Side, some beautiful Villages and Country Seats would now and then appear in the Valleys; whilst the Distant Mountains appear'd to be cover'd with Snow, the last Retreat of frosty winter,—Many miserable Hutts with poor but happy inhabitants. I was not a little surprized to find Albany to be so dirty a City the houses in the Dutch Taste, the Inside clean to a fault even their Cyder Barrels are kept scow'd as clean as their Dishes. their women are continually employ'd in scowering their floors, one drop of Ink in a house will breed a Riot, till it is eraz'd by soap & sand, and Dishcloths, whilst their Streets are excessive Dirty, and the outside of their Houses resemble a welchman's Breeches, void of all form and Comeliness. The Dutchmen in general appear like Porter, and their women like Scullions, whilst their Coffers are lined with gold & Silver. We proceeded to St. Johns where we arriv'd the 31st of May, and had the Pleasure of Viewing the Forts, and Fields of Battle where so many of our brave Americans have lost their Lives, and from whence they drove their Enemy. Everything is in the greatest Confusion at Canada, but my brave, worthy, & Honb^l Patron Gen^l Sullivan being Commander in Chief of the Forces here, I hope we shall soon have better times here. May Heaven preserve the good State of Health he at present enjoys. I expect a warm Summer, But console myself with the Hopes of being so happy as to see you next Winter, which will richly make amends for the greatest Fatigues. I conjure you by the ties of Love and Friendship not to call it flattery, for I solemnly protest I am incapable of using the least Dissimulation with the person that lies nearest my heart.

The Musketoes continually buzzing round me & the flies, & Knats constantly stinging, I

am afraid will make my Letter unintelligible; Together with the Coldness of the weather which is extremely disagreeable—But hope your generous Disposition will excuse my faults—Make me happy my dear in writing every Opportunity to your

most Affectionate
& devoted
Humble
Serv^t
ALXD^r SCAMMELL.

P. S. The Bearer Mr Swan* will carry some Days in Mistick, write by him if possible—May the best of Heavens Blessings attend you my Beloved Nabby.

[Superscribed.]
To
MISS NABBY BISHOP,
at
MISTICK.

XIV.

Oct^r 29th 1776.

DEAREST NABBY:

I have not had the Happiness of hearing from you since I left Ticonteroga. Nor had Opportunity to write to you since. My Passion flatters me that you have had no Opportunity of writing. I long for the happy moment when I can press you to my Heart. May Heaven preserve your health, and Partiality in my Favor. My dear Girl write to me every Opportunity. A Letter from you would soften the Fatigues of War. The fighting Part of this Campaign will soon be over, when you may expect a longer and more polite Letter from your affectionate

Humble Serv^t
ALXD^r SCAMMELL.

[Superscribed.]
To
MISS ABIGAIL BISHOP,
at
MEDFORD.

XV.

EXETER, March 22nd 1777.

DEAREST NABBY:

I arrived at Exeter the Monday after I left Mistick, my Horse held out much better than I expected. But as to myself I ever feel dejected when I am going from you. I feel as if I had left my better half behind me, a certain inexpressible something hangs upon my mind, that I cant feel happy when absent from my

dearest Nabby. Heaven has certainly destined us for each other, else why should we be permitted to carry our mutual Affection to so a great a length. But cruel Fate, and a more cruel War has thrown an Obstacle in your way, but hope you will surmount it. I cant conceive how, or why, it should have any weight with you. Love is a noble disinterested Passion. It overlooks small obstacles, & the purer the passion the greater difficulties it will surmount. pray consider the almost infinite Importance it is to me to call you my own before I march to Ticonteroga, how happy it will make me,—and what vast Obligations it will lay me under, to contribute as far as possible to make you happy in the marriage State. I shall not march I believe under a Month from this time, consider me my lovely Girl, and enter into a noble Resolution to give your hand to the man, who loves you almost Adoration, before he takes the field to oppose our tyrannical foes. consider how many young Ladies have immortalized their Characters by encouraging their Lovers to defend their Country—I should still have an Opportunity to celebrate our Nuptials, and spending a Week or ten Days in your dear Company, before my departure, if you could possibly consent. For Heaven's sake! by all the endearing ties of tender affection, I conjure you to write to me by Cap^t Livermore, & if you can consent to my proposal, I will fly to you the wings of Love. However write to me, if you have only time to inclose your name in Paper. The more I am acquainted with you, the more my passion increases—the more tender and delicate my Love. I shall endeavor to spend a few Days more with you before I leave this part of the Country at all Events—And snatch a few moments of Bliss and happiness before I take the field.

Y^r sincere and most
affectionate Friend
ALEXD^r SCAMMELL.

[Superscribed.]

To
MISS ABIGAIL BISHOP,
at
MISTICK.

XVI.

CAMP FREDERICKSBURGH, Nov^r 2nd '78.

Dr NABY:

I am at a Loss how to address you, whether as the same intimate dear friend as formerly, or as one who has contracted an intimate acquaintance with some gentleman more deserving of your good Opinion than I am. I always hope for this best, that you are still disengaged; that you still entertain a partiality for me. That my addresses may still meet with a favorable

* Major Samuel Swan, son of Samuel Swan, who resided at Charlestown, Mass., and was burnt out by the enemy at the Battle of Bunker's-hill. His wife fled to Mistic (Medford) where he settled in 1790. Dr. Daniel Swan, the "Good Samaritan," who, now (1860) resides in Medford, aged seventy-nine, is a son of the Major, who died in 1826, aged seventy-six—W. F. G.

reception, and that I may be so fortunate as to deserve your hand as a reward for all the Hardships, & Fatigues I have undergone in the service of my Country. I have been exceeding unhappy in being so long separated from you—Tho distance of time & place has not in the least abated my sincere attachment and tender regard for you—I entertain the most sanguine Expectations & hopes, that I shall this Winter have the supreme satisfaction & pleasure of waiting upon you—of spending more agreeable Hours in your dear Company—and persuading you to make me happy—The war is almost concluded; our distressed Country will undoubtedly be restor'd to a long wish'd for tranquility, & when that happy, thrice happy period shall arrive I hope upon your own principles you'll consent to my ardent wishes, at farthest—Unless some fortunate deserving Rival should supercede me in your Affection. If you are already engaged to another Person—If you think you cannot consent to make me happy in bestowing your heart & hand upon me, I conjure, I beseech you to write me the first opportunity that I may not have the mortification of finding myself disappointed of the prospect of my long desired happiness too suddenly, when I shall come to Mistic this winter, glowing with the tenderest passion to clasp my dearest Naby to my bosom—and previously arm myself against the unhappy reverse of being frustrated of my warmest Hopes of felicity. I am sure that your Mind is open and generous, & therefore am more urgent upon you to write me information whether you have engaged yourself to any other Gentleman. Tell me candidly lovely girl that I may know the worst, tell me if you think you cannot consistent with your own delicate Sentiments, make me one of the happiest men living; by generously consenting to become mine. But unless you write me, I shall take your Silence for consent, and still suppose you will give me the same kind Reception as usual that you still entertain a kind partiality for me; & that I have still the agreeable delightful prospect of entering into the tenderest connection with the only person that can, that is capable of rendering me gratefully happy—But depend upon it that I have your welfare equally at heart with my own, and unless I suppos'd that it would be the principle Study of my Life (in case we were inseparably connected) to render your Life as agreeable and contented as possible, I should never presume to pursue my Addresses. But where a tender Regard for a person is so firmly fix'd as mine, & establish'd by a Length of Time invariable, I think it impossible but that he should exert his utmost abilities by every kind Office in his power to to render the Object of his Wishes in every

respect happy. That you may enjoy every Blessing & Felicity—That you may be crown'd with Health & Contentment is the predominant Wish of

Y^r sincerely
ALEX^d. SCAMMELL

M^o
NABY BISHOP.

XVII.

CAMP MIDDLE BROOK, Dec^r 26th 78.

DEAR NABY

I have wrote you so many Letters without having the pleasure of receiving a single answer, that I am much at a Loss how to address you in that way which would be most agreeable to you. I wrote you in my last that I entertain'd hopes of coming to Mistic this Winter. The Duty of my Office is so great & of such a Nature, that I am apprehensive indeed am well assur'd that His Excellency will not grant me the Indulgence, unless you would generously surmount the suppos'd difficulties which you think lay in your way and condescend to give me your Hand as soon as I arriv'd, in that Case the Gen^l is possessed of so much Delicacy & generosity, that I am sure he would give me Leave of absence. I hear you are still disengag'd, & that I have grounds to hope. If that is the Case, my Dearest Naby you have Sufficiently try'd me to be convinc'd in your own Breast that I love, that I esteem that I entertain a tender, a most fix'd Affection for you—We both my dear girl are advancing in Years, and grow older every Day.—The many happy Couple we daily see, the Assertions of those already married, our own Feelings, nay our Duty to Society convince us the married State is the most happy, the most eligible, & that we cannot be completely contented till we arrive at that State. The longer we remain single, the greater difficulties will arise in our minds. The War which seemed the principal Objection in your mind the last happy moments I was with you is nearly closed. I hope next Summer, perhaps this Winter will put a period to it. If the most tender Love, try'd Affections can make you Happy; I'm sure no person can contribute more to it, than I can, Our long acquaintance & intimate Connection, renders all reserve, scruples unnecessary and superfluous. We are well acquainted with each others minds & dispositions, you are the only object of all I hold dear upon Earth. You have it in your power to make me the happiest most grateful Husband in the world, whose whole Study would be your Happiness & Contentment. You are possess of those tender delicate Sensations which will induce you not to treat with cruelty or neglect, a person so totally absorb'd & devoted

ed to you. I know you have a generous Soul. I conjure you by all the tender moments we have spent together to write me an answer to this I must urge & insist upon it. Generously condescend to promise me you will make me happy in the Nuptial Bands. By which means I shall be able to obtain Liberty to fly to your Arms and convince you that you have bestowed your Affections & Hand upon a person whose Lively sense of Gratitude will ever render him studiously anxious to do everything in his power to deserve so rich a Blessing. My dearest, pardon me if in the Letter I have wrote any offensive Expressions consider me as a man pleading for earthly happiness, & in that light I hope you'll excuse any Errors in Expression. From my long Connection with you, & the vast Number of Letters I have wrote you I think in justice you ought to send me an answer, & that I have a right to request one. I must again entreat you to write the first opportunity to

Your

ALEXD^r. SCAMMELL

Miss

NABY BISHOP.

XVIII.

CAMP MIDDLE BROOK April 13th 1779

Dr S^r.

Impressed with a lively sence of gratitude, for the kind Treatment and Favors you and your Lady have confer'd upon me; desirous of acknowledging the same, and demonstrate that I wish ever to deserve your good opinion, must beg leave to trouble you with this Letter—I need not repeat that after contracting an Acquaintance with Miss Naby, I made bold to ask your & your Lady's permission to continue my Addresses to her. Your kind Consent demands my most grateful acknowledgments. The winter after the campaign of 1776, The several times I was at Mystic I urg'd Miss Naby to give me leave to ask her of you in marriage, and in case you consented, to be married before I took the Field in the Spring of 1777. But to my great mortification she would not give me leave, and declar'd her intention not to marry me so long as I continued in the Army, tho' at the some time us'd no argument to induce me to leave it. I felt unhappy that she had taken such a resolution as my fix'd determination has been ever since hostilities commenc'd to continue in the army so long as my bleeding country demanded my services, and to prefer my Country's good to every self-interested consideration. Had it been possible to have shaken my resolution I should have quitted the service on that account—As I then thought and still think that my happiness in a great measure depends on a Connec-

tion with her—When she had form'd the resolution, & I found I could not dissuade her from it, I told her I should be willing she should form connections with any Gentleman, with whom she suppos'd she might live more happy than with me, as I regarded her happiness equably with my own—But should still entertain hopes so long as she remain'd single and disengag'd. I have continued to write to her since by every safe opportunity (when public business permitted) through the medium of Capt Brooks* who has kindly forwarded them—But have been so unhappy as not to receive an answer since the Fall of 1777. Nor have I received an answer from Capt. Brooks since the beginning of last Fall. My being appointed to the office† I am now in prevented my going to New-England the winter before last, as I was oblidg'd to use every exertion to transact the business of it. The last winter I fully intended to have done myself the honor of paying you a visit—But found the public business still urg'd my steady continuance in the Office, and the Commander in-Chief averse to my leaving Camp. As I was in a most disagreeable uncertainty I could not urge a prospect of marriage, not being sure but that Miss Naby was already engaged to another person—From my long absence I have been apprehensive lest you might think me deficient in point of that respect and complaisance which is due from me to a Family I am under the greatest obligations to, and which I shall ever honor and respect, But hope the foregoing will satisfy you, that it has been the Duty of my office (the most difficult to leave of any in the army) and that only, which has prevented my waiting upon you long since. My attachment and esteem still continues the same as ever—And could I be assur'd that your daughter was still disengag'd,

* "DEAR BROOKS

"Will you give the enclosed letter a lift towards that Mistical place where—Oh, where—by some trusty person?

"So Admiral Graves has arrived—Sir—Afloat, clamitant, & dawsand, with Six ships,—a lucky omen if true (vide the name),—so many the more months to consume the enemys provision in New York,—so many the more ships to take and strike off the British list,—so many more hard knocks and so much the more honor. But we do't learn whether he has brought any troops or provisions; the contrary is suppos'd; neck or nothing this campaign. I congratulate you on the arrival of our good Allies and wish we were in greater readiness for their reception.

"Yrs Truly

"Lt. Col. BROOKS

"Comd. &c. &c."

"ALEXDR SCAMMELL *

"MONDAY January 5, 1778.

† "Congress proceeded to the election of an Adjutant General in the room of Col. Pickering, who is called to the Board of War, and the ballots being taken, Colonel ALEXANDER SCAMMELL was unanimously elected."—*Journal of Congress*, iv., 8.

* Original in possession of Mrs. L. B. Kyes, Boston, in 1861. There is no date to it.—W. F. G.

and that there was a certain prospect of being connected with your Family in Marriage without leaving the Service (which my honor will not permit me to do, so long as the enemy continue to prosecute the War) I should esteem myself extremely happy, and would as soon as possible obtain Leave of his Excellency, to repair to Mistic—I could then urge my request more forcibly, than I can, in my present uncertainty, and make no doubt he would indulge me, when I could assure him of a prospect of Marriage. Your former Goodness and Generosity imboldens me to ask your and M^r Bishop's consent to marry Miss Naby, without being oblig'd to leave the army, provided she is willing. At the same time could wish you would not mention to her that I have wrote this Letter to you, as I have not previously obtain'd her consent to make this proposal, besides it might wound her delicacy, if she knew I had wrote you on the subject, and so frankly opened the State of our Courtship—this reason has prevented my writing to you before on the Subject. In numbers of my Letters I have made to her the above proposals, in my last by Col^l. Henly I urg'd it strongly, but fear it has been in vain. My duty to you as her parent, & regard to my own Character induc'd me to write you so fully; Must beg pardon for troubling you with so long a Letter, and urge the Subject, which is of so much importance to my happiness, in excuse for it's prolixity—If not too troublesom would beg the honor of an answer from you—Shall ever retain the most grateful sense of the numberless Favors I have receiv'd from you; & sincerely wish that I shall have the honor of subscribing myself in a short time by a more tender name than that of

Yr. oblig'd Friend &
Most Obed^t.

Mr. BISHOP,
Serv^t.
ALEXD^r SCAMMELL,

My most respectful Compliments
to M^r. Bishop.

XIX.

HEAD QUARTERS PRACANESS July 15th. 1780.
S^r.

The polite, the generous and kind Treatment I have been honor'd with from you and your Lady has impress'd upon my mind the most grateful sentiments, which time will never efface. I once fondly hop'd for a Connection in your Family, and that I should before this had the honor of addressing you in a more respectful manner. My hopes have now vanish'd, and I am oblig'd to give up my long expected happiness. But altho' I never expect to stand in a nearer Relation to you than at present, yet my

gratitude will never be diminished. I sincerely hope that your daughter will bestow her hand on some worthy, agreeable gentleman, who will render her Life perfectly happy, and give you and your Lady the utmost Satisfaction.

Agreeable to your Request I have inck'd Floyds Discharge, I wish the poor man may recover his health, and be enabled to procure a competency for his Family.

Please to make my most respectful Compliments to M^r Bishop, and present my sincerest Regards to Miss Naby, M^r. Bishop, your Son & M^r. White—and rest assur'd that I am with the highest sentiments of Respect & esteem
Yr. Oblig'd & very Humble Serv^t.

[Superscribed] ALEXD^r SCAMMELL
Mr. JOHN BISHOP Merch^t.
MISTIC

XX.

SONG.

SUNG AT THE CELEBRATION, BY THE OLD COLONY
CLUB, IN 1770.

WRITTEN BY ALEXANDER SCAMMELL.

Tune.—BRITISH HERO.

All hail the day that ushers in,
The period of revolving time,
In which our Sires of glorious fame,
Bravely through toils and dangers came,

Novanglia's wilds to civilize,
And wild disorder harmonize,
To plant Britannia's Arts and Arms,
Plenty, peace, freedom, pleasing charms,

Derived from British rights and laws,
That justly merit our applause,
Darlings of Heaven, heroes brave,
You still shall live though in the grave.

Live, live, within each grateful breast,
With reverence for your names possessed;
Your praises on our Tongues shall dwell,
And sires to sons your actions tell.

To distant poles their praises resound,
Let virtue be with glory crown'd,
Ye dreary wilds, each rock and cave,
Echo the Virtues of the brave.

They nobly braved their indigence,
Death, famine, sword, and pestilence,
Each toil, each danger they endured,
Till for their Sons they had procured,

A fertile soil, profusely blest
With Nature's Stores, and now possess'd
By Sons who gratefully revere,
Our Father's Names and memories dear.

Plymouth the great Mausoleum,
Famous for our Forefathers' Tomb,
Join, join the chorus one and all,
Resound their deeds in Colony Hall.*

XXI.†

May 3^d, 1775.HON^d SIR,

Your leaving New Hampshire at a time when your presence was so extremely necessary to cherish the glorious order which you have been so nobly instrumental in inspiring us with, spread a general gloom in Durham, & in some measure damped the spirit of Liberty through the Province: and nothing but the important business in which you are embarked, would induce us to dispense with your absence with any degree of patience or resignation. But when the horrid din of civil carnage surprized us on the 20th of April,—the universal cry was, O, if Major Sullivan was here! I wish to God Major Sullivan was here! ran through the distressed multitude—The April Court, which was then sitting, adjourned immediately—To arms—To arms was breathed forth in sympathetic groans—I went express for Boston, by desire of the Congressional Committees then sitting at Durham, proceeded as far as Bradford, when I obtained credible information that evening—Next morning arrived at Exeter, where the Provincial Congress was assembling with all possible haste, There reported what intelligence I had gained—that the American Army at Cambridge, Woborn & Charlestown was in need of provision than men—That 50,000 had assembled in 36 hours, & that the regulars, who had retreated from Concord, had encamped on Bunkers Hill in Charlestown—The Congress upon this report resolved that Durham Company, then at Exeter (armed Complete for an engagement, with a weeks provision) should return home, & keep themselves in constant readiness, all the men being gone from westward & Southward of Newmarket, & men of war expected hourly into Portsmouth. It was with the greatest difficulty your Durham soldiers were prevailed upon to return—Six or seven Expresses arrived at Durham the night after our return; some desiring us to march to Kittery, some to Hampton, some to Ipswich &c.—which places they said sundry

Men of War were ravaging—The whole country was in a continual alarm—But suspecting that the Marines at Portsmouth might take advantage of the confusion we were then in & pay Durham a Visit, we thought proper to stand ready to give them a warm reception; and supposing that your house & family would be the first mark of their vengeance, although I had been express the whole the whole night before, I kept guard to defend your family & substance to the last drop of my blood.

Master Smith, being under the same apprehension, did actually lay in ambush behind a warehouse, & came very near sinking a fishing boat, anchored off in the river, which he supposed heaped full of mariners—Men, women & children were engaged day & night in preparing for the worst—Many towns in this Province have enlisted minute men, & keep them under pay; & the Congress before this had had actually raised an army of observation, had they not waited for the General Court, which sits to morrow; in order to raise as much money as they can to pay off their army when raised. I am extremely mortified that I am unable to join the army at Cambridge—But as I am honored with the management of your business, which can't possibly be neglected, the ties of duty and gratitude induce me to suppress every wish that may militate against your interest. Your family are all in health, & desire their tender love & duty to you. The particulars of the skirmish between the regulars & Americans, will long before this reaches you. In longing expectation your safe, & happy, & speedy return is hoped for by all your friends—but by none more sincerely than your Dutiful, Humble Servant

ALEX^r SCAMMELL.

P. S. Please to excuse inaccuracy, as I am obliged to conclude in the greatest haste. We have heard from you no otherwise than by Capt. Langdon's of the 13th of April

PORTSMOUTH May 3^d 1775

[Superscribed]

TO JOHN SULLIVAN ESQ

AT PHILADELPHIA OR NEW YORK

XXII.*

CAMP ON WINTER HILL Oct^r 24th 1775DEAR HON^d SIR,

Your Brigade is almost a caput mortuum, & their countenances fallen—Providence, to prevent my seeing their gloomy aspects, has turned the relics of my Dysentery into my eyes, so that I am almost blind. Gen^l Gates has never been here since your departure—Gen^l Greene urges the augmentation of Winter Hill picquet—I urge your orders to

* Russell's *History of Plymouth*. Scammell was then teaching school, there. He was elected a member of the "Club," Dec. 20, 1771.—W. F. G.

† From the "*Sullivan Papers*," in possession of Hon. T. C. Amory, Boston. It was published in *Force's Archives*.—W. F. G.

* From the "*Sullivan Papers*." It was Published in *Force's Archives*.—W. F. G.

go on with the usual details, & by that means have avoided his request—He declares he will lay it before Gen^l Lee—But I hope Gen^l Lee will go for Rhode Island before he will have an opportunity—The Enemy have been very peaceable since you left us, waiting perhaps in silent expectation to hear the success of their diabolical piratical emissaries—I hope they wont hear of your absence till your return, least they attempt our lives: & a body without a leader they carefully depend on will be at best but a dispirited number.

We imphatically wait to hear of your success— We rest assured that all human efforts will be made use of to oppose the ministerial Butchers, since you preside. May Heaven succeed & prosper your endeavours, preserve your life from the hostile balls, your health from any sad accident, & return you in safety to your many sincere friends and

Very Humble Servant

ALEX^r SCAMMELL

P. S. Please make my compliments to Major Cilley—I long to be with you—The news of the camp, (perhaps the lie of day) is that the King of France offers us two & twenty sail of the Line, if we desire it,

TO THE HON BRIGADIER GEN
SULLIVAN at PORTSMOUTH

XXIII.*

KEEN, May 9th 1777.

GENTLEMEN,

The Backwardness of the men to engage in this Quarter, and the Fewness of men in Capt Ellis's Company renders it necessary that a full Compliment of Officers should be immediately employ'd in filling it—Many of the Towns in the Vicinity of this Place have rais'd but very few men, and it is the Opinion of those I have consulted that a first L^t from some one in those Towns might bring in a Number of Recruits with him. L^t Barney of Richmond is recommended to succeed L^t Wright, by the Gentlemen here. If you should think proper to appoint him pray you would do it as soon as possible. If I am not misinform'd, he will be more likely to procure the men, than any other person in this part.

As many of my Officers are not commission'd, should esteem it a particular favor to have them forwarded to Ticonteroga as soon as Conveniency permits. Mr Parker knows how many are wanted.

I am with the greatest Respect
Y^r Honor's Most Ob^d. & very
Humble Serv^t.

The Hon^{ble} COMMITTEE OF SAFETY. ALEX^d'R SCAMMELL.

* From the *New Hampshire State Papers*, VI., 373.

XXIV.

STILL WATER, Aug^t 6th 1777.

DEAR CAP^t

The Hurry and Confusion of a retreating army—and being very sick myself have prevented my answering your Letter till this. But rest assured that you have ever been in my most cordial Remembrance. I sincerely condole with you in the Loss of your brave Brother L^t Gray—But as he bravely died and in so righteous a cause must give you great Consolation. If you can have an Eye to Y^r late brave Cap^t Weare's* Effects should esteem it a favor; as Y^r Major cant possibly be spar'd from Camp to take care of them. I should have esteem'd myself very happy in procuring a Furlough for you, But find it impossible. Shall do every thing in my power to oblige you as far as in me lays, and if possible procure you a more easy and Genteel Employment, when your Health will admit of it. I hope kind Heaven will soon restore your Health, & give you the pleasure of seeing your worthy Brother's Death amply reveng'd The darkest Hour is just before the Dawn. I send you inclos'd 100 dollars—Should have drawn money before this, But Things are so dear and times rather precarious, I defer it, till a more convenient Season. I hear Gen^l Sullivan is coming this Way hope it is true—Excuse Haste as the Bearer is waiting.

Y^r affectionate Friend

ALEX^d' SCAMMELL

CAP^t GRAY.†

XXV.‡

CAMP VALLEY FORGE April 8th 1778.

DEAR GENERAL,

Our army is well recovered of the Small Pox. Thank Heaven & General Howe's supineness for permitting us to lay still under inoculation. Clothing is coming in, so that I hope we shall be able to clothe our brave, patient soldiers (the most virtuous men living) in a short time. Recruits begin to come in, & I am in hopes the foundation laid for a plentiful supply of provisions & forage. The Baron Steuben sets us a truly noble example. He has undertaken the discipline of the army, & shows himself to be a perfect master of it, not only in the grand manoeuvres, but in every minutia. To see a gen-

* Probably Capt. Richard Weare's of Hampton Falls, N. H.—W. F. G.

† Captain James Gray of Epsom, N. H., a brother-in-law to the late Chief-justice Parsons. He was a worthy and very highly respected citizen—He died April 1. 1822, aged seventy. His grand-daughter, Mrs. Susan Perkins, gave me the above letter.—W. F. G.

‡ From the "Sullivan Papers."—W. F. G.

tleman dignified with a Lt. Generals commission from the great Prussian Monarch, condescend, with a grace peculiar to himself, to take under his direction a squad of two or twelve men, in capacity of a drill Sergeant, induces the officers & men to admire him, & improve exceeding fast under his instructions—I wish the enemy may be drove off from Rhode Island time enough to admit of your joining the Grand Army to lay siege to Philadelphia. Now or never may be the proper motto of America—and what can't she do under the smiles of Providence, if she collects what forces she may at Philadelphia & the other parts held by the enemy, her supernumerary men are sufficient—our expectations are highly raised that you will clear the locusts off the garden of New England. Our army & operations are much injured by the delay of Congress in not fixing the new arrangement. A Pitt is much wanted in our Senate. The wheels of Government drag heavily like Pharaoh's chariot wheels. Indeed the different directions of wheels within wheels must necessarily clash with each other, & finally upset the load, unless more skillfully & spiritedly managed. Hoping that this campaign will terminate the dispute, & that you may be able after your long absence & extreme hardships, to retire with laurels to your library, Mills, &c. &c. enjoy domestic ease. I am, with the greatest respect,

Your Most Obedt & Very H^{ble} Serv^t
ALEX^d SCAMMELL.

GEN^L SULLIVAN.

[Superscribed]

To the Hon Major Gen SULLIVAN
Commander in Chief at Rhode Island

XXVI.*

CAMP MIDDLE BROOK Dec^r 28th 1778

SIR,

I beg leave to introduce Col^o Wheelock, who commands a Reg^t on the Frontiers of New Hampshire. To mention that he is a gentleman of education, & one who has greatly exerted himself in the present contest, I presume will sufficiently recommend him to your notice, who have uniformly (notwithstanding your exalted station) distinguished merit.

With the utmost Respect, I am
Your Most Obedt Serv^t
ALEX^d SCAMMELL

Gen^L SULLIVAN

[Superscribed]

To the Honble Major General SULLIVAN
Commander in Chief of the Army in the
State of Rhode Island.

XXVII.*

CAMP MIDDLE BROOK Jan^r 28 1779

SIR,

Yours of the 7th has come to hand relative to Gen^L Sullivan's servants' wages—I have received none for them, & believe that whatever pay has been drawn for them is returned to the Pay Master General—As my old Pay Master has lately resigned, and all monies in hands at the time of his resignation have been transmitted to the Pay Master General agreeable to the established rule relative to Regimental Pay Masters. Agreeable to your request I shall write to Col^o Dearborn not to have any money drawn for them during the time of Gen^L Sullivan's being in a separate command; as it will be much easier & more convenient to draw the money for them at Providence, or wherever the Gen^L may be.

With respectful compliments to Gen^L Sullivan

I am Your Very Humble Serv^t
ALEX^d SCAMMELL.

Major CORTLANDT.

[Superscribed]

Major NICHOLAS VAN CORTLANDT
ade to Gen SULLIVAN
PROVIDENCE.

XXVIII.

CAMP MIDDLE BROOK, April 2nd 1779

DEAR SIR,

Relying on your Friendship, I must intreat you to assist me in procuring certain certificates and Copies of Receipts, which I find absolutely necessary in settling my accounts with the Auditors who are very strict. I have wrote Esq^r Thompson particularly on the subject. Capt. Gilman, the Bearer, will likewise be able to let you into the matter circumstantially.—I am almost tir^d. of quarrelling with Great Britain, wish we could reduce them to reason, and a proper sense of their inability. They seem to be determined to die in the last ditch, and that we shall feel the effects of disappointed malice the ensuing campaign. I further fear that the war will doom me to old Bachelorism, however content myself with this consideration that there is enough of the Breed already. Tho' this consideration dont fully correspond with my Feelings on the opening of Spring. Let us establish our Independence on a lasting & Hon^{ble} Foundation, and I shall be happy at all Events,—It seems half pay for Life for the Officers of the Pennsylvania and Maryland Line is established by the respective States, also half pay to Officers widows since the war began. How this step will be looked upon by the other

* From the "Sullivan Papers."—W. F. G.

* From the "Sullivan Papers."—W. F. G.

States I cant say, this I'll venture to affirm, that it would increase legitimate Subjects to the States, as it would encourage our Officers, who hav'nt wives, to marry and proceed in obedience to the first command,—at present the young women dread us as the picture of poverty, and the Speculators, to our great mortification, are running away with the best of them, whilst we are the painful Spectators of the meat being taken out of our mouths & devoured by a parcel of——. Give my sincerest Compliments to enquiring Friends, Mrs Peabody in particular.

Your Friend &
Humble
Serv^t

COL. PEABODY,*

ALEXD^r SCAMMELL.

XXIX.†

[EXTRACT]

WEST POINT, September 29th 1779.

* * * * *

Does Congress mean to make the officers any permanent consideration? or do they intend to coax them on by doing a little and promising them a great deal, till the war is over, and then leave them without money, (consequently without friends;) without estates, and many without property or constitutions, the two latter of which they have generously sacrificed in defence of their country. This is the language of the officers almost universally, from all the States. My station renders it my duty to make every thing as easy and quiet as possible. But I shudder at the consequences, as I am convinced that in the approaching winter, we shall loose many of our brave officers, who must resign or doom themselves to want and misery by remaining longer in the best of causes, and which in justice should entitle them to liberal considerations and rewards. That men who have braved death, famine, and every species of hardship, in defence of their liberties and fighting for their country, should thereby be reduced to slavery, or what is equally bad, beggary, will be an eternal stigma upon the United States, and prevent proper men from ever stepping forth in defence of their country again. The bearer, Mr Guild, a tutor in Harvard College, is an honest, clever, sensible whig; whatever civility you show him will add an obligation on yours truly,

A. SCAMMELL.

NATHANIEL PEABODY ESQ

* Colonel Nathaniel Peabody, of Atkinson, N. H., a sketch of whose life may be found in the third volume of Farmer & Moore's *Historical Collections*. He was born at Topsfield, Massachusetts, February 18, 1740; and died, June 27, 1823.

The original letter, from which the above was copied, is in possession of Joseph J. Mickley, Esq., Philadelphia.—W. F. G.

† From Coffin's *Lives and Services of Thomas, Knowlton, Scammell and Dearborn*.—W. F. G.

XXX.*

HEAD QUARTERS STEENRAPPE, NEAR HACKSACK OLD BRIDGE, Sept. 5, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I am extremely happy to have ocular demonstration that you are well enough to brandish the goose-quill again. When I had the disagreeable news of your being dangerously ill I wished to ride to Morristown to see you. I attempted to write, but business permitted neither.

The army regrets the recalling decree of Congress, and that your Committee should be absent from the Army at this critical juncture, when famine daily extends her threatening baleful sceptre. What will be the consequence of the present system of supplies? Are we to be in continual danger of a dissolution? Must the United States of America, replete with resources—full of men, rolling in luxuries—strong in allies—entered on the scale of nations under a solemn appeal to Heaven, languishing in the field—her veterans fainting her officers at the head of raw troops, obliged to risk their lives and reputation; with troops counting the moments in painful anxiety, when they shall return home and leave us with scattered ranks? If the regiments are not filled for the war, our cause must fail, I am bold to pronounce. Not a continental officer, I fear, will be left in the field, if he must every six months, become a drill sergeant. It is too mortifying to risk a six years reputation with inexperienced troops. Our good and great general, I fear, will sink under the burthen, though he has been possessed of the extremest fortitude hitherto, which has enabled him to be equal to every difficulty, and to surmount what to human eye appeared impossible. But a continual dropping will impress a stone, and a bow too long strained, loses its elasticity. I have ever cherished hopes, but my patience is almost thread-bare.

We yesterday inclined to this place, and took a new position, about two miles from our former one, on the west side of the Hackensack. Our army is remarkably healthy, but frequently fasting without prayers. I condole with you on the disagreeable news from the southward, and lament the fate of so many brave officers and men. After suffering the extremes of hunger and fatigue, to be basely deserted by the militia, and pushed on to be sacrificed, is truly distressing. Hunger occasioned so great desertion, that their numbers were reduced to a handful in comparison with their numbers when they left Maryland. What demon could induce General G. to advance so far towards the

* From Coffin's *Lives and Services of Thomas, Knowlton, Scammell, and Dearborn*.—W. F. G.

enemy with so few men? And why did he retreat so rapidly, and leave his brave men behind? Wishing you a speedy and perfect recovery of your health,

I am,
Yours truly
ALEX^d. SCAMMELL

Col. PEABODY.

XXXI.*

HEAD QUARTERS, October 3, 1870. Y

DEAR SIR,

Treason! treason! treason! black as h-ll! That a man so high on the list of fame should be guilty as Arnold, must be attributed not only to original sin but actual transgressions. Heavens and earth! we were all astonishment—each peeping at his next neighbour to see if any treason was hanging about him: nay, we even descended to a critical examination of ourselves. This surprise soon settled down into a fixed detestation and abhorrence of Arnold, which can receive no addition. His treason has unmasked him the eriest villain villain of centuries past, and set him in true colours. His conduct and sufferings at the northward has, in the eyes of the army and his country, covered a series of base, roveling, dirty, scandalous and rascally peculation and fraud; and the army and country, ever indulgent and partial to an officer who has suffered in the common cause, wished to cover his faults: and we were even afraid to examine too closely, for fear of discovering some of his rascality. Now, after all these indulgences—the partiality of his countrymen, the trust and confidence the commander-in-chief had reposed in him, the prodigious sums that he has pilfered from his country, which has been indulgent enough to overlook his mal-practices,—I say, after all this, it is impossible to paint him in colours sufficiently black. Avarice, cursed avarice, with unbounded ambition, void of every principle of honor, honesty, generosity or gratitude, induced the caittif to make the first overtures to the enemy—as Andre, the British adjutant-general, declared upon his honor, when on trial before the general officers. This brave, accomplished officer, was yesterday hanged; not a single spectator but what pitied his untimely fate, although filled with gratitude for the providential discovery; convinced that the sentence was just, and that the law of nations and custom of war justified and made it necessary.

Yet his personal accomplishments, appearance and behaviour, gained him the good wishes and opinion of every person who saw

him. He was, perhaps, the most accomplished officer of the age—he met his fate in a manner which did honor to the character of a soldier. Smith the man who harbored him is on trial for his life, and I believe will suffer the same fate. May Arnold's life be protracted under all the keenest stings and reflections of a guilty conscience—he hated and abhorred by all the race of mankind, and finally suffer the excruciating tortures due so great a traitor.

I am in haste,
Your friend and servant,
A. SCAMMELL.

XXXII.

Col^o. Scammell's most respectful Compliments waite on Col^o. Peabody, and informs him that a Serg^t. Corp^l. and 12 men are ordered to the Committee's Quarters, if that Number is not sufficient more shall be sent. If Col^o. Peabody is at Leisure this Afternoon to take a Ride, and will give his Opinion on a Horse in Question, it will be esteem'd an Honor & Favor confer'd on his long back friend.

Sunday morn.

[Superscribed]

Col^o. PEABODY,
In Camp,
Near Gen^l Stark's Brigade.

XXXIII.*

NEW WINDSOR March 7th 1781.

Dr Sir.

I was very sorry to hear you passed by without calling upon me. I hope before this you have perfectly recover'd your health. Your Friendship and anxiety for the good of the service, will perhaps make any Intelligence from us by no means disagreeable. Now we have got a tollerable supply of provisions we want men. No Recruits have arriv'd yet, except a few stragglers—The enemy are penetrating into the southern States in several Parts ravaging plundering, and destroying every thing their licentious, unprincipled murderers choose. Lord Cornwallis after Morgan's Victory having divested himself of all his Baggage made a most rapid pursuit after Morgan, but was providentially stop'd short in his pursuit by the sudden rising of a River, occasion'd by a heavy rain after Morgan had forded it—Cornwallis then changed his Route & persued G^l Greene who was obliged to retire before him to the Borders of Virginia, nearly two hundred miles, the Rapidity of the pursuit, and Retrograde movement of our Southern army I believe prevented the militia of that thinly settled country from reinforcing Gen^l Green seasonably—However by the advices this day received—Lord Cornwal-

* This letter, published in Coffin's *Lives and Services*, etc., was written to Colonel Peabody. Colonel Scammell was Adjutant-general, and superintended the execution of Major Andre.—W. F. G.

* From the Original, in the possession of W. F. G.

lis was retiring and G¹ Greene in turn, pursuing him—a pretty Reinforcement is sent from Virginia to G¹ Greene which I hope may arrive in season to enable G¹ Greene to act offensively, unless Cornwallis is reinforced again. Arnold is speculating upon Tobacco & Negroes in Virginia, another Part of the enemy has landed in North Carolina—The Marquis had by our last advice arriv'd at the Head of Elk, with the light Infantry of our army, the Grenadiers & light Infantry of the french Army I expect by this time has join'd him. I most devoutly wish that the Marquis may ruin the Traytor, and catch his Party—We have been oblig'd to put much to the risque, On account of the present Weakness of our Corps—I hope for success. But it is wrong, exceedingly wrong, that the Commander in Chief should be put to the dangerous necessity of putting so much to the Hazard for the safety of the Southern States. Had our Reg^{ts} been fill'd agreeable to the Requisition of Congress, Clinton would never have presumed to make such large detachments from New York. I intreated you to make use of your utmost Influence to persuade the State to raise, and send on their full compliment of Recruits as soon as possible. Our situation otherwise will soon become very critical.

I am S^r Y^r Most Obed^t Friend & Serv^t.

ALEXD SCAMMELL

COL^o. PRABODY.

II.—THE NORTH EASTERN BOUNDARY OF NEW JERSEY.—CONTINUED.

[The following paper, from the practiced pen of WILLIAM A. WHITEHEAD, Esq., of Newark, N. J., the distinguished author of *East Jersey under the Proprietors*, and Corresponding Secretary of the New Jersey Historical Society, will be read with great interest, by many of our subscribers and by students of our Colonial History, generally.]

It is a continuation of the discussion, in behalf of New York, by the Attorney-general of the State and by her eminent historian, Hon. J. BOMEYB BROADHEAD, which was opened in our columns, some weeks since; and we congratulate our readers that a question of such great importance has been discussed by advocates possessing so much ability, in the columns of THE GAZETTE.—*The Gazette*, No. 693, Yonkers, N. Y., September 2, 1866.]

IV.

A REVIEW OF MR. COCHRANE'S PAPER ON THE NEW JERSEY BOUNDARY,

BY W. A. WHITEHEAD.

There are some questions which, however thoroughly discussed and definitely settled, will, "ever and anon," be evoked from a sleep of years by enquiring, mercurial spirits, with a demand for a rediscussion and a resettlement, although nothing may have occurred while they have lain dormant to warrant the procedure; although no new light may have arisen to illumine what was before dark, or any good

purpose be effected by their revival. For a time, factious circumstances may infuse into a question of this kind, some semblance of vitality and importance; but, however potent may be the influence of error, or however protean the forms it may assume, if truth has been ever elicited, the looker-on may quietly await the issue, confident that the vexed question will, ere long, be restored to its wonted state of repose.

Such is the character, such the present position, and such the ultimate fate, of the question which was made the subject of extended comment, by the Hon. Mr. Cochrane, in a paper read at the June meeting of the New York Historical Society.

Nothing has occurred rendering it advisable to change the present mutual boundaries of, or to disturb the friendly relations existing between, the States of New York and New Jersey; no new information, of essential importance, affecting the points formerly at issue, has been gathered; and only the fact that a high law-officer, connected with the Executive Department of the State of New York, has revived the topic and given his views respecting it publicity—not only by their presentation to such a distinguished body as the New York Historical Society, but by printing them in full, over his own name—gives to it a temporary interest. It is the intention of this review to facilitate the return of the subject to the shades whence it was drawn.

The theme which Mr. Cochrane gravely propounded, and which he so elaborately discussed, was the assertion "THAT THE WATERS BETWEEN 'STATEN ISLAND AND NEW JERSEY, THE KILL 'VAN COLL, THE SOUND, AND RABITAN-BAY, OR 'BY WHATEVER OTHER BAPTISMAL NAMES THEY 'OR THEIR PARTS MAY HAVE BEEN, OR ARE NOW, 'DESIGNATED, TOGETHER WITH ALL THE WATERS 'WHICH LAKE STATEN ISLAND SHORES, WERE, 'FROM THE PERIOD OF THEIR DISCOVERY, KNOWN 'AND ACCEPTED, AND SHOULD PROPERLY NOW BE 'CONSIDERED, THE WATERS OF HUDSON'S-RIVER."

The proposition is a simple one, and its operation, if established, equally so: the aim and effect of the learned gentleman's paper being to cut off New Jersey from any water privileges, excepting such as she may enjoy on her ocean-beat coast or in Delaware-bay, and place her, a suppliant, at the feet of New York, for permission to enjoy, in quietude, the rights which she derives from the same source that conferred upon her larger and more opulent sister State, the germs of her prosperity.

Mr. Cochrane is met at the threshold of his investigation by certain "baptismal names," borne by the waters referred to, which he conceives to have been "imposed by accumulating

"ignorance or design;" and seems to imagine that the generations, past and gone, possessed neither eyes to perceive where physical peculiarities required the conferment of special appellations, nor judgment to determine what those appellations should be: his own acquaintance with the localities and his own experience in navigating these "falsely" named waters especially qualifying him to succeed where they so signally failed.

In order that his positions may be fairly and fully presented, the following extract from his paper is given at length:

"When Hudson, carefully consulting his 'soundings, 'went in past Sandy Hook,' on the 'evening of the third of September, 1609, 'he moored the *Half Moon*, in 'the Bay.'

"A boat's crew proceeding upward, to the 'North, on a subsequent day,' [September 6th,] 'we are told that they passed through 'the Narrows, into a commodious harbor, 'with very good riding for Ships.' In their 'further progress, northward, they discovered 'the Kills in 'a narrow river to the Westward 'between two Islands.' The exploration of 'this river disclosed to them 'an open Sea,' 'now called Newark Bay. When the *Half Moon* first left her anchorage, in 'The Bay,' [September 11,] 'Hudson cautiously passed 'through the Narrows; 'went into the River; 'and again found moorage, near the mouth of 'the Kills, in 'a very good Harbour for all 'windes.'

"This simple statement of Hudson's discovery purges, effectually, the clouded medium of 'subsequently distorted narrative; and our 'neutral vision has direct access to 'the bay,' 'the harbor,' the 'western river,' and 'the 'open sea,' unperturbed into unnatural lineaments by the false names imposed by accumulating ignorance or design; and representing them, as they lay, and as unchanged they lie, in physical aspect—the only distinguishable 'bay,' below; the 'narrow straits,' above; the 'estuary, roadstead, or 'harbor,' within; the 'river,' conducting the upper waters to the 'West; and, beyond that, the 'open sea,' in the 'distance. If now we apply to this fluvial system, the nomenclature adapted to it by the 'proper names since borne by the river which 'originated it and the ports on its banks, 'the 'bay' becomes the Great Bay of the North-river; 'the Harbour,' the Harbor or Port of New York; and 'the narrow river to the westward' and 'the Narrows' at the South, the 'mouths through which the waters of the Hudson 'discharge themselves, through the Great Bay, 'into the main sea.

"Here, then, is probably the most fitting 'place for the remark, that the confirmation of

"this hypothesis will be the explosion of the 'injurious theory upon which the Treaty of 1834 ceded to New Jersey one-half of the rights 'of New York to the waters of the Hudson and 'of those which separate Staten Island from 'New Jersey, together with the lands under 'them, upon the very common error of mistaking the harbor of New York for the bay of New York, and of imposing the name of 'Raritan-bay on a portion of the waters of the 'Great Bay of the North-river."

The reader will please notice that Mr. Cochrane's "Great Bay of the North-river" is simply "the bay" of Hudson and other navigators; and as such it will be considered.

On proceeding to advance his proofs applying to his hypothesis, he places prominently among them, and relies greatly upon, the testimony afforded by Maps; but it is a singular fact that *not one*, ancient or modern, confers upon "the bay" any cognomen conveying the idea that its waters are sufficiently homogeneous with those of the North-river to authorize the adoption of the restricted appellation suggested by the Attorney-general.

The earliest geographers, on their earliest maps—those quoted by Mr. Cochrane—leave it unnamed, as being simply an arm or portion of the Atlantic Ocean; or, when they do give it a specific appellation, designate it as "Port May," or "Godyn's Bay," or "Coenraet's Bay," not recognizing its relation to the North-river. But these specific names soon disappeared; and the common sense of each and every generation, since, has been in entire accordance with the present nomenclature, which is warranted by the physical peculiarities and configuration of the shores and shoals; as a general appellation, to the whole expanse of the waters referred to, would be necessarily indefinite and consequently inappropriate. Convenience, propriety, and fact coincide in designating the waters to the West of the peninsula of Sandy Hook as those of "Sandy Hook Bay;" in considering those immediately South of the Narrows, as constituting "the lower Bay," in contradistinction to the one above; and those waters lying South of Staten Island, received from the Raritan-river and Staten Island Sound, as "Raritan-bay." It is not usual to claim for this last a more extended locality than it is strictly entitled to. It is not made to encroach upon "the lower bay;" but, in conjunction with "Sandy Hook bay," laves the shores of New Jersey and Staten Island and contributes its quota to the ocean, through the Main Channel, at Sandy Hook.

It is a noticeable circumstance that Mr. Cochrane considers those maps which leave this expanse of water *without a name*, as substantiat-

ing its claim to the specified title he suggests, no matter what may have been the definite object had in view by their projectors. For example, he draws attention to a map in *East Jersey under the Proprietors*, and says, "it confines 'the name of Raritan to the river now known 'as such, but represents none for the waters 'from its mouth to Sandy Hook;" and he styles it "a Map of the settled portion of New Jersey, 'projected and described in the year 1682;" adding, "the map of 1682 thus singularly concurs 'with the Patent of 1665," [*The Monmouth Patent*] "in protecting 'the Bay' from the infectious waters of the Raritan."

Now the author of the work referred to expressly states (*Page 123*) that the map 'was 'compiled' [for his work, published in 1846,] 'from various sources'—for what? To 'give the 'reader an idea of the extent of the settled portion of the Province,' in 1682. That was its purport, nothing more. If he had entertained the remotest idea that his map would have been referred to, to prove the non-existence of Raritan-bay, because of his omission to insert these words, it may be safely assumed that they would have been there. The Attorney-general should award him credit for not being influenced, in the preparation of his map, by "the corruptions of the mother tongue" to which he alludes in his paper.

To strengthen his position, Mr. Cochrane gives two extracts, which connect with "the 'Bay'" the adjuncts which he covets.

Cornelius Van Tienhoven, Secretary of the Province of New Netherland, speaks of it, in 1650, as "the Bay of the North River;" and the Patroon Melyss purchased from the Indians, the same year, some lands "at the South side, 'in the Bay of the North River;" and, with a little more research, some few like instances might have been discovered; but it is safe to assume that, in all such instances, the appellation was not intended to partake of the exclusive character which Mr. Cochrane would give it. Thus, for example—and one example will suffice, although others might be furnished—De Razieres, in his letter to Blommaert, says, "I arrived before the Bay of the great Mauritze River, sailing into it about a musket shot from 'Godyn's Point into Coenraet's Bay, where the 'greatest depth of water is," etc.—(*Collections New York Historical Society, Second Series, ii. 342*),—recognizing the existence, among navigators, at that early period, of a specific appellation for a portion of "the Bay;" and it is a noticeable circumstance that De Vries, who probably went in and out of "the Bay," a greater number of times than any other navigator, during the domination of the Dutch, never conferred upon it a title connecting it exclusively with

the North, or Hudson's-river.

But is there any thing remarkable that a great river should not carry its name with it to the ocean? There are many streams, along our coast, which, after placidly meandering through the country, conferring beauty upon the landscape and bestowing beneficent gifts upon the inhabitants, seem to decline having their names identified with the rougher and world-tossed waters of the ocean. The cases are too numerous to admit of the conjecture that the failure of the stream of the Hudson to carry its name to Sandy Hook is an exception "originating in ignorance 'or design." To insist, so strenuously, upon revising the present nomenclature, in order to identify the waters of "the bay" with those of the river, argues some weakness in the positive proofs that they are identical.

But it is essential to Mr. Cochrane's theory that he should establish this point; and the greater part of his paper is devoted to its development and illustration: the applicability of his quotations, in a simple historical enquiry, not being always apparent. He quotes Governor Dongan, who says "We, in *THIS Government*," [*New York*] "look upon *that Bay*, that runs into 'the sea, at Sandy Hook, to be *Hudson River*." This was in 1686—in a letter, by the way, which, for its partizan antagonism to the Proprietors of New Jersey, probably led to his recall by the Duke of York, whose interests he was trying to subserve—and it seems that, in 1665, there are some in "*THIS Government*" equally blind to the distinction between the bay and the river.

Mr. Cochrane also quotes two other documents, one a Report upon the controversy respecting the commercial privileges of the Port of Amboy, in 1697; and the other a letter from an Engineer, who responds to the dictation of his superior by reporting the depth of water "in the other branch of the Hudson's-river," called "the Col," in 1701—both of a character similar to that of Governor Dongan's letter, intended as *assertions* of claims, yet unestablished, and about as conclusive, as *proofs*, as would be the counter assertions of the Governor and Proprietors of East Jersey, or, as the assertions, current, some time since, that the new Police Law of New York was unconstitutional, or the right of a State to secede unquestionable—the Port question having been subsequently settled adversely to the claims of the New York authorities, as the last two opinions have been effectually disposed of contrary to the wishes of those who advocated them.

Mr. Cochrane considers the "impregnability" of his record evidence confirmed by the "testimony of the ancient Maps;" but an impartial enquirer will soon have reason to be satisfied that their testimony is of little value.

He says of the celebrated *Carte Figurative*,—(*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, i., 13:)—“However imperfect the delineations, this map represents, unmistakably, the River Mauritius (now Hudson) as “it washes the margin of Manhates Island, “and, enlarging thence its course to the ocean, “swells into an expansive Bay which encloses “Staten Island, and ultimately passes at ‘Sand “punt,’ into the main Sea.”

This is a correct description of the map; and similar delineations, in other maps—the “swelling into an expansive Bay, enclosing Staten “Island”—showing as much water on the West side of the island as on the East, afford a clew to the authority upon which some of the writers of the time describe the locality, and account for the opinions entertained, in England, respecting it—the knowledge of most of the parties being derived solely from the imperfect topographical details of these maps. But this very *Carte Figurative*, of date 1616, ignores Mr. Cochrane’s theory, by giving the name of “Sand-bay” to the expanded sheet of water which, he would have us believe, the “accumulating ignorance” of modern times and the “corruptions of the mother tongue” prevent “being called the Bay of the North-river.”

This same title of “Sand-bay,” so applied, will be found also on Jacobsz Map of *America Septentrionalis*, of 1621, in the possession of Dr. O’Callaghan, a fac-simile of which will be found in the same volume of the *New York Colonial Documents* that contains the *Carte Figurative*.

The description given by Ogilby (which appeared simultaneously with that of Montanus, from whom Mr. Cochrane quotes through a modern translation,) was evidently based upon the map of *Nova Belgii Quod nunc Novi Jorck vocatur*, contained in his ponderous volume. As it is uncertain whether Montanus copied Ogilby, or Ogilby Montanus, the extract is here given as it appears in the contemporaneous English—“The Manhattans, or Great “River, being the chiefest, having with two wide “Mouths wash’d the mighty Island Watouwaks, “falls into the Ocean. The Southern Mouth is “call’d Port May, or Godyn’s Bay. In the middle thereof lies an Island call’d the States Island, and a little higher the Manhattan,” etc.—(Ogilby’s *America*, Edit. folio, 1671, 170.)—Now Ogilby’s map was derived from Vander Donck’s, which places Staten Island in the centre of an expanded bay—having its specific title, it will be observed—forming, what Ogilby calls, the “Southern Mouth” of “the Great River,” the other, or northern mouth, being Long Island Sound: “Watouwaks,” or, more properly, *Matouwacs* being the designation of Long Island, whose shores were thus washed. Why does

not Mr. Cochrane furnish a new title for Long Island Sound? The testimony of Montanus and Ogilby is as potent and applicable in that direction as in the other.

It will be perceived, therefore, that it is neither philosophical nor wise to base arguments upon descriptions framed from delineations acknowledged by Mr. Cochrane, himself, to be rude and imperfect. If maps of this character are reliable, as evidence, he might claim, with equal propriety, that the Hudson has three mouths; and refer, for proof, to Van der Donck’s map, which makes a stream which is called the “Groote Esopus River,” to connect with the Delaware, affording another outlet for the waters of the Hudson. He might thus have received into its capacious bay not only Staten Island, but the whole of New Jersey, and have quoted authority for it, also; for Wynne, in his history, says West Jersey has an easy communication, “by the river Esopus, “with New York.”

But it is unnecessary to pursue this portion of Mr. Cochrane’s argument further—indeed, in view of one physical fact which will be educed, presently, it need not have been discussed at all—but, before proceeding, some notice must be taken of his labored endeavor to make the appellation, “Achter Coll,” given to Newark-bay, derive its significance from its lying back, or West, of the bay on the East side of Staten Island, rather than from its relation to what is known as the upper bay or harbor of New York,

The meaning of the word is well understood to be *Behind*, or *Back of*, the Bay; and the bay meant, would seem to be at once made manifest by the inquiry, “Where did the people live who “used the term?” There was a perfect propriety in the dwellers upon Manhattan Island conferring the title upon a sheet of water which lay *behind*, or *beyond*, the bay which intervened between it and them; but the appellation would have possessed neither significance nor appropriateness, had it been derived from the position of the inner expanse of water with reference to the lower bay, as it did *not* lay back of, nor beyond, that bay, to them, but in an entirely different direction.

It is somewhat remarkable that Mr. Cochrane should quote Mr. Brodhead in support of his views and “to complete” his proofs. That historiographer says (*Page 313*) “‘Achter Cul,’ “or ‘Achter Kol,’ now called ‘Newark-bay,’ “was so named by the Dutch because it was “‘achter’ or ‘behind’ the Great Bay of the “North-river. The passage to THE GREAT BAY “was known as the ‘KIL VAN CUL,’ from which “has been derived the present name of ‘the “‘Kills’”—and he quotes Benson as his authority. Both writers evidently intended, by “the

"Great Bay of the North-river," the bay *North* of Staten Island: the "Narrows," not "the Kills," being, unquestionably, the passage to the lower bay, which Mr. Cochrane wishes to have considered the "Great Bay."

"Achter Coll," from being first applied to the water, only, gradually, as population spread and settlements began to be formed on the shores of Newark-bay, became the appellation for the land, also, both northward and southward, until the whole of East Jersey would, occasionally, be designated as "Achter Coll;" but the name, under the English rule, was soon lost; and the student of the geography of the State would scarcely recognize, in the name of "Arthur Kull," applied to the Sound between Staten Island and the main, South of Newark-bay, all that is preserved of the original appellation of "Achter Coll." North of the bay and running into New York bay, the stream still retains the appellation conferred at the same early period, the "Kill van Koll," or, more commonly, "the Kills," as stated by Mr. Brodhead.

It is susceptible of demonstration, from documentary evidence, that the specific appellations borne by the waters referred to, are not of modern introduction; are not the result of "corruptions of the Mother tongue;" have not originated through "accumulating ignorance" nor through any nefarious "design" to absorb the Hudson; but are simply appropriate titles which the physical configuration and position of the localities have rendered necessary. They date back, for the most part—and particularly is it the case with the nomenclature of the waters West of Staten Island—to times anterior to the transfer of New Netherland to the English; and it is safe to affirm, that no one acquainted with the localities would venture to express the opinion that such a specific nomenclature should give place to the general appellation of "Hudson's-river;" for, as has been intimated, already, if it had not been thought advisable to show how little foundation there was for Mr Cochrane's theory, even as presented with his chosen authorities, the statement of one single physical fact would have sufficed to refute his arguments,

Mr Cochrane is a military as well as a legal General. Let it be supposed that, with the skillfully trained eye of an experienced commander, he has selected a bold and adventurous detachment from among the watery hosts of the Hudson; and, having placed himself at its head, he floats off, with a strong ebb tide, on an expedition to the ocean, by the way of the new mouth of the river that he has discovered. On approaching "the Kills," his detachment is confronted and most unceremoniously jostled, turned around, impeded, and opposed, by a con-

course of watery particles, very similar to those composing his more regular organization, but pursuing a directly contrary course. On inquiring into the cause of this rough treatment, the General is informed that he has wandered beyond the lines of the hosts of the Hudson, and is in collision with the advanced guard of the conjoined forces of the Passaic and the Hackensack, coming from the Blue Hills of New Jersey, and proceeding, with all speed and irresistible velocity, to a general rendezvous, at Sandy Hook.

Finding all endeavors at progress, in that direction, useless, the North corner of the new mouth being effectually closed against him, the General proceeds, we will suppose, to execute a flank movement—if he cannot get in at the North, he may through the South corner—so falling in with the advancing columns of the Passaic and Hackensack, he takes his detachment with them into the lower bay, and, watching his opportunity, he joins some returning Battalions wending their way, westward, toward the southern end of Staten Island. By skilful management, he prevents any of his force from being sent off with a scouting party up the Raritan, and is congratulating himself that, by continuing with the main body, proceeding northward, through the Sound, he is making rapid progress up the Hudson, when, lo! he finds that he and his detachment are being moved bodily to the westward into Achter Coll-bay. Again he resorts to strategy. Succeeding in getting off the direct line of progress, he stealthily conducts his detachment, to the right, into slack water, and moves onward, for awhile. Soon, however, is he interrupted and opposed by an overwhelming force that ridicules any attempt by his puny detachment to advance in that direction; and he finds himself and his command absorbed and carried off, to rejoin the column they had sought to escape from—victims to the grasping propensities of New Jersey.

Did General Cochrane ever know of a mouth of a river through which some portion of its stream did not run in one continuous ebb and flow of tide? But what the tides of "the Kills," "the Sound," and "Raritan-bay" refuse to do for the Hudson, they do, regularly, each and every day, for the Passaic and the Hackensack; in other words, "the Kills" is the northern mouth of those rivers, emptying into New York-bay, as Benson and Brodhead say: "the Sound" is their southern mouth, emptying into Raritan-bay. Would General Cochrane have announced to the New York Historical Society that "the waters of the Hudson, in their seaward current, debouch through both the Narrows and the Kills;" or that the "Hudson-river empties itself, through its two mouths, the Narrows and

the Kills, "into the Bay of New York?"—would he have thought it necessary to prepare his elaborate paper—had he known that *not a drop of the waters of the Hudson flows through the passage between Staten Island and the main?*

With this fact established, beyond controversy, that no waters of the Hudson ever "lave the "Staten Island shores," on the West, this Review might close; but a sense of what is due to truth and history prompts some reference to, and comment upon, the nature of the impeachment of New Jersey, before the public, thus made by the Attorney-general of her sister State of New York, and the manner in which she has been arraigned.

Mr. Cochrane says, "The efforts of New Jersey, to neutralize the commercial advantages of "New York and to promote her own aggrandizement, are notorious;" that "recklessness "and persistence" have characterized the prosecution of her "avaricious desires;" that, "carved, "surreptitiously, from the side of New York, "under the opiates of one, Captain John Scott, "artfully discharged upon the drowsed senses "of James, Duke of York, from the hour of her "separation to the present, she has formed her "national life to the rugged career of incessant "competition with her parent State;" and is eloquent in the use of expletives such as the "en-croachment," "pretentions," "preposterous "claims," etc., of New Jersey, exhibiting feelings of irritability and hostility towards the State, which, considering his official position, comity alone should have led him to restrain. Let these accusations receive a brief examination.

The right of James, Duke of York, as Grantee of his brother, Charles II., to convey to others that part of his domain now constituting New Jersey, does not seem to be questioned; and the intimate relations known to have existed between him and those to whom he disposed of it—(See PEPPY'S *Diary and Correspondence*)—warrants the assertion that the conveyance was intended to be full and complete, according to its tenor, whither "surreptitiously" obtained or not. He was dealing with personal friends, and not striving to outwit strangers, by only keeping "the word of promise to the ear;" and fully expected that the territory he described, with all its advantages and privileges, would pass into their quiet possession. His subsequent acts clearly prove this; for on the twenty-third of November, 1672, more than eight years after the Grant, in a letter to his Governor, Lovelace; on the twenty-ninth of July, 1674, in a new Grant to Sir George Carteret, in severalty; in another, on the tenth of October, 1680, to Sir George's grandson and heir; and, on the fourteenth of March, 1682, in still another Grant to the twenty-four proprietaries,

did he reaffirm, in the most emphatic manner the rights, powers, and privileges originally conveyed. Mr. Brodhead is of the opinion that, although the same words of conveyance were used in all these documents, they cannot be assumed as covering Staten Island, because Governor Nicolls, writing to Lovelace, in 1669, informs him that "Staten Island is adjudged to "belong to New York;" but the well-understood sentiments of Nicolls, in relation to the transfer of any part of New Jersey to Berkley and Carteret, render it very necessary to know *by whom* it was so "adjudged"—it was not, certainly, by any legal tribunal, or the question of title would, thereafter, have been definitely settled; but if "We of this Government," as Dongan expressed himself, were the only arbiters, it is not surprising that the decision should have failed to meet with general acceptance. It cannot be fairly presumed that such a curtailment of the original limits of his Grant should have been "adjudged," by James; and nothing appear on the face of his subsequent Grants to indicate any intention to change the boundaries—Grants made long after the "opiates of one, "Captain John Scott" must have lost their effect.

These boundaries were so explicit, that it is surprising there should have been any difference of opinion about them. It will do no harm to reproduce them here, inasmuch as they are only given in part by Mr. Cochrane:

"*All that tract of land adjacent to New England and lying and being to the westward of "Long Island and Manhattan Island, and bounded, on the East, part by the main sea and part by "Hudson River, and hath, upon the West, Delaware Bay or river, and extendeth southward "to the main ocean as far as Cape May at the "mouth of Delaware Bay; and to the northward as far as the northernmost branch of the "said Bay or River of Delaware, which is in "forty-one degrees and forty minutes of Latitude, "and crosseth over, thence, in a straight line, to "Hudson's River, in forty-one degrees of Latitude, which said tract of land is hereafter to "be called by the name or names of New "Cæsarea or New Jersey."*

Could language be used more definite? On the East, a river and the ocean; on the West and South, a river and a bay; on the North, a straight line extending, from a point in 41 deg. 40 min. N. L., on one river, to a point in 41 deg. N. L., on the other. Yet, it seems, the attempts of New Jersey to retain what was so clearly, in word and intention, conveyed to her, is characterized by Mr. Cochrane as indicating an avaricious and grasping spirit. Let a map of the States of New Jersey and New York be ex-

amined, and it will be found that the North partition point in their boundary is neither at the "northernmost branch of the Delaware" nor "in 41 deg. and 40 min. of Latitude" but at 41 deg. 21 min. 37 sec.—nearly twenty miles of Latitude South of where it should be—causing about two hundred thousand acres of the soil of grasping New Jersey to lie on the New York side of the line; and had the wishes, aims and projects of the latter *entirely* succeeded, the line would have been still further South.

It would be impossible to compress, within reasonable limits, the particulars of the negotiations that led to this result: if the details are desired, they can be found in the eighth volume of the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*. No one can give them an impartial examination without being satisfied that, if there were any "avaricious desires" exhibited through the long period during which the controversy lasted, it was *not* on the part of *New Jersey*.

Let the same map be looked at with reference to the eastern boundary. A stranger examining its details, with the view of locating the lines named in the Grant from James, would, most naturally, suppose that Staten Island—being part of the land westward and southward of Long Island and Manhattan Island—belonged to New Jersey; and it may be admissible here, although it has not been intended, in this review, to touch upon any legal points or technicalities, to draw attention to a passage from the argument of the New Jersey Commissioners, in 1828, showing what should be the effect of a literal carrying out of the peculiar phraseology of the Grant:

"Hudson-river and all the dividing waters are notoriously to the westward of Long Island and Manhattan Island, and, therefore, within the descriptive words of the Grant. The land to the westward of these islands passed by express words. This term [*land*] is of great extent, in its legal operation, including all above and all below the soil, and, therefore, embraces all the lands, westward, covered by water. Unless the words describing the land granted are rejected, *New Jersey must begin where those islands end*. Nor ought they be departed from, in favor of the Grantor, because he has added a general boundary, calculated to make it vague and uncertain. If a conflict exists between a particular description and a general boundary, the latter ought to yield to the former, for it is an established rule, in the construction of deeds, that if the Grantee's words are sufficient to ascertain the lands intended to be conveyed, *they shall pass*, although they do not correspond to some of the particulars

"of the description. Then, as no doubt can exist of the intention to pass all the lands, to the West of these two islands, the additional description, which makes the eastern boundary to be the main sea and the Hudson, ought not to lessen or impair the benefits of the Grant in favor of the Grantor, and against the Grantees."

How does it happen then, that New Jersey, with all her avaricious and aggrandizing tendencies, should have failed to secure the possession of Staten Island?

A student of our Provincial history needs not to be informed of the opposition made by Nicolls, whom the Duke of York had appointed Governor of all his possessions in America, to the transfer of New Jersey to Berkley and Carteret: it has already been adverted to. Before he was aware of the transfer, he had exercised authority over the tract and bestowed Grants upon persons intending settlements at Elizabethtown and in Monmouth-county; and it was not calculated to add to his amiability or courtesy towards the Proprietors' Governor, Philip Carteret, who arrived in 1665, to have those Grants very summarily nullified by his superior. Carteret's attention being engrossed by the weighty cares and responsibilities incident to his peculiar position in a new land, among strangers, and few, if any, trusty advisers, all expedients and measures for peopling and governing the Province, untried, is it not surprising that questions concerning boundaries or territorial rights, should, for a while, have been left untouched. It is not to be supposed, however, that, because, as Mr. Cochrane states, he has failed to discover any "recorded evidence" of the "initiation of New Jersey's enterprising encroachments" upon Staten Island, prior to 1681, that her right thereto was not previously thought of and asserted. It is susceptible of proof that acts of jurisdiction were performed by New Jersey, prior to that date, not only upon the island, but over the surrounding waters, in issuing Patents and establishing ferries—one ferry, between Communipau and New York, was licensed, as early as 1669, by Governor Carteret; and another was established between Bergen, Communipau, and New York, in 1678.—Mr. Cochrane has discovered an application made to the New York authorities for the establishment of one, in 1750, nearly a century later; and considers that a proof of jurisdiction over the waters being ascribed to that Province. Will he accord equal sufficiency to the prior cases, in New Jersey?

But as many of the inhabitants of the city of New York, both Dutch and English, had their plantations on Staten Island, their relations had been and continued to be altogether with

that place and Government; and, of course, the authority of the functionaries of New York became more firmly established with each passing year. Yet there are not wanting, evidences of a conviction, in the minds of some of the first men of that Province, that Staten Island had passed from under their control. Thus, in 1668, Samuel Mavericke, one of the King's Commissioners, in a letter to Secretary Arlington, says, plainly—when objecting to the transfer of New Jersey to Berkley and Carteret:—"The Duke hath left of his Patent *nothing to the West of New York.* * * Long Island is "very poor and miserable and beside the city "there are but two Dutch townes more, Sopus "and Albany." Staten Island was too important a settlement to have been left out of this summary, had it been regarded as yet a part of New York. If no doubt was entertained, how comes it that, as the *Winthrop Papers* show, Nicolls should think it of interest to announce that the island had been "adjudged to New York?"

It will be remembered, also, that negotiations were on foot for an exchange of New Jersey for other possessions on the Delaware; and that the exchange was thought, at one time, to have been perfected. This, of course, would repress any formal attempts, by Governor Carteret, to possess himself of the island: and, shortly after, came the Dutch to reconquer the country and unsettle the relations between the people and the Government. So that the point made by Mr. Cochrane, of the postponement of the "enterprising encroachments" of New Jersey, until 1681, if well taken, is susceptible of explanations showing it to have been perfectly consistent with an unshaken belief in the sufficiency of New Jersey's claim.

The repeated confirmations of the original boundaries, by the Duke, have already been adverted to. They cannot be otherwise considered than as virtual rebukes of the aggressive disposition of his Governors, and established, beyond doubt, his own intention to concede all his rights within those bounds; for, although his Secretary, Werden, at one time expressed some doubt as to whether the successors of Sir George Carteret ("for whom the Duke hath "much esteeme and regard") would receive from him equal favor, yet we find the same Secretary, as late as November, 1680, writing that his Royal Highness had been pleased "to "confirm and release to the Proprietors of "both Moities of New Jersey all their and his "Right to any Thing, besides the Rent reserved, "which heretofore may have been doubtful, "whether as to Government or to Publick duties, "in or from the places within their Grants." Is it at all surprising that, with such documents in their possession, the Proprietors should have

contested the occupancy of Staten Island by New York? or that, from that time to the year 1833, New Jersey should have consistently asserted the superior validity of her claim? Should her course, in doing so, without any resort to ultra measures to enforce it, bring upon her, contumely and unwarrantable aspersions?

Notwithstanding all the proceedings of New York calculated to exasperate her people—the forcible arrest and abduction of her citizens from her own soil, even from the very wharves of Jersey City, under processes from New York Courts—the neglect often shown to the appeals of New Jersey for some action that might lead to a settlement of the controversy—even actual insults, most pointedly evinced by the passage of an Act by one of the Legislative houses, in 1827, at the very time when Commissioners were in session, at Albany, discussing terms of compromise, which declared the boundary of New York to extend to low water mark, along the whole of the New Jersey shore—notwithstanding all these acts of attempted or successful aggression, New Jersey has ever shown, *not* an avaricious, but a conciliatory and liberal spirit never more clearly shown than in the terms she finally acceded to, by which she relinquished Staten Island and other possessions, in order that she might rescue her rights in the adjoining waters from the absorbing tendencies of New York.

One other topic is presented by Mr. Cochrane, which must be noticed before this *Review* of his remarkable paper is brought to a close. It is intimated, therein, that the determination of New Jersey's claims "will doubtless require the "ultimate decision of the Supreme Court of "the United States."

The Supreme Court of the United States has never before, probably, been held in *terrorem* over New Jersey. Asserting no claim not founded in right, asking nothing she might not reasonably expect to be granted, and ever ready to make all proper concessions for the preservation of peace and promotion of harmony, the decisions of the Supreme Court have rather been sought, than avoided, in all controverted cases, as likely to bring with them satisfactory results. This disposition has been remarkably evinced in the progress of the discussions with New York, respecting boundaries.

Who proposed, in 1818, the appointment of Commissioners to prepare a statement of facts, relative to the controversy, to be submitted to the Supreme Court for its decision? New Jersey! By whom was the proposition left, not only unresponded to, but *unnoticed*? New York! Who was it that, in 1828, declined to recommend a reference of the matter to the

Supreme Court, as suggested by the Commissioners of New Jersey? The Commissioners of New York! What, eventually, was the principal inducement New York had for the appointment of the Commissioners who agreed upon the terms of settlement, in 1833? The commencement of a suit, in the Supreme Court, with the view of having the just claims of New Jersey established! The fact is indisputable, that the unwillingness to bring the matters at issue to a judicial decision has all been on the part of New York. Why then, after New Jersey has thus fairly manifested her desire to abide by the decisions of the tribunal of last resort, does the Attorney-general of New York think it necessary to threaten her, therewith? Why, after more than thirty years acquiescence in, and, it is believed, cordial coöperation on the part of both States to carry out, the terms of the agreement entered into, in 1833, is it now thought becoming for so prominent an officer of the State of New York to call in question, in so public a manner, the propriety of that agreement, if not, indeed, its binding force? Doubtless, if Benjamin F. Butler, or Peter Augustus Jay, or Henry Seymour were living, the Historical Society of New York might have it demonstrated that, as Commissioners of New York, they did not assent, in that agreement, to anything which "trafficked" away "the interests of the State," or "compromised" them, by relinquishing a moiety of the un-"questioned rights of New York." It is no part of the writer of this *Review* to vindicate them: that must be left to others.

The agreement of 1833 was intended to be perpetual, every formality being observed calculated to give it a duration commensurate with the existence of the States themselves—having been confirmed by the Legislatures of both, and sanctioned by a special law of Congress, "made in pursuance of the Constitution," and, consequently, of supreme authority, "anything" in the Constitution or Laws of any State to "the contrary notwithstanding." Is it at all probable that the Supreme Court could, if it would, or would, if it could, set aside an agreement they made and they ratified? Surely, any attempt to disturb the amicable relations existing between the two States, by suggestions of the kind put forth by Mr. Cochrane, cannot but be considered impolitic, unjust, and unwarranted by any circumstances of the time.

Enough has been said to show how erroneous, in all respects, are the views the gentleman has promulgated in consequence of his misconception of the true topography of the district under discussion. Technicalities of law have not been touched upon, as their discussion entered not into the intentions of the writer;

but, had the claims of New Jersey been submitted, as she desired, to the decision of the Supreme Court, the results would, probably, have been more favorable for her interests.

The length of this *Review* precludes any discussion of the terms of the agreement of 1833—fixing the boundaries, as they now are. Although so inconsiderately denounced by Mr. Cochrane, they will be found, on examination, to have been framed in a spirit of anxious solicitude to put an end, forever, to the disputes between the two States, the concessions being, for the most part, made by New Jersey; and it is hoped that, neither by word nor deed, may the good understanding, then arrived at, be disturbed.

W. A. W.

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY, August, 1865.

NOTE—The views expressed in the foregoing *Review*, at variance with the opinion of Mr. Brodhead—that the Grant, by the Duke of York, to the twenty-four Proprietors of East Jersey, in 1682, although repeating the original boundaries, should not be considered as including Staten Island, because, in the intermediate time, Nicolls announced that the island had, by some one, been "adjudged to New York," despite those boundaries,—are fully sustained by the proceedings of a Council, held at "Fort James, Feb. 16, 1683-4," called, apparently, for the express purpose of considering the limits of that Grant, and by subsequent circumstances growing thereout—(*New York Minutes of Council, Liber 1683-88*.)

At that Council, Mr. Recorder, afterwards Attorney-general, Grahame, said, "he believed "in that clause, 'whole intire premises,'" [conveyed by the previous Grant to Berkley and Carteret,] "was to be understood only the intire tract of land, and the other clause, 'as far as in him lyeth,' made a doubt whether "the Duke had authority so far:" and, while in doubt, it was suggested that a Remonstrance should be sent to his Royal Highness, showing the "inconvenience of suffering East New Jersey to come up the river." The question involved was evidently the extending of East New Jersey to come "up the river," opposite Manhattan Island. No doubts seemed to have been entertained as to the effect of the Grant upon Staten Island and surrounding waters; for the Duke, as if to set at rest all questions growing out of the formerly-expressed boundaries, not only repeated them and conveyed the eastern moiety of "the whole intire premises," but added, "TOGETHER WITH ALL ISLANDS, BAYS, &c.," words not in the original Grant; and inserted the further significant clause "As also the free Use of all Bays, Rivers and Waters, leading into, or lying between the said

"Premises, or any of them, in the said Parts
"of East New Jersey, for Navigation, free
"Trade, Fishing, or otherwise."

That these words were considered by the Council as covering Staten Island and its waters, is conclusive from the fact that Captain John Palmer, the largest holder of lands on Staten Island, under New York Grants—one of the Council subsequently, and *present at the meeting referred to*, by invitation of the Governor—not esteeming his property there safe without a title from the Proprietors of East Jersey, immediately thereafter applied to them for Patents, and, on the twenty-sixth of May following, obtained them for seven tracts of land, covering in all four thousand, five hundred acres.

The letter also of the Earl of Perth and his associates, dated the twenty-second of August, 1684, written in consequence of the proceedings of this Council, states, expressly, "We Doubt
"not both the Duke, and they" [*this Commissioners*] "are fully convinced of our right in
"everie Respect, Both of Gouvernment, Ports,
"and Harbours, free trade and Navigation, and
"having spoke to the Duke, wee found him verie
"just, and to abhorre the thought of allow-
"ing any thing to be done contrary to what he
"hath passed under his hand and seall."

It may be, therefore, safely asserted that no idea was entertained by the Duke of York of deviating from the strict letter of the Grants, by which Staten Island must be considered as having been adjudged to *New Jersey*, not only before Nicolls's letter was written, but as in the last instance noted, more explicitly still, thirteen years thereafter, in the most authoritative and legal manner.

III.—EXPLORATIONS OF THE NORTH- WEST COAST OF THE UNITED STATES.

REPORT ON THE CLAIMS OF THE HEIRS OF CAP- TAINS KENDRICK AND GRAY.

[The history of the earliest explorations, discoveries, and purchases of the Indian titles on the North-west coast of North America is most concisely given in the following Report, presented to the Senate of the United States by a Senator from Michigan, ex-Governor Felch, in the First Session of the Thirty-second Congress. References are therein made to other Reports, made at other Sessions, which are printed in the volumes of Senate Documents.]

The heirs of the enterprising merchants of Boston who projected those early voyages of discovery and commerce, and the widow of Captain Gray, who discovered and entered the mouth of the Columbia-river, have repeatedly petitioned Congress for some remuneration for the heavy expenditures and losses incurred in those voyages which brought so much honor to the country and such large acquisitions of valuable territory. The several Committees, to whom these Memorials were referred, brought in their favorable Reports, accompanied with Bills, none of which have progressed to their passage before the adjournment of the several Congresses

which had considered the subject; and nothing remains, as a recompense for the outlay and the purchased territory of the enterprising discoverers and of those who sent them out, but the empty honor which this Report and other similar papers secure to them.

Among those who most earnestly supported the just claims for remuneration of those who thus memorialized the Congress was the distinguished President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop.—[*EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.*]

Mr. Felch made the following Report, (to accompany bill S. No. 526.—The Committee to whom was referred the Memorial of George Barrell and S. V. S. Wilder, in behalf of themselves and other heirs of the owners of the ship *Columbia* and sloop *Washington*, and the heirs of Captain John Kendrick, and Martha Gray, widow of Captain Robert Gray, praying the confirmation of their title to certain lands purchased of the Indian tribes, in 1791, on the Northwest coast of America; or such compensation as Congress shall deem just and proper for their explorations and discoveries in those regions, have had the same under consideration and make the following Report:

The memorialists represent, that, in the year 1787, a voyage of discovery and mercantile adventure was planned and undertaken by Joseph Barrell, Samuel Brown, Charles Bulfinch, John Derby, Crowell Hatch and John M. Pintard, who fitted out and despatched two vessels from the port of Boston, Massachusetts, to the Northwest coast of America—the one a ship, called the *Columbia*, commanded by Captain John Kendrick, and the other a sloop, called the *Washington*, commanded by Captain Robert Gray—which was the first voyage ever undertaken by citizens of the United States to the Northwest portion of this Continent; that so remarkable was the expedition considered, at that day, that medals, both of silver and copper, were struck, bearing on one side the representation of the vessels, encircled by their names, and, on the other, the names of the owners, with the date; that these vessels sailed from Boston on the first of October, 1787, and arrived at Nootka-sound, in the month of September, 1788; that they continued on the coast until the Summer of 1789, when Captain Gray re-discovered the Straits of St. Juan de Fuca, which he penetrated and explored before any English vessel had ever sailed upon its waters; that, on the third of July, 1789, they exchanged masters—Captain Gray, taking command of the *Columbia*, returned home; that, on the twenty-seventh of September, 1790, he sailed on a second voyage and cruised upon the Northwest coast till September, 1791, when he returned to Clioquot, for winter-quarters; when in the village of Clickslocutsee, twelve miles from the sea, he built a fort, and called it "Fort Defiance," which he mounted with

four cannon, supplying it with other munitions of war, and placing it under the command of a Mr. Haswell; that he there built a vessel of forty tons, called the *Adventurer*; that, in March, 1792, Captain Gray left Clioquot, to explore the coast, southward, and, on the eleventh day of May, in the same year, he discovered and entered the mouth of a large river, which, to this day, bears the name of the ship *Columbia*, which first ascended its waters, and thus perpetuates the memory of the original discovery; that Captain Gray sailed fourteen miles up this river, and, with the officers and marines of the ships, landed on its northerly bank, raised the American flag, and took possession of the country, in the name of the United States; that he continued in this river until the twenty-first of May, exploring its channels and trading with the natives; and that he named the two capes, at the entrance of the river, "Hancock" and "Adams." The memorialists further represent that Captain Kendrick remained on the coast, with the sloop *Washington*, and, in the Winter of 1789, he erected "Fort Washington" at Mauriana, in Nootka-sound; that, in 1790, he explored the whole extent of the Straits of De Fuca; that, in the Summer of 1791, he purchased of the native Chiefs, for the benefit of the owners, extensive tracts of land, and took formal possession of them, having obtained deeds for the same, embracing all the lands, rivers, creeks, islands, etc., with all the minerals, etc., from the Chief of the native tribe, who duly executed the same, attested by thirteen witnesses; and that copies of several of these deeds, with a full explanation of the transaction, in a letter from Captain J. Kendrick, addressed to the Hon. Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, are in the Department of State, and the affidavits of several early navigators, in further evidence of said purchases, are upon the files of the honorable House of Representatives.

The memorialists urge that, from these discoveries, explorations, purchases, and taking possession, with a claim of title which was recognized by Spain and by early English authorities, the United States Government founded their claim to be endowed with the strongest rights to the possession of the territories on the Northwest coast; and that immense benefits have resulted therefrom, and many millions of acres been added to our national domain. They further represent, that, from the unforeseen disasters attending so new and remote an enterprise, the projectors were subjected to great expenses and an entire loss of their investments. Captain Kendrick lost his life in an accidental discharge of a salute; the vessel and cargo of furs were subsequently lost on the coast of China; the original owners have now

all deceased; and their numerous heirs and representatives are dispersed throughout the States, and some of them, in advanced age, without adequate means of support; that several similar applications have been heretofore made, but, until the settlement of the question of division and boundary, with Great Britain, every application has been fruitless. They ask, in behalf of the heirs of the owners, the heirs of Captain John Kendrick, and the widow of Captain Robert Gray, that their title to the lands purchased on the Northwest coast, in 1791, may be confirmed, and for some reasonable remuneration, in land or money, for the benefits which have ensued to the United States, from their enterprise and discoveries.

Accompanying the Memorial, and in proof of the facts therein set forth, are several *original* books, maps, letters and other documents, which furnish the most conclusive proof of the foregoing facts. Copies of some of them, with extracts from others, your Committee append hereunto, and make part of this Report.

From the *Historical and Political Memoir on the Northwest Coast of America*, by Robert Greenhow, Translator and Librarian to the Department of State, published as Senate Document, No. 174, Twenty-sixth Congress, First Session, it appears that the Spaniards were the first discoverers of that coast; that, previous to 1774, they had examined the coast, as far North as the forty-third degree of Latitude, and the Russians, sailing eastward, across the Pacific, from their dominions in Asia, had discovered land southerly as far as the fifty-fifth degree of Latitude. In 1774, the Spaniards attempted to explore from the forty-third to the sixtieth degree; but the Spanish Government carefully concealed all information respecting these explorations, till 1802, when a meagre account of them was printed, in an introductory essay to the narrative of the voyage of the schooners *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, at Madrid.

In 1775, the Viceroy of Mexico ordered that another expedition should be sent out, for the purpose of examining the coast; and the *Santiago* and the *Sonora* were sent forth. The Journal of Maurelle, the Pilot of the latter, was published in London, in 1782. On the fourteenth of August, 1775, Heceta, the commander of the *Santiago*, while sailing along the coast, discovered a promontory, called by him, *Cape San Roque*, and, immediately South of it, in Latitude 46° 16', an opening in the land which appeared to be a harbor.

This opening, Greenhow thinks to have been the mouth of the Columbia-river, thus first beheld by the native of a civilized country. In March, 1778, Captain Cook, the English navigator arrived on the coast, who passed the

mouth of the Columbia, unnoticed, and first saw land a little beyond the forty-eighth parallel, to which he gave the name of Cape Flattery. The coast was carefully examined, in search of the Strait through which the Greek pilot, Juan de Fuca, was said to have sailed from the Pacific to the Atlantic, in 1592; and Cook declared that no such passage existed. Passing the Strait, unnoticed, he sailed along the shore of the island, which he supposed to be the Continent, as far as Latitude 49° 33' where he found a bay, in which he anchored, calling it King George's-sound, but afterwards Nootka-sound, which he believed to be its Indian designation.—(See Kerr's *Collection of Voyages*, Cook, Clark and Gove, Vol. xvi, Chap. iii., Sec. 13, et seq.)

In 1785, a small English brig crossed from Canton to Nootka-sound, from which she returned with a valuable cargo of furs; and, in 1786 and the the following years, vessels were also sent, direct from England, by an association of merchants, called the King George's-sound Company, and also by the Portuguese and Russians, for the purpose of engaging in the fur-trade.

The report of the success of the early voyages, in pursuit of furs, excited that spirit of enterprise so characteristic of the American merchants; and we find that, early in the year 1787, Joseph Barrell, an enterprising merchant of Boston, planned a voyage of discovery and mercantile adventure to this, then unknown, portion of the American Continent. The original plan of this voyage is in the hands of your Committee. It is in a manuscript book entitled *Annotations on Business*, by J. Barrell. It contains a minute detail and estimate of the anticipated expedition; the probable profits to be made; the plans to be adopted; and the steps taken to ensure success.

To show that the projectors of this great enterprise had nobler objects in view than mere private gains, we have only to quote the concluding paragraph of these proposals: "From the preceding statements, it must appear obvious how very favorable such a trade would be to the United States of America, as well as to individuals, for, in case of success, a very valuable property would be brought into the country from a trifling advance, and in a short time establish a trade superior to any the country enjoys at present; and the idea may, with propriety, be extended to an establishment in that country at least equal to what Hudson's-bay is to Great Britain."

That a voyage of discovery was likewise intended, is apparent from another paragraph, which we quote: "But, in case the fur-trade does not answer, at Nootka, then to proceed along the coast, to the northward, examining

"the same, in the most attentive manner, for bays, rivers, or harbors, suitable for trade, between Nootka and Prince William's-sound, in Latitude 60° 19' North, Longitude 213° 7' East, as between those two places the coast was not explored by Captain Cook or any former navigator."

In the fulfilment of this design, the ship *Columbia*, of over two hundred tons burden, and the sloop *Washington*, of about ninety tons, were procured, the former in command of Captain John Kendrick, and the latter under Captain Robert Gray.

Your Committee find in this manuscript book of Mr. Barrell, who was the originator and master-spirit of this enterprise, the original letter of instructions, entitled, *Orders given Captain John Kendrick, of the ship Columbia, for a voyage to the Pacific ocean*, which are referred to as exhibiting the designs and purposes of the projectors of the voyage; and extracts therefrom are appended to this Report. (A.)

The ledger of the owners, which is also before your Committee, gives their names, and shows the items and value of the invoice. These vessels, thus fitted out, sailed from Boston, in October, 1787, to accomplish their destiny and to carry the American flag to a sea over which it had, then, never swept, and the American name to a land where it had not, then, been heard. That sea is now white with the sails that float in security, under that flag; and that country, thus discovered and first visited by these daring adventurers, is now a part of the American Union; solicits the protection of our Constitution and our Laws; is represented, by its Delegate, upon the floor of our Congress and will, certainly, before long, seek admission as a sovereign State of this Republic.

The memorialists state that the sloop *Washington* entered and explored the Straits of De Fuca. This is admitted by the English navigator, Meares, in whose book of voyage to the Northwest coast, "published in London, 1790, are several maps having dotted lines round the island now called Vancouver's, representing a sketch of the supposed track of the American sloop *Washington*, in the Autumn of 1789." The Commissioners of the British Admiralty, in their Orders and Instructions to Captain Vancouver, dated the twentieth of August, 1791, give additional testimony to the fact: (See Voyage, i. 62), "You are therefore hereby required and directed to pay particular attention to the examination of the supposed straits of Juan de Fuca, said to be situated between 48° and 49° North Latitude, and to lead to an opening through which the sloop *Washington* is reported to have passed, in 1789."

The memorialists further represent that Captain Kendrick, in the year 1791, while on the coast, purchased several extensive tracts of land, of the native Chiefs, for the benefit of the owners of the *Washington*; that he took proper deeds for the same, duly executed and attested; and that copies of some of these deeds, with the letter enclosing them, addressed by Captain Kendrick to the honorable the Secretary of State, are on file in the State Department. Certified copies of the papers referred to, are herewith appended. (B.)

The affidavits of several early navigators, in further evidence of these purchases, are also appended. (C.)

We have already referred to the orders given to Captain Kendrick by the owners. By them, he was instructed to be sure to purchase the soil of the natives, in case he made any improvements, and that it would not be amiss, if he purchased some advantageous tract of land, in the name of the owners; and that the instrument of conveyance should bear every authentic mark the circumstance would admit of. It was under this authority, that Kendrick, from the stores of the *Washington*, as fitted out by the owners, paid these Chiefs, in articles of merchandise of which they were in need, and which were then of great value to them, as is expressed in the consideration-clause of some of the deeds.

Several original letters are filed with the Memorial. Captain Kendrick writes to J. Barrell, dated Macao, the twenty-eighth of March, 1792: "In my last voyage, I purchased of the natives, five tracts of land; and copies of the deeds which were signed shall be sent you the first opportunity."

To this, Mr. Barrell replies, under date of Boston, the second of January, 1793: "The copies of the deeds of the lands you have purchased are not yet at hand. I hope to receive them by next conveyance from you. At present, they appear to be of little value; but, in some future time, they may possibly be worth possessing."

In the dispute, in 1792, between Quadra, the Spanish Governor, and Captain Vancouver, respecting the possession of the building and spot of land said to belong to a British subject, Quadra applied to Captains Ingraham and Gray for a statement of the transactions on the Northwest coast. Their written reply bears date Nootka-sound, the third of August, 1792, and they say: "As to the land Mr. Meares said he purchased of Maquinnah or any other Chief, we cannot say further than that we never heard of any, although we remained among these people nine months and could converse with them perfectly well; besides this, we have asked Maquinnah and other

"Chiefs, since our late arrival, if Captain Meares ever purchased any land in Nootka-sound; they answered 'No, that Captain Kendrick was the only man to whom they had ever sold any land.'"

This is the testimony of two respectable men, with no interest in the purchases and no motive to falsify the truth, given within one year after the purchases.—(See Vancouver's *Voyage*, xxi., 345, 346; Greenhow's *Memoir*, 214.)

For an account of the dispute between Great Britain and Spain, relating to Nootka-sound, see Wheaton's *Elements of International Law*, Part ii, Chapter 4; also, Twiss on the *Oregon question*, London, 1846.

In this controversy, both the British and Spanish nations recognized the right which an individual had, at that time, to purchase the lands of the Indian Chiefs. It was claimed that the purchase of Meares, an Englishman, conferred upon the British Government the right of sovereignty. The fact of any purchase being made by Meares was contested; and it was fully proved that the Chiefs never sold any lands to Meares or to any other person than Captain Kendrick, whom they acknowledged to be the proprietor.

Mr. Robert Duffie, the Supercargo of a Portuguese vessel, being requested by Vancouver to give his testimony respecting the Nootka-sound difficulties, between England and Spain, says: "That, in July, 1789, he found the tents and houses of some of the people belonging to the *Columbia*, commanded by Mr. John Kendrick, under the flag and protection of the United States of America."—(See Vancouver's *Voyage*, i., 405.)

In the Department of State, are four manuscript volumes of the Journal of Captain Joseph Ingraham, of his voyage, in the brig *Hope*, from Boston to the Northwest coast, in 1790. These were purchased by the late Mr. Adams, when Secretary of State, for preservation in this Department. This is the same Ingraham mentioned by Vancouver as uniting with Captain Gray in a written statement to the Spanish Senor Quadra, in which they stated that the Indians denied that they ever sold lands to any person except Captain Kendrick. Their correspondence is inserted in Ingraham's Journal, iv., 185.

Again, on page 199, Ingraham writes, under date September, 1792: "Since the business between Senor Quadra and Captain Vancouver terminated, Maquinnah has executed to the Spaniards a deed of gift, accompanied by a declaration that he never sold any land whatever to Mr. Meares or any other person except Captain Kendrick, whom he acknowledged to be the proprietor of lands round

"Mahwinna; Captain Magie and Mr. Howard witnessed this deed and declaration."

This corroborates Captain Kendrick's letter to Mr. Jefferson, then Secretary of State, enclosing the copies of the five deeds, that his lands were expressly excepted in a conveyance made of the lands adjacent to and surrounding Nootka-sound, in September, to Senor Quadra; and that the Spanish crown, by accepting the conveyance with this reservation, allowed his to be a prior and valid purchase.

On Page 188, Volume iv., speaking of Maquinna and other Chiefs, Ingraham says: "Every one of them inquires after Captain Kendrick, saying they had plenty of skins for him; and they would not sell them to any one else. This they told us, in Kyaquot, Latitude fifty degrees North. Indeed, they all seemed very fond of Captain Kendrick, for he had treated them with great kindness."

The witness, John Cruft, whose affidavit is filed with the Memorial and appended hereunto, is mentioned by Captain Ingraham, Volume i, Page 46, where he speaks of "Mr. Cruft, my first officer;" and also in Volume ii, Page 80, "the cove I named 'Cruft's-cove,' after my chief officer."

The witness, John Young, is identified by Ingraham, Volume iv, Page 208. See also Irving's *Astoria*, Volume i, Chapter vi, Page 71; Jarvis's *Sandwich Islands*, Chapter vii. Vancouver studiously avoids any further mention of the purchases, and the Indian deeds to Kendrick, and his possession, lest the United States Government should be thereby reminded of its paramount right of jurisdiction over the soil which England, through him, was endeavoring to wrest from Spain. Ingraham, in Volume iii, Page 152, says, under date of the seventh of December, 1791: "In the evening, arrived the brig *Washington*, Captain John Kendrick, from the Northwest coast of America." This was written at Lark's-bay. He adds, "he had been into Nootka-sound, where the Spaniards had still possession."

Your Committee submit, with entire confidence, that no reasonable doubt can be entertained that several purchases of tracts of land were made by Kendrick, who paid a valuable consideration for each of them; and that he made those investments in pursuance of the orders given him, and for the benefit of the owners of the sloop *Washington*. The inquiry then arises, what was the extent of those purchases? In answering this question, there is some difficulty, arising from the imperfect knowledge of the country possessed, at the time of the execution of these Grants, and the necessarily imperfect description of the lands intended to be conveyed. We have, it is true, some knowledge of the names of the native Chiefs (which correspond to those in the

deeds) from the voyages of the English navigators Meares and Vancouver, and likewise a general account of the many villages under their authority. But the difficulty is further enhanced by the fact, which is most apparent, that the deed for the larger tract purchased by Kendrick never reached this country, nor any copies of it. The copies sent to the Department of State are of lands, the most southerly limit of which was the southerly part of Quadra, or Vancouver's Island, which is a little South of Latitude forty-nine degrees. They are believed to be entirely of lands on the island of Quadra, or Vancouver, and cover nearly its entire extent. The missing deed of another tract is claimed by the Memorialists to extend as far South as the river Chealitz or Chekilis—the forty-seventh parallel.

By the letters of J. Howell, the Clerk, who attested the copies sent to the Secretary of State, addressed to Mr. Barrell, after the death of Captain Kendrick, we ascertain that the deeds of the lands purchased on the Northwest coast were in his possession, in Canton, on the eleventh of May, 1795; that the originals were transmitted from Macao, on the twenty-third of December, 1796; that the letter was miscarried and the deeds out of his possession, on the sixth of December, 1797; that he was in daily expectation of receiving the deeds, at Manila, on the twenty-eighth of May, 1798; and should certainly have them transmitted.—(Doc. No. 43, H. of Reps., 26th Congress, 1st Session.) Those papers were never received in this country, nor could they be traced out, in the East Indies, although efforts were made by the owners, through a period of twenty years, to find them.

There is some evidence, however, which tends to establish the extent of their purchases to be to the forty-seventh parallel.

On the first of December, 1794, Mr. Joseph Barrell writes to Colburn Barrell, of London: "If you wish for large employ, I can give you commission to sell upwards of six millions of acres on the Northwest coast of America, better land and better climate than Kentucky." In his letter of the eighteenth of June, 1795, he writes that the deeds are in China and contain all the authenticity that could be given, for four degrees of Latitude, or two hundred and forty miles square. (D.)

Mr. Wardstrom, in his work on *True Colonization*, published at London, 1795, Page 363, expresses full confidence in the extensive purchase of land on the North-west coast of America; and likewise gives in his work impressions of the medals. * A Circular was also issued in

* The Medal, presented by the Owners to Captain Kendrick, was presented by his widow, through Mr. Hall J. Kelly, in

London, on the thirty-first of August, 1795, at the very threshold of Parliament, printed in four different languages, and extensively circulated, which was addressed to the inhabitants of Europe, and claimed that the purchase, made by Captain Kendrick, for the owners, was "a tract of delightful country, comprehending four degrees of Latitude, or two hundred and forty miles square." (E.)

Mr. Colburn Barrell writes to J. Barrell from London, on the twenty-fifth of September, 1795, that Mr. Hoskins, who had just returned to France, (and who was the Clerk of the *Columbia*), had "promised to recollect to us, in a letter, all he knows on the subject; adding some account of another tract, purchased by Captain Kendrick, and also of a tract which he took formal possession of, in the name of the United States."

McPherson, in his *Annals of Commerce*, London, 1805, Volume iv, Page 208, says: "Captain Kendrick, apparently with a view to establish a permanent settlement, purchased a tract of land two hundred and forty miles square, from the natives."

Mr. Baylie's Report, No. 213, H. of Reps., 19th Congress, 1st Session, on the North-west coast of America, presented on the fifteenth of May, 1828, pp. 13 and 14, asserts that the American title is strengthened by the purchases of the natives of a tract of land on these coasts, by prior discovery of the river Columbia, and by its exploration from some of its sources in the Rocky mountains to the ocean.

The North American Review, Vol. ii, March,

1848, to Hon. Judge Thornton, of Oregon. The Editor of the *Pacific Advocate*, in the Fall of 1858, describing his visit to the picturesque residence of Judge Thornton, at "Fairmount Lake," Linn-county, says: "We spent a very pleasant hour at the hospitable dwelling of the Judge, and learned from him many interesting events connected with the early history of the country. Oregon is greatly indebted to the Judge, for the useful service he has rendered her, both as an historian and in his judicial and representative character."

"Among the pleasant incidents of our brief stay with the Judge, was the sight of the identical silver medal presented to Captain J. Kendrick. The history of the medal is this: 'It was struck by the persons who were the proprietors of the *Columbia* and the projectors of the voyage which resulted in the discovery of that noble river. The medal was given by the widow of Captain Kendrick to Mr. Hall J. Kelly, a gentleman of liberal education, who, at an early day, had largely interested himself in the development of this coast, and who spent several years here. The gift was accompanied with the request that Mr. Kelly would make an appropriate disposition of the medal. When, in 1858, Judge Thornton was at Washington, on behalf of Oregon, Mr. Kelly gave it to him. At a suitable moment, the Judge intends to deposit it, somewhere, for safe keeping, as a valuable historical relic. The medal is something larger than a dollar, bearing, on one side, the inscription, 'Fitted, at Boston, N. America, for the Pacific Ocean: By J. Barrell, S. Brown, C. Bulfinch, J. Darby, C. Hatch, J. M. Pintard, 1787.' On the other side, are an ocean scene, and two ships with the marginal inscription, '*Columbia* and *Washington*, commanded by J. Kendrick.'"

1816, p. 304, mentions this purchase of a large tract of country, near the Columbia-river, and says, that the deed was supposed to be in the possession of some merchant interested in the expedition.

The testimony of Mr. Ebenezer Dorr, who was the Supercargo of the brig *Hope*, commanded by Captain Ingraham, is, that, in 1792, he was intimate with Captain Kendrick, and frequently on board his vessel, the *Washington*; that he saw, read, and examined, several deeds executed by the Indians on the Northwest coast, to Kendrick; that he recollects a conversation respecting a certain deed of a tract of land being in a square, taken of the Indians, by Kendrick, for the owners of the vessels, *Columbia* and *Washington*; that a pile of stones were raised and trees marked, near the head of navigation of a river; and that the square, bounded on one side by a river, extended eight days journey on each side. This may have been the extent of country over which the tribe who sold the land were supposed to roam, and was inserted, by their suggestion to the Captain, who had no personal knowledge of the interior of the coast.

Mr. Greenhow, the laborious investigator of all matters connected with the North-west coast, after citing the accumulative evidence of the purchase of four degrees, says, in his Memoir, Senate Doc. No. 174, 26th Congress, 1st Session, p. 121: "the whole island in which those territories are situated extends along two and a half degrees of Latitude, so that other lands must have been purchased by Kendrick;" Page 122: "that the transactions here described, between Kendrick and the savage Chiefs, did really take place, there is no reason to doubt."

The Journals of the ships show that they traded with the natives South of the straits to the river they called Chealitz, which pours into Gray's, or Bulfinch, harbor.

From the forty-seventh parallel to the fifty-first, beyond the northern limit of the purchases, is about four degrees of Latitude, and is, in the opinion of your Committee, undoubtedly the location of the tract purchased of the Indians and claimed by the owners, with the admission of the British navigators and authors.

The memorialists represent that Captain Robert Gray sailed from Boston, on his second voyage, in September, 1790, in the ship *Columbia*, for the North-west coast.

Your Committee append hereunto (F) copies of—

1. The letters granted by the President of the United States, dated at the city of New York, on the sixteenth day of September, 1790, under the seal of the United States, signed by

George Washington and by Thomas Jefferson, then Secretary of State.

2. The sea-letter of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, dated the twenty-fourth day of September, 1790, signed by John Hancock, then Governor, and John Avery, Jr., then Secretary of State.

3. The certificate of the cargo of the said ship *Columbia*, dated the twenty-fifth of September, 1790, under the official seal, signed by Benjamin Lincoln, then Collector, and James Lovell, then Naval Officer, at the port of Boston.

The memorialists represent that their ancestors expended large sums of money in fitting out this as well as the prior voyage of the *Columbia*; that they made, through their Master, Robert Gray, important discoveries on the Northwest coast, which redounded to the glory of their country; that, as the result thereof, our Government has sustained, successfully, its claims to millions of acres of lands which border on the Pacific ocean; and that their investments resulted in a ruinous loss to those who engaged in the enterprise.—(See Ingraham's Journal, Vol. i, Page 2, Vol iv, Page 180.)

It has already been stated that the Spanish Heceta, in 1775, saw an entrance, in Latitude $46^{\circ} 16'$, South of the promontory he called St. Roque, and supposed there might be a river or harbor. In 1788, John Meares, in the *Felice*, from Macao, made an attempt to discover it, as will appear from the account of his voyage, Page 167, London, 1790. He says: "After we had rounded the promontory, a large bay, as we had imagined, opened to our view, that bore a very promising appearance, and into which we steered with every encouraging expectation. As we steered in, the water shoaled to nine, eight, and seven fathoms, when breakers were seen, from the deck, right ahead, and, from the masthead, they were observed to extend across the bay; we therefore hauled out, and directed our course to the opposite shore, to see if there was any channel, or if we could discover any port. The name of Cape Disappointment was given to the promontory; and the bay obtained the title of "Deception-bay. By an indifferent meridian observation, it lies in the Latitude of $46^{\circ} 10'$ North, and in the computed Longitude of $235^{\circ} 34'$ East. We can now, with safety, assert that there is no such river as that of Saint Roe exists, as laid down in the Spanish charts."

Vancouver, in 1792, April 27, examined this part of the coast, with Meares's description before him, but so formidable were the breakers and shoal-waters that he, not considering this opening worthy of more attention, continued his pursuit to the Northwest. On the afternoon of

the twenty-ninth, the next day, but one, he met the American ship *Columbia*, commanded by Mr. Robert Gray, belonging to Boston, whence she had been absent nineteen months. Her Captain, Gray, informed him of his having been off the mouth of a river, in the Latitude of $46^{\circ} 10'$, where the outset or reflux was so strong as to prevent his entering for nine days. "This was probably," adds Vancouver, in his Journal, "the opening passed by us on the forenoon of the twenty-seventh;" and, as if determined to put on record his confidence in his own superior sagacity, and his discredit of the observations of the American Captain, he says: "It must be considered as a very singular circumstance, that, in so great an extent of seacoast, we should not, until now, have seen the appearance of any opening in its shores which presented any certain prospect of affording shelter, the whole coast forming one compact, solid, and nearly straight barrier against the sea."

But the interview with the British commander served not to discourage, but to arouse, the energy and spirit of the American Captain, who returned to the dangerous opening, resolved to enter it and brave its perils. The annals of commerce can show but few instances of similar perseverance and daring on the part of a merchant Captain. It required more than common resolution to be the first to hazard life and property in that unknown, solitary wilderness of breakers, reefs, and shoals, not for the sake of pecuniary reward, but to discover and make known to the civilized world the existence of a mighty river, which had, for ages, rolled in undisturbed solitude through an unknown portion of the globe.

Captain Wilkes, in his valuable narrative, Volume iv., Page 313, says: "Mere description can give little idea of the terrors of the bar of the *Columbia*. All who have seen it have spoken of the wildness of the scene, the incessant roar of the waters, representing it as one of the most fearful sights that can possibly meet the eye of the sailor."

From the log-book of the ship *Columbia*, it appears that Captain Gray stood in for the shore, on the seventh of May, 1792, and beat about among the breakers, &c., till about noon of the eleventh; when we were over the bar, we found this to be a river of fresh water, up which we steered. Extracts from this log-book are published in House Report, No. 213, 19th Congress, 1st Session, p. 7; also Report, No. 101, 25th Congress, 3d Session, p. 47-8-9, and Senate Document 174, 26th Congress, 1st Session, p. 125, from which it appears that Captain Gray sailed up this river about fourteen miles, and remained in it until the morning of the

twenty-first of May. He named it COLUMBIA, after the name of his ship. The North side of the entrance, which Meares called Cape Disappointment, he gave the name of Cape Hancock; the South, Adams Point. In the log-book, under date of "Tuesday, May 15," we read: "At 10 a. m., unmoored and dropped down with the tide to a better anchoring place. Smiths and other tradesmen constantly employed. In the afternoon, Captain Gray and Mr. Hoskins, in the jolly-boat went on shore to take a short view of the country." We find upon the North side of the river, Gray's Bay and Gray's Point laid down in our Government Surveys. In the correspondence submitted, we have the declarations of the officer of the *Columbia* who first landed, that he recollects hoisting the American flag and planting some New England pine-tree shillings under a tree.

Your Committee have had before them the original day-book in which entries were daily made of the articles of traffic disposed of, under the dates of the transactions, and the points touched at by the ship. These entries are found to corroborate the log-book and the history of that discovery. The merit of this discovery cannot be disputed. The geographers of the world have adopted the name which Gray gave to it. Vancouver, at last, (p. 388-393) fully admitted the discovery, and admits that he is indebted to Captain Gray for charts of this Latitude.

Your Committee have also had submitted to them an original map of the Northwest coast, by John Hoskins, Supercargo of the ship *Columbia*, bearing date 1791 and 1792, upon which the coast and river are laid down, as well as the island of Vancouver and the straits, with a striking degree of accuracy, for that early period, and proving, incontestibly, that this river, which is found on no previous map or chart, was then explored and mapped. The Spanish Government, in 1802, printed at Madrid, by royal order, a work entitled *Viaje del Sutil Mexicana, en 1792*, which says, (p. 157): "September 4, 1792—We found the shape of the land, in sight, to conform with that of a plat of survey made by the active American navigator, Gray, of the river which he called Columbia, after the name of the ship which he commanded." Ingraham inserted a chart of the coast in his journal, (Vol. iv., Page 206), under date October, 1792, and says—"Every part of the coast South of Cape Flattery and Pintado-sound, are from Captain Gray's information." The Columbia-river is laid down, for several miles from its mouth. There is abundant evidence that these purchases, designed to establish permanent settlements upon the lands thus discovered, explored, and purchased, were taken possession

of, in the name of the United States. Mr. Barrell, in his first proposition, conceived the idea of a valuable acquisition to the country, and, at the same time, of a trading establishment of great importance. As soon as he learned, from Captain Kendrick, that these purchases had been made, he opened a correspondence with a prominent house in London, through whom he endeavored to procure emigrants from all the nations of Europe, rather than to draw upon the more sparse population of this then infant Republic.

Captain Kendrick, in his letter to Hon. Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, enclosing the deeds and seeking the protection of Government for the security of the rights thereby acquired, makes allusion to some future settlement, and to the benefits resulting to the Union, from possessions on the coast. But the accidental death of Captain Kendrick—(see Jarvis's *History of Sandwich Islands*, p. 155)—by the premature discharge of a national salute, and the entire loss of the vessel, with her cargo, while under the command of his Clerk, struck a deathblow to these hopes. The projectors of this daring enterprise beheld others availing themselves of the results of the exploration made by their capital and at the risk of their lives, and, aided by the example they had been the first to set, reaping rich returns; while they, themselves, lost all they had invested (save these purchases of lands, then of unknown value, and were disappointed in their long-indulged prospects of success.

Captain Robert Gray died soon after, leaving his widow and four daughters, who have supported themselves by their own exertions. The originator of the enterprise and the principal owners are believed to have died, insolvent.

The disastrous result of the Astoria settlement, upon the Columbia-river, a few years after, so affected the commercial world that no inducement could encourage the survivors of the owners or the heirs of the deceased to migrate thither; but they have never ceased to implore the Government to extend its protection to their claims. Among the letters, submitted to your Committee, is one from Charles Bulfinch, who was the last survivor of the original owners, addressed to his sons, on the nineteenth of February, 1830, in which he says that he has flattered himself that, if a settlement or colony was established on Columbia-river, Government would make a grant of land in consideration of their being the first discoverers, and having opened to the country a very lucrative commerce, of which they had not profited; that, upon consultation with one of the sons of Joseph Barrell, they agreed to go, together, to Mr. Rush, who had just returned home, and, not being in

the administration, could give them an unbiased opinion; that Mr. Rush was of opinion that any body of adventurers or colony who should settle on the North bank of that river would be driven off, or be obliged to submit to the jurisdiction of England; that, after much consideration, he suggested that the best chance of obtaining any advantage from the claim would be, that Congress should condition that, in any Treaty of boundary, the rights of original purchasers should be recognized; and that, from the general liberality of the British Government, he presumed they would do so.

The claimants have, from time to time, petitioned Congress for a recognition of their rights, and for some reward for their sacrifices in making these discoveries. A bill was reported in the House, during the Thirtieth Congress, granting ten sections of land, in the territory of Oregon, to the widow of Robert Gray, upon her separate application; but it never became a law. (Mr. Broadhead's Report, No. 502, 30th Congress, 1st Session.)

The services of Captain Robert Gray, however meritorious, could never have been rendered to the country had it not been for the remarkable sagacity, bold enterprise, and large investments of Joseph Barrell and his associates.

The Government of the United States always claimed title to the coast, from the forty-second degree to 54° 40' North parallel, embracing the vast and valuable territory drained and watered by the river and its branches. It held, in the Department of State, the copies of the deeds from the native Chiefs and the letter which enclosed them, from Captain Kendrick, who desired to secure the property in the lands to his owners, through himself, and the jurisdiction thereof to the United States. During the administration of President Jefferson, an expedition was fitted out, by the Executive, under Lewis and Clark, to explore the section of country which these claimants had previously discovered, and a portion of which they claimed to have purchased and taken into formal possession.

The annual Messages of our Presidents, Monroe and Adams, recommended Congress to turn their attention to "our coasts along many degrees of Latitude upon the shore of the Pacific ocean." Mr. Adams, in his Message to the Nineteenth Congress, says: "The river of the West, first fully discovered and navigated by a countryman of our own, still bears the name of the ship in which he ascended its waters, and claims the protection of our flag at its mouth."

A private correspondence between the Government and the surviving owners, in 1816 and

1817, was filed with the Memorial. (G.)

The Department of State has likewise had possession of the Journals of Captain Ingraham, who was upon the coast during the years these events took place, and who confirms their history. Scarcely has there been held a Session of Congress, since that period, but in it some Report has been made which referred, for our title, to this discovery and claim. Messrs. Galatin and Rush most firmly maintained this, at the Court of St. James, in 1818, (*American State Papers*, Vol. iv.—Foreign Relations, Vol. iv., p. 381;) and again, in 1825-'6 (see *British and Foreign State Papers*, pp. 499, 509; *Wheaton's Elements of International Law*, Part ii., Chap. 4.)

By the Treaty of 1846, the Government of the United States, for the sake of peace and to avoid a War involving an expenditure of millions of money and the sacrifice of the lives of thousands of its citizens, relinquished, to Great Britain, the jurisdiction and the soil of some three hundred miles of territory claimed by the former on the Pacific coast.

In concluding this Treaty it was, of course, never supposed that the rights of any American citizen claiming an interest in the territory thus yielded to the British Crown, were put in jeopardy. While the Treaty, however, confirmed to British subjects residing on that portion of the territory which was confirmed to the United States, their possessory rights to their lands, no such provision was made in favor of American citizens claiming rights North of the divisional line established by the Treaty. As to the portion of country lying North of the forty-ninth parallel of Latitude, and embracing also the whole of Vancouver's-island, the jurisdiction and title has passed to Great Britain; and whatever might be the views of this Government, in regard to a recognition of the claimants' interest, either legal or equitable, to the land therein covered by the Indian deeds, there remains no power in this Government to confirm the title. But, within the portion of country retained by and confirmed to the United States, by the Treaty, there remains about two degrees of Latitude by four of Longitude covered by these purchases, as claimed in the Memorial, to have been made of the native Chiefs, in 1791, and as appears to have been sustained by affidavits respecting the deeds which are lost, admitted by the English navigators and authors of that early day, and repeatedly referred to in the public documents and Reports to Congress. The memorialists ask to have the title to this tract of land confirmed to them.

The purchase of lands of the Indians, by individuals, was, at an early day, prohibited by the authorities of the British nation, within the

region claimed to be subject to her jurisdiction. In 1783, a Proclamation was issued by the American Congress, prohibiting all such purchases of land, without the limits or jurisdiction of any particular State, without the express authority of Congress, and declaring every such unauthorized purchase, void. This prohibition evidently had relation to purchases in the Indian country, lying within the boundaries of the United States, but beyond the limits of organized States. The region of the Pacific coast could not, at that time, have been within the contemplation of Congress, in this Proclamation. It was then, in effect, a foreign as well as an unexplored country. It is true, that some of the original Grants of land, made by Great Britain, on the Atlantic side of the continent, were specified to run, westwardly, to the "great South sea;" yet these grantors had neither jurisdiction nor knowledge of the immense country between the Mississippi and Pacific coast; and, at the time of its first exploration, Spain had jurisdiction and possession, admitted by all parties, of the extensive valley of the Mississippi, stretching from the Gulf of Mexico to the Latitude of the northern lakes. This broad extent of country, long held, in uninterrupted possession, by Spain, effectually divided the jurisdictional limits of the United States from that unknown territory, beyond. It was not until after the discoveries of the coast, on the Pacific side of the continent, and the incipient establishment of stations for the fur-trade and the cession of the dividing region of Louisiana to the United States, that explorations were ordered, the right to the country claimed, and jurisdiction asserted and maintained, by our own Government.

It may well be doubted, then, whether the Proclamation of Congress, prohibiting purchases of the Indians, can be regarded, in any sense, as applying to purchases made on the Pacific coast, at the time of the visit of the *Columbia* and the *Washington* to that region. It would seem more in accordance with the truth, to regard that country as new, and unexplored, and unappropriated by civilized man. Approached only by the ocean, it should be regarded, like the islands of the Pacific, subject to discovery and possession by the new comers, whose rights, as between different claimants and in regard to the uncivilized native inhabitants, should be those which pertain to the recognized laws of newly-discovered lands.

The principles relative to such new discoveries, it is believed, are well-settled in the code of civilized nations. The citizen of any country first taking possession, does so in the name of his nation; and the jurisdiction of the country, with the exclusive right to the soil, subject

to the possessory right of the natives, vests in the Government of him who first asserts and maintains possession. The right to extinguish the possessory title of the natives does not rest in the individual discoverer, but in his Government; and a purchase thus made by him, of the natives, would, it is conceived, give no title as against his Government, unless made with the previous consent of the latter, or subsequently confirmed by the proper authorities of his nation.

If this view of the subject be correct, it follows, that the owners of the two vessels acquired no title in the land by their purchase of the Indian Chiefs. It does not follow, however, that they are the less entitled to the consideration of their Government, for the benefit bestowed on the latter by the negotiation and purchase. On the contrary, such services, attended with such beneficial results, at the instance and cost of the individual citizen, would seem to present a strong claim, in his behalf, to the consideration of his Government.

The mere discovery of a country inhabited only by savages, is not, alone, sufficient to secure an appropriation of it by the nation in whose name the discovery is made. If no actual possession is taken, or a mere nominal possession, followed by an immediate abandonment, is all that can be claimed, other nations may take possession, by settlement and actual continued occupancy; and, by colonization, they may become the rightful owners. In deciding on the strength of the claim of a civilized nation, in such a case, every circumstance which relates to the discovery, the possession, the settlement, and the continued claim of right, is regarded as important. And the relations established with the native Chiefs and inhabitants of the country, especially where the consent of the latter to the establishment of colonies, the proffer of amicable and exclusive rights of traffic, and the Grant of lands, for purpose of settlement, cannot be disregarded. It is difficult to conceive of a stronger circumstance, in establishing our national right to the country, than that which is exhibited by the facts connected with this purchase and the oft-repeated admonition of the natives, to the adventurers of other nations, declaring the rights of the American navigators, by solemn compact and Grant, to the territory and the kind relations established between them and the Chiefs.

The value of the discoveries, made by these vessels, to the American people must not be overlooked nor lightly esteemed.

The intrepid and noble mariners who first left our ports and doubled the Cape, in compliance with their instructions from the merchant-owners, not to stop at any port of the western

coast, known to the European world, unless driven there, by some unavoidable accident, merit the highest tribute of respect which can be paid to their memories. Whilst other nations were fitting out their royal ships, commanded by officers of high naval rank, commissioned by Lords of Admiralty, and sustained, at home, by the royal treasury, we behold these humble men, inspired by the ambition which burned in the American breast, in the infancy of our Republic, sailing forth, in ships named in honor of the discoverer of our Continent and of the father of our liberties, and bearing, for their sea-letter, George Washington's request to the Emperors and potentates of the world, that they would receive them with kindness and in a becoming manner, and thereby he would consider himself under much obligation.

Captains John Kendrick and Robert Gray each found an early grave; and their children and widow now appeal to our sympathies, for some testimonial of their services. The ledger of the owners shows the items of the original invoice, to the amount of upwards of £7,000. Let, to this, be added the cost of the vessels and outfit, with interest—which also proved to be a total loss to the owners—the aggregate would be the pecuniary amount expended by the claimants.

The Committee do not forget that, in the discussions which have heretofore been had, on the subject of the American title to the Oregon country, the right has not been rested, exclusively, on discovery and possession by Americans. The early Spanish navigators—the first to sail along the coast and to plant the cross and the standard of their country, on its shores, in the name of their Sovereign—were also invoked, as witnesses of the right of Spain to the territory, which rights were, by the Treaty, of 1819, transferred to this nation. But, in all these discussions, reliance has not been placed exclusively on this ground. The historical incidents, to which reference is made in the Report, have also, uniformly, although not to their full extent, been adduced, in proof of the title of our nation to the country on the western portion of this Continent. The discovery of Captain Gray, followed, as it was, in a reasonable time, with the explorations of Lewis and Clark, in 1803, upon the recommendation of President Jefferson, and by the settlements, on the banks of the river, in 1811, called Fort George, or Astoria, which, having been taken by the *Raccoon*, during the War with Great Britain, was, subsequently, on the sixth day of October, 1818, restored, in conformity with the first Article of the Treaty of Ghent, as a territory, place, and possession taken from us, is, at least, as strong a title to the Oregon country as that

by which distant territories are usually held by civilized nations. If, to these, the character and objects of the American navigators are added; the amicable relations between them and the acknowledged Chiefs of the country; the Grants, to them, of lands of large extent; and their occupation of it, it may well be doubted whether even Spain herself could exhibit a better claim, founded on her intercourse with the region, than that which is made out, under the principles of international law, by the acts of these enterprising American explorers. From a careful review of the history of these discoveries and possessions, scattered, as it is, in detached portions, through volumes relating only, incidentally, to the subject, in the journals of the navigators of other countries, and in manuscripts to which the reading public have no access, we can scarcely refrain from the exclamation that the value of the services of these men has never yet been duly appreciated by their country. They have done enough to secure to the nation the extensive and rich region washed by the Oregon, and looking out on the Pacific, now just beginning to be whitened by the sails of all commercial nations on the globe. Fame has scarcely deigned to notice their noble enterprise; and pecuniary compensation has rewarded neither them nor their children. The toil, the hazard, the loss, was theirs: the fruit of all was not for the toilers—it was thrown into the lap of their country. The appeal of their surviving representatives is made to that country for a recognition—small, though it may be—for a recognition of their services and their merits.

The Committee could not, of course, in any ordinary case, recommend a compensation "to be given for services in connection with the early explorations or settlement of the newer portion of our wide-extended domain." The services in the case under consideration are, however, of so peculiar a character that they believe the Government owes it to the merits of these men and their services, to depart from the general rule and to make them some compensation, in land, in the region where their services were performed and where the purchases were made of the native Chiefs. They, therefore, herewith, report a Bill giving to the widow of Captain Gray, and to the children of Captain Kendrick, and to each of the owners of the two exploring vessels, five sections of land. This small Grant, although insignificant in pecuniary value, may yet afford a solace, in the declining years of some of the petitioners, while it will prove, to them all, that time has not obliterated from the memory of their country the worth and the services of their departed relatives.

APPENDIX.

A.

ORDERS GIVEN CAPTAIN JOHN KENDRICK, OF THE SHIP COLUMBIA, FOR A VOYAGE TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

SIR : The ship *Columbia* and sloop *Washington* being completely equipped for a voyage to the Pacific-ocean and China, we place such confidence in you as to give you the entire command of this enterprise. It would be impossible, upon a voyage of this nature, to give, with propriety, very binding instructions; and, such is our reliance on your honor, integrity, and good conduct, that it would be needless, at any time. You will be on the spot, and, as circumstances turn up, you must improve them; but we cannot forbear to impress on your mind our wish and expectation that the most inviolable harmony and friendship may be cultivated between you and the natives, and that no advantage may be taken of them, in trading, but that you endeavor, by honest conduct, to impress upon their minds a friendship for Americans.

If you make any fort or improvement of land, upon the coast, be sure you purchase the soil of the natives; and it would not be amiss if you purchased some advantageous tract of land, in the name of the owners, if you should let the instrument of conveyance bear every authentic mark the circumstances will admit of. * * * You will constantly bear in mind that no trade is to be allowed, on the coast, on any pretence whatever, but for the benefit of the owners. * * * You are strictly enjoined not to touch at any part of the Spanish dominions on the western continent of America, unless driven there by some unavoidable accident, in which case you will stay no longer than is absolutely necessary; and, while there, be careful to give no offence to any of the subjects of his Catholic Majesty; and, if you meet with any subjects of any European prince, you are to treat them with friendship and civility.

The certificate you have from the French and Dutch Consuls you will make use of, if you meet with any ships of those nations; and you will pay them every respect that is due to them.

The sea-letters from Congress and this State you will also show, on every proper occasion; and, although we expect you will treat all nations with respect and civility, yet we depend you will suffer insult and injury from none, without showing that spirit which will ever become a FREE AND INDEPENDENT AMERICAN.

B.

[PAPERS FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT.]

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

I certify, that the papers hereunto attached are true copies of papers on file in this department.

In testimony whereof, I, James Buchanan, Secretary of State of the United States, have hereunto subscribed [SEAL.] my name, and caused the seal of the Department to be affixed.

Done, at the city of Washington, this 9th day of February, A. D., 1849, and of the independence of the United States of America, the seventy-third.

JAMES BUCHANAN.

[I.—LETTER FROM CAPTAIN KENDRICK TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE, IN BEHALF OF THE SPANISH GOVERNOR OF JUAN FERNANDEZ.]

ON BOARD THE SHIP LADY WASHINGTON,
HARBOR OF MAW-WIN-NA, ST. CLAIR'S ISLAND,
NORTH-WEST COAST OF AMERICA.

SIR : I have the honor to address you on a subject which I conceive the honor of the Government of the United States to be interested in, and the following relation of which I request you to lay before the President, hoping that, in his humanity, the oppressed will find a protector, and, by the representations he, in his wisdom, may direct to be made to the Court of Madrid, the unfortunate may be relieved.

In the year 1787, an expedition under my command was fitted out from Boston, for prosecuting the fur-trade, on the North-west coast of America; and, after doubling Cape Horn, in a very tempestuous season, my ship, the *Columbia*, was considerably disabled, and I was in great want of both water and wood. My tender, the *Washington*, sloop, had parted company with me, off the cape, and I had no other alternative than repairing to some of the Spanish settlements in the South Pacific-ocean, for the purpose of refitting my vessel and procuring some necessary supplies. I therefore bore away for the island of Juan Fernandez; and arrived in Cumberland-bay the twenty-fourth of May, 1788. We were immediately visited by a Spanish boat, with two officers in it; and, on their return, my first officer, Mr. Ingraham, was sent on shore, to request permission to anchor and continue there, a few days, which the Governor, Don Blas Gonzalez, Major in the Cavalry of his Catholic Majesty, very humanely granted, making such stipulations, with respect to the term of our continuance at the island and the conduct to be observed, during that period, as evinced him to be a cautious, vigilant, and prudent officer. Our communication was through the medium of the French language, imperfectly understood by both parties, until the twenty-eighth, following, when a Spanish ship arrived off the bay to receive the Governor's despatches

for Chili, on board of which was a Frenchman, who was sent on shore, for the purpose of more fully examining our passports, etc. A copy of my sea-letter, from the Congress of the United States, and the official letter of the Sieur l'Etombe, Consul of France for the States of Massachusetts, etc., were given the Governor; and, on the day of my intended departure, I received from him the letter, of which the enclosed is a copy, three days after the date of which, being detained the intermediate time by a gale of wind, I proceeded on my voyage to this coast.

In consequence of the abuse of power by his Catholic Majesty's servants, in his American Governments, or by an untrue and malicious statement of the facts, by some secret enemies, Don Blas Gonzalez has been deprived of his employments and treated with considerable rigor and injustice; and the only crime imputed to him is his humane conduct towards me and my crew, in 1788—a conduct which did honor to him as a man, and was, I conceive, perfectly consistent with the amity and good understanding subsisting between the Court of Madrid and the United States. But the affair will be best explained in his own words, in a letter to my son, who touched at Valparaiso, in Chili, in the ship *Jefferson*, Captain Roberts, of Boston, in June, 1792, and who communicated the first intelligence of it to me.

[EXTRACT.]

"No se sabra N. Md. como desde que se supo en esta que yo havida dado hospitalidad à dho su padre, se me desposó del gobierno por esta Capitanía General por und equivocada inteligencia que se formó sobre a quel suceso; y que aunque el rey, mi señor, approvó la conducta que observe entonces, con toda hasta, ahora estoi padeciendo las resultas, por la suma distancia en que por mi desgracia, me tiene constituido la suenta de este remoto destino y obstante de las diligenzas empeñosas se he practicada pd. vindica, mé arreglada conducta; y de haver escritas à Monsieur l'Etombe, consul de Francia en Boston, y à dho su padre, paraque me favoreciessen en lo que buenamente pudiesen: cuyas resultas ignoro, por no saben sí recibieron mis cartas.

"Si N. Md. Gusta de Escibirles asociado de su capstan, sobre este particular; y recomendarle pd. que me protexan, se lo estimaria mucho: encuyo caso puede N. Md. Entregaras Cartas al Cavallero Don Manuel Porrasia, necino de esse puerto, y portade de este, que es amigo de todo mi confianza." (Santiago, de Chili, 20 de Junio, de 1792.)

In consequence of the request made by Don

Blas Gonzalez, Captain Roberts and my son wrote the owners of the *Columbia* and *Jefferson*, requesting them to make such a representation to the United States as they pointed out. As they appear to have mistaken the contents of the letter from Don Blas, I have done myself the honor of offering you the foregoing statement of facts; and, as he doubtless rendered me those services, for which, in the sea-letter, the United States declare they shall "stand willing indebted," I hope the affair will have proper attention paid to it. I have now only to request, very earnestly, that any mode of proceeding which may be adopted for the relief of Don Blas Gonzalez, may be executed with all convenient expedition. I need not use any persuasive arguments to interest the officers of the Government of the United States in behalf of the unfortunate gentleman who has been the subject of this letter; as the principles of our excellent Constitution, as well as their native humanity, must render them enemies of oppression.

I have the honor to be, with the utmost deference and esteem, Honorable Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

JOHN KENDRICK.

HON. THOMAS JEFFERSON,
Secretary for the Department of State.

[II.—LETTER OF THE GOVERNOR OF JUAN FERNANDEZ.]

Don Blas Gonzalez, Sargento Mayo de Cavalleria de los exercitos de su magestad, y governado politico y militar de esta plaza è islas de Juan Fernandez: Certifico, que haviendo arribado à este puerto el Capitan Juan Kendrick, de la nacion Bostoneza, en la fragata de su mando nombrada la *Columbia*, con tres oficiales subalternos, y trienta seiz hombres de tripulacion de la propria nacion, comicionado por su republica à viajar por todo el mundo, el veinte y quatro de mayo proximo pasado, a pedirme la hospitalidad, exponiendome para ello los por el Aermino de seis dias, de cuya determinacion di parte al Excelentissimo Señor Vir, rey de Peru, y à la capitanía general del reyno de Chili; haviendose detenido quatro dias mas de los concedidos, por la razon de los muchos Aquaceros, que mediaron; sin dar la menor nota, assi los enunciados oficiales, como la demas fripulacion, ni flaltar à lo mas minimo de quanto estipularon con migo, antes de permitules la entrada en este puerto; y para que conste doi la presente à pedimento de dicho Capitan J. Kendrick, en esta isla de Juan Fernandez, à tres dias del mes de Junio, de mil setecientos, ochenta y ocho años.

BLAS GONZALEZ.

[III.—LETTER FROM CAPTAIN KENDRICK TO THE
SECRETARY OF STATE, ENCLOSING DEEDS OF
LANDS PURCHASED FROM THE NATIVES.]

PORT INDEPENDENCE, ON THE ISLAND OF
HONG KONG,

March 1, 1793.

Sir: I have the honor of enclosing to you the copies of several deeds, by which the tracts of land, therein described, situated on islands on the Northwest coast of America, have been conveyed to me and my heirs, forever, by the resident Chiefs of those districts, who, I presume, were the only just proprietors thereof. I know not what measures are necessary to be taken, to secure the property of these purchases to me and the Government thereof to the United States; but it cannot be amiss to transmit them to you, to remain in the offices of the Department of State. My claim to those territories has been allowed by the Spanish Crown; for the purchases I made, at Nootka, were expressly excepted in a deed of conveyance of the lands adjacent to and surrounding Nootka-sound, executed, in September last, to El Senor Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, in behalf of his Catholic Majesty, by Maquinnah and the other Chiefs of his tribe, to whom those lands belonged.

When I made these purchases, I did it under an impression that it would receive the sanction of the United States, and that, should an Act of the Legislature be necessary to secure them to me, I should find no difficulty in obtaining it. The future commercial advantages which may arise from the fur-trade, besides many other branches which are daily opening to the view of those who visit the Northwest American coast, may, perhaps, render a settlement, there, worthy the attention of some associated company, under the protection of Government. Should this be the case, the possession of lands, previously and so fairly acquired, would much assist in carrying the plan into effect. Many good purposes may be effected by the Union having possessions on that coast, which I shall not presume, Sir, to point out to you; and the benefits which have accrued to individuals, by similar purchases to those I have made, in our own States, are too well known to need a remark.

I have the honor to be, with the utmost respect and esteem, Sir, your very humble servant,

JOHN KENDRICK.

The Hon. THOMAS JEFFERSON,
Secretary for the Department of State.

[Endorsed:] KENDRICK, JOHN—Hong Kong,
March 1, 1793—received October 24, covering
several Indian deeds.

[INDIAN DEEDS, ENCLOSED IN THE ABOVE LETTER.]

To all persons to whom these presents shall come, I, Macquinnah, the Chief, and with my other Chiefs, do send greeting: Know ye that I, Macquinnah, of Nootka-sound, on the Northwest coast of America, for and in consideration of ten muskets, do grant and sell unto John Kendrick, of Boston, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in North America, a certain harbor, in said Nootka-sound, called Chastacktoos, in which the brigantine *Lady Washington* lay at anchor, on the twentieth day of July, 1791, with all the land, rivers, creeks, harbors, islands, etc., within nine miles North, East, West and South of said harbor, with all the produce of both sea and land appertaining thereto—only the said John Kendrick does grant and allow the said Maquinnah to live and fish on the said territory, as usual—and by these presents, does grant and sell to the said John Kendrick, his heirs, executors and administrators, all the above mentioned territory, known by the Indian name Chastacktoos, but now by the name of the Safe Retreat-harbor; and also does grant and sell to the said John Kendrick, his heirs, executors and administrators, a free passage through all the rivers and passages, with all the outlets which lead to and from the said Nootka-sound, of which, by the signing these presents, I have delivered unto the said John Kendrick. Signed with my own hand and the other Chiefs, and bearing even date, to have and to hold the said premises, etc., to him, the said John Kendrick, his heirs, executors, and administrators, from henceforth and forever, as his property, absolutely, without any other consideration whatever.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and the hands of my other Chiefs, this twentieth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one.

MACQUINNAH, his x mark.	[L. S.]
WARCLASMAN, his x mark.	[L. S.]
HANNOPY, his x mark.	[L. S.]
CLOPHANANISH, his x mark.	[L. S.]
TARTOOCHEEATTICUS, his x mark.	[L. S.]
CLACKOEENER, his x mark.	[L. S.]

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of—

JOHN STODDARD.
JOHN REDMAN.
THOMAS FOSTER.
WILLIAM BOWLES.
JOHN MAUD, JR.
FLORENCE MCCARTHY.
JOHN PORTER.
JAMES CRAWFORD.
ROBERT GREEN.
JOHN BARBER.

A true copy from the original deed.

Attest: J. HOWELL.

To all people to whom these presents shall come: I, Norry Youk, the Chief, with my other Chiefs, do send greeting: Know ye that I, Norry Youk, of Ahasset, on the North-west coast of America, for and in consideration of six muskets, a bout's sail, a quantity of powder, and an American flag, by the free consent of the other Chiefs concerned, do bargain, grant, and sell unto John Kendrick, of Boston, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in North America, a certain harbor in said Ahasset, called by the natives Chenerkintau, in which the brig *Lady Washington* lay at anchor on the fifth day of August, 1791, which is situated in Latitude 49° 50' North, and Longitude 127° 08' West, on the North side of the Sound of Ahasset, being a territorial distance of eighteen miles square, of which the harbor of Chenerkintau is the centre, with all the lands, mines, minerals, rivers, bays, harbors, sounds, creeks, and all islands, with all the produce of both land and sea; and, by these presents, do grant and sell to the said John Kendrick, his heirs, executors and administrators, all the above mentioned territory, known by the name of Ahasset, and the harbor by the Indian name of Chenerkintau, but now by the name of Kendrick's harbor: and also, do grant and sell to the said John Kendrick, his heirs, executors and administrators, a free pass through all the rivers and passages, with all the outlets which lead to and from the said territory, of which the signing these presents I have delivered unto the said John Kendrick, signed with my own hand and the other Chiefs', to have and to hold the said territorial premises, etc., to him, the said John Kendrick, his heirs, executors and administrators, from henceforth and forever, as his property, absolutely, without any other emolument or consideration whatever.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and the hands of my other Chiefs, this fifth day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one.

NORRY-YOUK, his x mark. [L. s.]

APPULS, his x mark. [L. s.]

KISSULS, his x mark. [L. s.]

HAW-WETTPARSUM, his x mark. [L. s.]

Signed by NORRY-YOUK for his son.

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of us—

JOHN WILLIAMS,
JOHN REDMAN,
WILLIAM BOWELL,
JNO. STODDARD,
WILLIAM BOWLES,
ROBERT GREEN,
JOHN BARBER,
JOHN PORTER.

A true copy from the original deed :

Attest : J. HOWELL.

To all people to whom these presents shall come: I, Wickananish, Chief of Clioquot, with my other Chiefs, do send greeting: Know ye, that I, Wickananish, of Clioquot, on the North-west coast of America, with my own free will and consent, and the consent of my other Chiefs, for the consideration of four muskets, a large sail, and a quantity of powder, (they being articles which we at present stand in need of, and are of great value,) do bargain, grant, and sell unto John Kendrick, of Boston, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in North America, a territorial distance of eighteen miles North, eighteen miles South, eighteen miles East, and eighteen miles West of the village called by the natives Opisita, which village is to be the centre of the said territorial distance, with all the lands, mines, minerals, rivers, bays, harbors, creeks, etc., and all the islands, with both the produce of land and sea, within the limits of said territorial distance. Opisita, being the centre, is situated in Latitude 49° 10' North, and Longitude 126° 02' West from the meridian of London. And by these presents, do grant and sell unto the said John Kendrick, his heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, all the above mentioned territory, known by the name of Clioquot; and also do grant and sell unto the said John Kendrick, his heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, a free pass through all the rivers, passages, etc., with all the outlets which lead to and from said territory, of which the signing of these presents, I have delivered unto the said John Kendrick.

Signed with my own hand and the hands of my other Chiefs, to have and to hold the said territorial distance, etc., to him, the said John Kendrick, his heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, from henceforth and forever, as his property, absolutely, without any emolument or consideration whatever.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and the hands of my other Chiefs, this eleventh day of August, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-one.

WICKANANISH, his x mark. [L. s.]

TOOTESCOZITTLE, his x mark. [L. s.]

TARTOOTCHTHEATICTS, his x mark. [L. s.]

TEASSLAUR, his x mark. [L. s.]

TACKULIN, his x mark. [L. s.]

HYEREQUIS, his x mark. [L. s.]

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of us—

JOHN WILLIAMS,
JOHN REDMAN,
WILLIAM BOWELL,

JOHN STODDARD,
THOMAS FOSTER,
JOHN BARBER,
JAMES CRAWFORD,
CHARLES BYRN,
FLORENCE MCCARTHY,
WILLIAM BOWLES,
JOHN MAUD, JR.,
ROBERT GREEN.

A true copy from the original deed.

Attest : J. HOWELL.

To all people to whom these presents shall come: I, Tarassom, the Chief, with my other Chiefs, do send greeting: Know ye that I, Tarassom, of New Chatleck, on the Northwest coast of America, for and in consideration of two muskets, a boat's sail, and a quantity of powder, by the free consent of my other Chiefs concerned, do bargain, grant, and sell unto John Kendrick, of Boston, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in North America, a certain harbor, in said New Chatleck, called by the natives Hoot-see-ess, but now called Port Montgomery, in which the brig *Lady Washington* lay at anchor on the second day of August, 1791, and is situated in Latitude 49° 46' North, Longitude 127° 02' West, on the South side of the sound of Ahasset, and now called Massachusetts-sound, being a territorial distance of eighteen miles square of which the harbor of Hoot-see-ess, alias Port Montgomery, is the centre, with all the lands, mines, minerals, rivers, bays, sounds, harbors, creeks and islands, with all the produce of both sea and land, appertaining thereto; and by these presents do grant and sell to the said John Kendrick, his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns, all the above-mentioned territory known by the names of New Chatleck and Hoot see-ess, now by the names of Massachusetts-sound and Port Montgomery; and also do grant and sell to the said John Kendrick, his heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, a free pass through all the rivers and passages, with all the outlets which lead to and from said territory, of which the signing of these presents, I have delivered unto the said John Kendrick, signed with my own name and the names of my other Chiefs, to have and to hold the said territories, provinces, etc., to him the said John Kendrick, his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns, from henceforth and forever, as his property, absolutely, without any other emoluments or considerations, whatever.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and the hands of my other Chiefs this fifth day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one

TARASSOM, his mark. [L. s.]

WACKLEMMIS, his mark. [L. s.]

Signed by TARASSOM, for his first son. [L. s.]

QUANTENO, his x mark. [L. s.]

CLAKISHUPPA, his x mark. [L. s.]

Signed by TARASSOM, for his second son. [L. s.]

Signed sealed and delivered in presence of—

JOHN WILLIAMS,
JOHN REDMAN,
WILLIAM BOWELL,
JNO. STODDARD,
THOMAS FOSTER,
ROBERT GREEN,
JAMES CRAWFORD,
FLORENCE MCCARTHY,
JOHN MAUD, JR.,
WILLIAMS BOWLES,
CHARLES BYRN.

A true copy of the original deed :

Attest : JOHN HOWELL

To all people to whom these presents shall come: I, Caarshucornook, the Chief, and the under-Chiefs, do send greeting: Know ye, that I, Caarshucornook, of the Tashees, at the head of Nootka-sound, on the North-west coast of America, for and in consideration of two muskets and a quantity of powder, by the free consent of the other Chiefs, do bargain, grant and sell unto John Kendrick, of Boston, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in North America, the head of Nootka-sound, called by the natives Tashees, being a territorial distance, on an East and West line, from the mouth of the strait which lead to Ahasset-sound, now called Massachusetts-sound, with the land nine miles round said Tashees, together with all mines, minerals, rivers, bays, sounds, creeks, harbors, and all islands, with the produce of both sea and land, appertaining thereto; and by these presents do grant and sell unto the said John Kendrick, his heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, all the above-mentioned territory known by the Indian name Tashees; and also do grant and sell to the said John Kendrick, his heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, a free passage through all the passages and rivers, with all the outlets which lead to and from said Tashees, of which the signing these presents, I have delivered unto the said John Kendrick. Signed with my own hand and the hands of my other Chiefs, to have and to hold the said territorial distance, etc., to him, the said John Kendrick, his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns, from henceforth and forever, as his property, absolutely, without any other emolument or consideration whatever.

In witness hereof I have hereunto set my hand and the hands of my other Chiefs, this

sixth day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one.

CAARSHUCORNOOK, his x mark. [L. s.]

HANNOPY, his x mark. [L. s.]

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of—

JOHN WILLIAMS,
JOHN REDMAN,
WILLIAM BOWELL,
JNO. STODDARD,
THOMAS FOSTER,
JAMES CRAWFORD,
JOHN MAUD, JR.,
ROBERT GREEN,
WILLIAM BOWLES,
JOHN BARBER.

A true copy from the original deed.

Attest: J. HOWELL.

C.

[AFFIDAVITS OF EARLY NAVIGATORS, RELATIVE TO
CAPTAIN KENDRICK'S PURCHASES OF LANDS
FROM THE NATIVES.]

I.—CAPTAIN DORR'S AFFIDAVIT.]

I, Ebenezer Dorr, of Roxbury, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, aged seventy-six years, on oath, depose and say, that, on the seventeenth of September, in the year 1790, I left Boston as Supercargo in the brig *Hope*, commanded by Captain Joseph Ingraham, John Cruft being the chief officer, and entered Clioquot-harbor, on the Northwest coast, on the twenty-third of July, 1791, as appears by my private journal. In the beginning of September, in the year 1791, we left the coast for China, and arrived at Macao, early in the year 1792. The brig *Lady Washington*, commanded by Captain John Kendrick, was lying in Lark's-bay, near Macao.

I had a personal and intimate acquaintance with Captain Kendrick; and, while in Lark's-bay, was frequently on board his vessel. In some of my visits, I recollect to have seen, inspected, and read, several deeds executed by Indians on the Northwest coast, to Captain John Kendrick. I believe that the names of Maquinna and Wickaninish were affixed to some of the deeds; and there were other names, and there were crosses.

I recollect that muskets and clothing, and that copper, and knives, and chisels, and many other articles, were named in the deeds as having been paid as the consideration for said deeds. I heard Kendrick remark that he had on board one thousand prime otter-skins; he told me that he had other furs, of different qualities, and also that he had some beaver. I had considerable conversation with him, from time to time, relative to the disposition of this property, for the benefit of the owners; but I declined having anything to do with it.

In my second voyage, which was in the years 1795 and 1796, I was at Macao; and it was the current report, at that time, that an Englishman, by the name of Howell, after the accidental death of Captain John Kendrick, at the Sandwich Islands, took possession of the *Lady Washington*, her papers, and cargo, and proceeded with them to Macao. The vessel was afterwards cast away, in the Straits of Malacca, whilst under the command of said Howell. It is not known what disposition was made of the cargo.

I recollect Captain Kendrick's speaking to me of a certain deed of a tract of land, being in a square, taken of the Indians, by Kendrick, for the owners of the vessels, *Columbia* and *Washington*; and I recollect his telling me what a fine tract it was; that a pile of stones was raised up and trees marked, near the head of navigation of a river; and that one side of said square extended eight days' journey from that point, down the river; and that the square was bounded eight days' journey, on each side, one side of which was a river. I cannot positively say, but believe I have seen this deed. It was generally understood, when I was at Macao, the second voyage, that this and the other deeds were in the possession of Howell.

EBENEZER DORR.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, }
Norfolk County, }

ROXBURY, November 16, 1839.

Then personally appeared Ebenezer Dorr, above-mentioned, and made oath to the truth of the foregoing statement by him signed, according to the best of his knowledge and belief, before me,

JOHN J. CLARKE.

Justice of the Peace.

[II.—CAPTAIN CRUFT'S AFFIDAVIT.]

I, John Cruft, of Boston, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, aged seventy-one years on oath, depose and say that, in September of the year seventeen hundred and ninety, I sailed as chief-officer in the brig *Hope*, commanded by Captain Joseph Ingraham, on a trading-voyage to the Northwest coast, where she arrived, in the latter part of June, A. D. 1791; we left the Northwest coast, in October or November following, for the Sandwich Islands. Thence, we sailed for Macao, where we arrived sometime in January, 1792, to the best of my knowledge, and found Captain John Kendrick, in the brig *Lady Washington*, lying in Lark's-bay, about five leagues from Macao. After being about a month and a half in the bay, I went aboard Kendrick's vessel, the *Lady Washington*, as chief officer, where I continued about seven

months. While on board the *Lady Washington*, I saw a number of deeds, executed by Indians, on the Northwest coast to Captain John Kendrick. I remember the names of Maquinna and Wickaninish to some of the deeds; and there were several other names; and I recollect crosses or marks opposite the names. I recollect the names, and was personally acquainted with several of the witnesses of the deeds, to wit, John Williams, Chief officer of the *Lady Washington*, John Redman, the Second officer, John Stoddard, Captain's Clerk, William Bowell, the Third officer, Thomas Foster, Carpenter, John Barber, the Blacksmith, James Crawford, Gunner, William Bowles, Sail-maker, (said Bowles afterwards married my sister,) Robert Green, Cooper, and John Porter, Carpenter's-mate. I had the deeds in my hands, several times; I read the deeds, and recollect the consideration named in the deeds consisted of muskets, cloth, and articles of trade.

JOHN CRUFT.

Witness: M. CRUFT.
COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, } ss:
Suffolk County,

November 18, 1839.

Then personally appeared, the above-named John Cruft, and made oath that the foregoing statement by him signed is true, before me,

G. S. BULFINCH,
Justice of the Peace.

[III.—CAPTAIN YOUNG'S AFFIDAVIT.]

To whom it may concern.

TOWAIIHAE, HAWAII, June 26, 1835.

I, the subscriber, in the year A. D. 1789, commenced a residence on the Sandwich Islands. Afterwards, in Kerakekua, on the island of Hawaii, I became acquainted with Captain John Kendrick, who commanded the schooner *Washington*, from Boston, Massachusetts, he having passed several Winters at the above island. I heard Captain Kendrick often speak of the purchases of lands, which he said he had made from Indian Chiefs, on the Northwest coast. I frequently saw deeds in his possession, signed by Chiefs, who, at that time, lived at and South of Nootka-sound, and witnessed by men belonging to his vessel, of whom I had some knowledge. Among the Chiefs whose marks were made to the deeds, I distinctly recollect the names of Maquinna and Wickaninish.

I had much intimate acquaintance with Captain Kendrick; and believed him to be a man of strict veracity; and had no reason to doubt his having made the above purchases, and his having paid, as he represented, a consideration at that

time, satisfactory to the Chiefs who had given the deeds.

JNO. YOUNG.

Signed in the presence of—

HENRY A. PIERCE, Boston. U. S.

HALL J. KELLY.

John Young is mentioned in Stewart's *Voyage to the South Seas*, ii., 167:

"The Governor of Maui, the Princess, with 'Miss Young, a bosom companion, daughter of John Young, of Hawaii, the oldest foreign resident at the island, etc.'"

[IV.—SAMUEL YENDELL'S AFFIDAVIT.]

Boston, October 30, 1838.

Samuel Yendell, of the city of Boston, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, aged sixty-nine years, doth, on oath, testify and declare, that, in the years of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one and one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, I was on board the ship *Columbia*, Captain Robert Gray, in a voyage to the North-west coast. While at Olyquot, on that coast, in the village Wickaninish, I heard it often said that the Indian Chief Wickaninish, had sold to Captain John Kendrick his territory.

It was a current report that said Kendrick had paid said Wickaninish in guns, clothing, and copper, (these are all the things I recollect,) for the lands purchased as aforesaid.

Also, I testify that, in May, A.D. 1792, I was with Captain Robert Gray in the ship *Columbia*, at which time said ship entered the Columbia-river.

SAMUEL YENDELL

Witness to signature: CHARLES A. YENDELL

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, } ss:
Suffolk County,

November 1, 1838.

Sworn to by the said Samuel Yendell, before me,

S. E. SEWALL,
Justice of the Peace.

[V.—JAMES TREMERE'S AFFIDAVIT.]

Boston, October 30, 1838.

James Tremere, of the city of Boston, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, aged seventy-seven years, does, on his oath, testify and declare, that, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, I was on board the ship *Jefferson*, Captain Benjamin Robinson, which sailed from Boston, in November of that year, in a voyage to the Northwest coast of America, and that while in Nootka-sound, I saw

there the sloop *Washington*, commanded by John Kendrick; and that I went on board the said *Washington*, and recollect that, while I was on board, I saw, on the deck of said sloop, the Indian Chief Maquinna, and other Indian Chiefs, making sale of lands to the said Captain John Kendrick. I likewise saw Maquinna go up to the masthead and point to distant parts of the territory, apparently with the intention of giving possession; and he did give possession. The aforesaid sale of territory was made in the year of our Lord 1791, as near as I can recollect. The Spaniards had left Nootka-sound about two months before the sale. The fort which the Spaniards had built had the appearance of having mounted twenty guns, which a seventy-four gun ship belonging to the Spaniards carried away.

his
JAMES x TREMERE.
mark.

Witness: B. B. TREMERE.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, }
Suffolk county, } ss:

November 1, 1838.

Sworn to by the said James Tremere before me,

S. E. SEWALL,
Justice of the Peace.

D.

JOSEPH BARRELL TO COLBURN BARRELL.

June 18, 1795.

When I mentioned the large tract of country on the North-west coast, I did not expect much would have been said at present on that account; but I will state to you what I know of the matter, and will write Mr. John Hoskins, who is now in France, and who has been on the land, and am sure the accounts he will give of the climate and produce of it must be pleasing to any seriously one that may wish to purchase. The deeds of these lands are yet in China, where, I understand, they are registered in the office of the American Consul. They are from the Chief of the country, and contain all the authenticity that could be given of four degrees of Latitude, or two hundred and forty miles square. This tract was purchased by Captain John Kendrick, for the owners of the ship *Columbia* and sloop *Washington*, the first American vessels that ever went round the world. Of this concern, I owned something more than two-sevenths parts, and, of course, am entitled to that proportion of the land; the deeds of this land have been since recognised by the natives, upon the claim of Mr. Meares. Mr. Hoskins was there on the spot, and heard the Chiefs declare they had never sold any of their lands but this tract

to Kendrick, which they declared they would abide by. * * * The Congress of the United States, nor any other power in the world, that I know of, claims any jurisdiction over them; and I suppose the title as good as can be given by uncivilized people.

E.

CIRCULAR OF BARRELL AND SERVANTES, PUBLISHED IN FOUR EUROPEAN LANGUAGES, AND EXTENSIVELY CIRCULATED.

LONDON, August 31, 1795.

SIR: We have taken the liberty to address this Circular to your Excellency as a specimen of one of our recent operations. We are forwarding the same to all parts of Europe; and, as the great object of our office and manifest tendency of all our proceedings are to promote the prosperity of the United States, we assure ourselves they will meet your Excellency's approbation, and are therefore encouraged to solicit the honor of your countenance.

We are, with the highest respect, Sir, your most obedient and humble servants,

BARRELL & SERVANTES.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF EUROPE.

The era of reason is now dawning upon mankind; and the restraints on men's laudable endeavors to be useful will cease. The Agents for the sale of American lands, therefore, take this method of informing all classes of men, in Europe, that, by application at their office, No. 24 Threadneedle-street, London, they may meet objects worthy of their serious attention. That such as wish to hold lands (though aliens) in America, may purchase, to any amount, on very low terms, and a perfectly secure tenure. * *

That such as may be inclined to associate for settling a Commonwealth on their own Code of Laws, on a spot of the globe nowhere surpassed in delightful situation, healthy climate, and fertile soil; claimed by no civilized nation; and purchased under a sacred Treaty of Amity and Commerce, and for a valuable consideration, of the friendly natives, may have the best opportunity of trying the result of such an enterprise. *

* In consequence of an expedition fitted out at Boston North America, in the year 1787, Captain J. Kendrick, while prosecuting a voyage with the natives, for furs, purchased of them, for the owners, a tract of delightful country, comprehending four degrees of Latitude, or two hundred and forty miles square. The deeds are, at present, in China, and registered in the office of the American Consul; and the Agents are authorized to treat with any gentleman, or association, for the purchase of a tract of land, no where exceeded for fertility and climate, and which may, by a prudent management of some wise institution, become of the utmost importance.

F.

SEA-LETTERS AND CERTIFICATE OF CARGO.

[I.—SFA-LETTER OF THE COLUMBIA, FROM THE
FEDERAL AUTHORITIES.]

To all Emperors, Kings, Sovereigns Princes, States and Regents, and to their respective officers, civil and military, and to all others whom it may concern:

I, George Washington, President of the United States of America, do make known, that Robert Gray, Captain of the ship called the *Columbia*, of the burden of about two hundred and thirty tons, is a citizen of the United States; and, as I wish that the said Robert Gray may prosper in his lawful affairs, I do request of all the before-mentioned, and each of them, separately, where the said Robert Gray shall arrive with his vessel and cargo, that they will be pleased to receive him with kindness, and treat him in a becoming manner; permitting him, on the usual tolls and expenses, in passing and repassing, to navigate, pass, and frequent their ports, passes, and territories, to the end, that he may transact his business where, and in what manner, he shall judge proper; and, thereby, I shall consider myself obliged.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States to be affixed to these presents, and have hereunto set my hand, at the city of New York, the sixteenth day of September, in the year of our Lord,

[L.S.] one thousand, seven hundred and ninety.

G. WASHINGTON.

By the President:

TH. JEFFERSON.

[II.—SEA-LETTER OF THE COLUMBIA, FROM THE
STATE AUTHORITIES.]

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

By His Excellency John Hancock, Esq., Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. To all who shall see these presents, greeting:

It is hereby made known, that leave and permission has been given, by the Naval officers, to Captain Robert Gray, Master and Commander of the ship *Columbia*, now lying at Boston, within this State, to depart from thence, and proceed, with his ship and cargo, on a voyage to the North-west coast of America; and that the said ship and cargo belong to Joseph Barrell, Esquire, and others, gentlemen of character and reputation, citizens of this Commonwealth, being one of the thirteen United States of America.

Now, in order that the said Master may prosper in his lawful affairs, it is earnestly requested and recommended to all who may see these presents, at whatever port and place said Master, with his vessel and cargo, may arrive,

that they would please to receive him, the said Master, with goodness; afford him all such aid and assistance as he may need; and to treat him in a becoming manner, permitting him, upon paying the usual expenses in passing and repassing, to pass, navigate, and frequent the ports, passes, and territories, wherever he may be, to the end that he may transact his business where, and in what manner, he shall judge proper, he keeping and causing to be kept, by his crew, on board, the Marine Ordinances and Regulations of the place where he is trading.

Given under my hand and the seal of the Commonwealth aforesaid, this twenty-fourth day of September, A. D. 1790, and
[L.S.] in the fifteenth year of the independence of the United States of America.

JOHN HANCOCK,

By his Excellency's command:

JOHN AVERY, Jr., Secretary.

[III.—CERTIFICATE OF THE CARGO OF THE COLUMBIA.]

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

District of Boston and Charlestown, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

These certify all whom it may concern, that Robert Gray, Master and Commander of the ship *Columbia*, burden two hundred and twelve tons or thereabouts, navigated with thirty men, mounted with ten guns, has permission to depart from this Port with the following articles, viz: two thousand bricks, six chaldrons sea-coal, one hundred and thirty-five barrels beef, sixty barrels pork, three hogsheds N. E. rum, two hogsheds W. I. rum, five hogsheds molasses, five barrels sugar, ten boxes chocolate, two hundred and twenty-eight pounds coffee, seventy-two pounds Bohea-tea, six casks rice, twenty barrels flour, twenty-seven thousand pounds bread, six firkins butter, five hundred pounds cheese, thirty barrels tar, thirteen barrels pitch, thirty packages of merchandise, six tons bar-iron, twenty hundred bar-lead, fifteen hundred pounds gunpowder, three hundred pounds small shot.

Given under our hands and seals, at Boston aforesaid, the twenty-fifth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety.

B. LINCOLN, Collector.

JAMES LOVELL, Naval Officer.

[L. S.]

[L. S.]

G.—CORRESPONDENCE OF THE GOVERNMENT WITH
THE OWNERS OF THE SHIPS.

BOSTON, November 28, 1816.

SIR: In consideration of a desire expressed

by the President, that search should be made for proofs of Captain Kendrick having purchased lands of the Indians, on the North-west coast of America, I have examined Mr Barrell's papers and made inquiry of several persons who have been on the coast, all which proves, in the most satisfactory manner, that Captain Kendrick did make several purchases of the Indians, of lands, on that coast, for the owners of the *Columbia* and *Washington*, whose vessels were under his command. Captain Kendrick's letters and those of Mr. Howell, who was with him until he died, and took possession of all his papers, deeds, etc., explicitly declare that Captain Kendrick made several purchases of lands from the Indians about Nootka-sound, and for a distance of four degrees; and that there were regular deeds drawn up, and signed by a number of Indian Chiefs, conveying those lands to the owners of those vessels. These facts are corroborated by the evidence of several persons, now here, some of whom were present, as they state, when possession was given to Captain Kendrick, by the Chiefs, and who saw the deeds, and heard the Indians acknowledge that they had sold large tracts of lands to Captain Kendrick, and afterwards say, that they had never sold lands to any other person. The lands were taken possession of with much formality, the American flag hoisted, a bottle sunk in the ground, etc., and many Chiefs present at the ceremony.

From a variety of circumstances, the deeds for the above lands never reached this place. Mr. Howell, who had them in his possession, after the death of Captain Kendrick, writes from Macao, in 1796, to Mr. Barrell, in reply to a letter of Mr. Barrell, in which he requests him to send forward the deeds, saying that he then had the deeds; that they are recorded, there, by a Notary-public, and triplicates made out; and that the originals shall be sent forward. As late as May, 1798, Mr. Howell writes to Mr. Barrell, from Manilla, that "he is in daily expectation of his papers, and among them "your deeds of the lands on the North-west coast: you shall certainly have them transmitted." The officer of the ship *Columbia*, who first landed and, by orders of his Commander, took possession at Columbia-river, is now here, and recollects all the circumstances of hoisting the American flag and planting some New England pine-tree shillings under a tree; naming the river after the ship, and the two capes, one the Hancock, the other Adams; etc. It is believed that the deeds of this land were registered in the Consulate, at Canton, as Colonel Perkins thinks he saw them there, in the hands of Mr. Randall, Vice Consul. Should the Government deem it proper to

make further inquiry into this business, much evidence can be found here, to substantiate the abovementioned; and the owners are taking means to procure from China, or from Bengal, where Howell is supposed to have died, the original deeds or authenticated copies of them: they are desirous of giving all aid to the Government. I would, with due diffidence, submit to your consideration, whether the best way to obtain well-authenticated evidence, would not be to require Judge Davis of this District, who, from his disposition to make researches in such things, is better qualified than perhaps any person here, to make such inquiries as Government may think requisite to be made. I do not propose this to avoid trouble, feeling myself bound to render any service in my power. I shall gratefully receive your commands, being, with very high respect, your obedient servant,

B. Joy.

Hon. JAMES MONROE, Esq.,
Secretary of State.

WASHINGTON, December 1, 1817.

DEAR SIR: I shall deem it a particular favor if you will have the goodness to forward to me, as soon as you conveniently can, copies of the papers relating to the purchase of lands from the Indians, on the North-west coast of America, and of the journal of the vessel, which you were good enough to lend me for my perusal when I had last the pleasure of seeing you at Boston.

I am with great respect, Dear Sir, your very obedient servant,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

CHARLES BULLFINCH, Esq., Boston.

IV.—A NAVAL HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND:—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 102.

By HON. J. RUSSELL BARTLETT.

XVII.

MORE TROOPS SENT TO CROWN POINT. EMBARGO LAID. BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT. REINFORCEMENTS TO BE SENT TO THE NEW ENGLAND ARMY. DEFEAT OF THE FRENCH, AT LAKE GEORGE. CONVENTION OF THE COLONIES. THE KING'S COMPLIMENTS TO RHODE ISLAND FOR HER AID IN THE WAR.

The encroachments of the French was the watchword used by the Ministry and their agents in America to rouse the Colonies to action. "They have long since marked out for

"themselves," writes Governor Shirley to Governor Greene, "a large empire upon the back of this Continent, extending from Cape Breton to the Gulf of Mexico, and comprehending the country between the Apalachian Mountains and the Pacific Ocean, with the numerous powerful tribes of Indians inhabiting it; and they are now finishing the extreme parts by a communication between Louisbourg and Quebec, across the Isthmus of Nova Scotia and Bay of Fundy, at one end, and a junction of Canada with the Mississippi, by a line of forts, upon the great lakes and rivers, at the other."

The four Companies of troops ordered to be raised for the expedition against Crown Point were placed under the command of Colonel Christopher Harris. The Commissary was Christopher Champlin. The most liberal pay was allowed, in addition to a bounty of twenty pounds, to such soldiers as were provided with a good firelock. An Act was passed to restrain the sending of provisions and warlike stores to Cape Breton or any other French port or settlement in North America; and another to take up and secure all Frenchmen found within the Colony, in the fear that they might convey intelligence to their countrymen of the proceedings of the English.

While these preparations were going on, the news came of the defeat of the English forces, under General Braddock, at Fort Du Quesne, and caused the greatest alarm throughout the Colonies. Renewed exertions were to be made to check the further progress of the French; and, in August, the Assembly voted to raise an additional force of three Companies of fifty men each, for the Crown Point expedition. These levies were soon made and sent, with great dispatch, by land, to Albany, with orders to join Colonel Harris's command. A protest was filed by seven members of the Assembly, against the raising of the additional troops; as they believed the four hundred, previously sent, were the Colony's full quota, and were "unwilling to load their constituents with a burden which they thought exceeded their ability to bear." An additional twenty-thousand pounds was voted to be issued, in Bills of Credit, towards defraying the further expenses of the Crown Point expedition.

Fearing that vessels destined for foreign ports might be carrying provisions to the French, and that these provisions would be required for the English troops, six vessels, which lay in Newport harbor, laden with provisions, destined for the West Indies and Africa, were embargoed; and the Committee of War was empowered, by the Assembly, to take from them, for the use of the Government, so much as they deemed ne-

cessary for the troops. About the same time, a letter was received from Governor Phips, of Massachusetts, transmitting a communication from Admiral Boscawen, relative to the state of the town and garrison at Louisbourg, which confirmed him in the opinion that the French had been supplied by the English Colonies with provisions. A Committee was appointed to investigate these charges, as far as they related to Rhode Island; who, after a rigid investigation, reported that the charge of vessels having sailed from Newport, with provisions destined for the French, was "absolutely without foundation."

In September, advices having been received from Major-general Johnson, commander of the forces employed in the expedition against Crown Point, that the French were in a condition to bring into the field a much larger force to oppose that enterprise than the Colonies had, at that time, raised to carry it out, an Act was passed by the General Assembly, to raise two hundred more men, to reinforce the English army.

Before these latter reinforcements joined the main army, a battle had been fought, near Lake George, between the Colonial troops, six thousand strong, under the command of General Johnson, and the French army of three thousand, commanded by Baron Dieskau, in which the latter was defeated. The battle was a severe one, and resulted in a loss, to the Americans, of three hundred, and about thrice that number to the French. Johnson was wounded, early in the fight, and carried from the field, leaving General Lyman in command. Dieskau was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. The remains of his army fell back upon Crown Point. This was the most important battle yet fought, between the English and French, in their struggle for empire, in America. General Johnson was knighted for the action; and Parliament voted him five thousand pounds.

The Rhode Island troops engaged in this campaign, or on their march to the field of operations, numbered seven hundred and fifty men, divided into eleven Companies. To sustain so large a force, required more means than the Colony had at its command; and the only alternative was a farther issue of paper-money, to the amount of sixty-thousand pounds, under the name of Crown Point Bills.

Although the war had waged on land, there does not appear to have been such struggles at sea, as in the former wars; at least there is no record that privateering was carried on as extensively. The people may not have been prepared; besides, the military resources of the Colony were so heavily taxed for the Crown

Point expedition, that the Navy had not time to assume its former high standing. The system of privateering was early resorted to, in Europe; and the Channel ports were filled with prizes taken from the French. A vessel belonging to the Marquis de Lambertie, which had put into Newport, in June, was seized and condemned by the Court of Admiralty, and the Marquis was thrown into prison, under the Act before mentioned, requiring all the subjects of the French King to be so dealt with. He was afterwards sent to England, where he complained of the treatment he had received in Rhode Island; but the Government did not think it proper to make him any redress.

In order that the English Colonies might act in concert, in their efforts to repel the French, they appointed Commissioners to meet Major-general Shirley, Commander of His Majesty's forces in North America. Governor Hopkins and Daniel Updike were appointed on the part of Rhode Island. The Act authorized them to "concert measures for "subsisting the troops now in the field and for "the campaign; to agree upon the proportion "or quota of troops to be furnished by each "Colony," etc., etc.

The promptness with which the Colony had acted, in raising and sending forward troops for the expedition against Crown Point, gave great satisfaction to the Ministry. Secretary Robinson, in writing to Governor Hopkins, under date of November 11, says: "I have received "the King's command to express to you His "Majesty's sense of the great zeal and spirit "which the Colony under your government "has so strongly manifested, in so cheerfully "and effectually promoting this necessary and "important service." The King farther orders "that this letter be communicated to the "Council and Assembly, that they be acquainted that His Majesty will take an early opportunity of laying the particulars of their meritorious conduct, upon this great occasion, "before Parliament," etc., etc.

Owing to the lateness of the season, the reduction of Crown Point was abandoned by General Shirley; and the larger portion of the troops returned. Of the Rhode Island contingent, one hundred and eighty-five were retained in the service, of which a portion was to remain at the garrisons of Fort Edward and Fort William Henry, near Lake George. The remainder were discharged. Several of the Colonial Assemblies expressed disappointment with the result of the Crown Point expedition, and lost confidence in the Commander-in-chief; nevertheless, Rhode Island continued her preparations, during the Winter, for another

campaign; and the General Assembly, at its February Session, passed a vote to raise a Regiment of five hundred men, exclusive of officers, to be divided into two Companies, including those that remained at Fort William Henry. Christopher Harris was appointed Colonel, and Christopher Champlin their Lieutenant-colonel. The Assembly also passed a vote of thanks to Major-general Johnson and Captain William Ayre, Chief-engineer, "for their good services in defence of the several Governments of New England, during "the late expedition against the French and "Indians."

During the Winter, communications was kept up with the troops left at Fort William Henry, which made one-third the effective garrison, there. Commander Gleason, in writing to Governor Hopkins, says that Captain Whiting, of Rhode Island, is Adjutant of the garrison, and highly commends all the officers belonging to the Colony. Letters from Sir Charles Hardy, Governor of New York, were received, stating that New York had voted to raise a thousand men for the approaching campaign; and General Shirley, in his communication, urged upon the Colony the utmost dispatch in preparing for prosecuting the war, in the most effectual manner. The Assembly, in order to furnish the means for carrying on the war, passed an Act to issue eight thousand pounds, equal in value to the lawful money of the Colonies of Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut. In silver, their value was stated at six shillings and eight pence to the ounce. It was further enacted that all the money received from Great Britain, for defraying the expenses of the war, should be appropriated to sinking the paper-issues, called "Crown Point Bills," and, after this, towards sinking the eight thousand just ordered to be issued. Thus it appears that, while the Colony was ready to issue paper-money to fill its treasury, it ever manifested the most earnest desire to redeem its issues. This desire was farther manifested by a vote that the whole of the seventy thousand pounds, rate assessed on the inhabitants of the Colony should be appropriated towards sinking the Bills of Credit emitted by the Government for carrying on the expedition against Crown Point.

To rebuild Fort George, in Newport harbor, and place it in a state of defence, an additional five thousand pounds were appropriated.

In March, advices reached the Colony from Mr. Fox, the Secretary for the Colonies, that General Shirley had been superseded as Commander of the forces; and that the Earl of Loudoun was appointed in his place. The King

through his Secretary, pressed the Colony, in the strongest manner, to "make early and effectual provision for raising, and assisting His Majesty's Officers to raise, sufficient men to recruit the several Regiments in North America up to their full establishments." As a further inducement for men to enlist, each was to be allowed a Grant of two hundred acres of land, in either the Province of New York, New Hampshire, or Nova Scotia, at their own choice. The Governor was directed to "acquaint the Assembly with His Majesty's great goodness in having recommended their case to Parliament, who have granted one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds to be distributed, in such proportion as the King shall think proper, to the four Provinces of New England and to those of New York and New Jersey; and thereby enabled His Majesty, not only to manifest his sense of their past services, but, also, to encourage them, for the future, to exert themselves in the service with spirit and vigor." It was gratifying to the Colonists thus to know that their services had been appreciated; and, not the less so, in finding that, in ordering a new Regiment to be raised for the Crown Point expedition and in providing money for its support, they had anticipated the wishes of their Sovereign.

XVIII.

THE COLONY PREPARES FOR A NEW CAMPAIGN AGAINST CANADA. ENGLAND, THROUGH HER SECRETARY, WILLIAM PITT, CALLS UPON RHODE ISLAND FOR MORE TROOPS AND SEAMEN. THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE FRENCH RENEWED. AN EMBARGO LAID. THE EARL OF LOUDOUN, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF. PRIVATEERS. COMPLAINTS OF THEIR UNLAWFUL SEIZURES OF SPANISH AND DUTCH VESSELS. RHODE ISLAND SHIPWRIGHTS TAKEN PRISONERS AT OSWEGO.

With the opening of Spring, a hundred additional soldiers were raised to reinforce the Rhode Island troops destined for the expedition against Crown Point; and the most active preparations for the campaign were made in the other Colonies. Our little Colony, with the promptness which has ever characterized her, in times of emergency, did not wait for orders from England, to prepare for the War, nor did she need to be urged to furnish men, as was necessary with some of her sister Colonies. The General Assembly, at once, voted to raise troops for another campaign; and she came nearer up to her quota than any other Colony, as General Winslow wrote Governor Hopkins.

Secretary Fox, in a letter to Governor Hopkins, recommended the granting of Commis-

sions, in the army, to German, Swiss and Dutch settlers, many of whom had served as Engineers in their own countries; as it was believed that foreigners, of whom there appears to have been many in the Colonies, would more readily enlist under such, than under English officers.

The Colony was not inactive, at this time, although she was greatly involved by the heavy expenses already incurred in the expedition for the reduction of Crown Point, to refund which, her Agent, in London, had made demands on the Government. Seamen were urgently called for, by General Shirley, for manning the ships, at Halifax, without whom, he writes that it will be impossible for His Majesty's ships to protect the Colonies; and adds, that he has thus taken the liberty to call on Rhode Island, for these men, "by the knowledge of the ready assistance the Colony has always so laudably given His Majesty's forces on the like occasions."

Sir Charles Lawrence, soon after, wrote to Governor Hopkins that many of the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia, distributed among the different Colonies, had procured vessels and embarked on board them, in order to return, by coasting from Colony to Colony. Sir Charles, believing that the return of these people would endanger the security of the Province, urged upon Governor Hopkins the necessity of detaining any in such vessels as might be in Rhode Island, or might attempt to pass through it.

The news of the taking of Oswego, together with the large naval armament and stores there, by the French, under General Montcalm, created great alarm in the Colonies, and led to renewed exertions to expel this dangerous enemy. Lord Loudoun called upon the Colony for more troops, carriages, and ox-teams, to transport provisions. One can hardly refrain from smiling, in these days of railways and steamboats, at the idea of using ox-teams, as a means of transport, when an army, with its supplies, can be transported as far, in one day, as it could have been, during the old French war, in two or three weeks.

Soon after this disastrous event, news came that the French army from Canada was advancing towards the English settlements. Massachusetts was about to raise six hundred men, in addition to whom a thousand were ordered to be raised in the western part of the Province all for the relief of the Provincial forces then engaged in the Crown Point expedition. The General Assembly of Rhode Island was called together, and an Act passed, for raising four hundred men, to be sent to Albany, as a farther reinforcement of the army.

While this activity prevailed in raising forces to repel the advance of the enemy, by land, the same spirit of enterprise which existed in former wars was awakened, anew, to maintain a superiority at sea. Many privateers were fitted out, which scoured the coast and extended their cruising ground to the West Indies, where a wider field for their operations was presented. One of these, the *Foy*, of eighteen guns, with a crew of a hundred and eighty men, commanded by Captain Dennis, sailed for the Spanish main, and was never heard of, after.

To prevent the French getting a supply of provisions from the Colonies, an Act was passed, prohibiting the exportation of provisions from any place within the Colony, to any Dutch or neutral ports. This Act further provided, that, if any Master or Owner of any vessel should "willingly suffer any collusive capture to be made of his cargo, should forfeit all his real and personal estate."

In order to agree upon a plan to prosecute the war against the French, the Earl of Loudoun addressed a letter to the Colony, requesting that it would send Commissioners to meet him, in Boston. The Assembly lost no time in complying with the request of His Lordship, and in appointing James Honeyman and George Bourn, Commissioners, and instructing them to lay before him the condition of the Colony with reference to its fortifications, cannon, and military-stores, together with a statement of its means for carrying on the war. They also passed an Act for building an armed vessel to guard the coast, and for raising and paying four hundred and fifty troops for the ensuing campaign. Samuel Angell was appointed to the command of this Regiment.

On the fourth of February, 1757, William Pitt, then Secretary of State, thus wrote to Governor Hopkins: "The King, having nothing more at heart than the preservation of his good subjects and Colonies of North America, has come to a resolution of acting with the greatest vigor in those parts, in the ensuing campaign; and all necessary preparations are making for sending a considerable reinforcement of troops, together with a strong squadron of ships, for the purpose, and in order to act offensively against the French."

Secretary Pitt urged the immediate calling together of the Assembly, that they might order to be raised, with the utmost expedition, a considerable body of troops to be placed under the command of the Earl of Loudoun. A fortnight later, advices were received from Pitt, stating that Rear Admiral Holbourne had been placed in command of the squadron,

before-mentioned; and that if the Colony desired any assistance, application might be made to this officer. The Colony was directed to employ vessels to communicate with the squadron, and to furnish the Admiral with any information that could be obtained, relative to the movements of the enemy. As on former occasions, Secretary Pitt hoped that, whenever the commander of any of His Majesty's ships applied for seamen to recruit the ships, on the North American station, the Colony would furnish them.

Lord Loudoun, soon after, communicated with Governor Hopkins, from New York, recommending the Colony to make vigorous preparations for offensive operations, and advising that an embargo should be laid on the several ports in the Colony, without which he should be unable to carry out his plans. A similar embargo, His Lordship stated, had already been laid in New York. He also desired that the Governor would furnish a full account of all the vessels in port, with the view to employ them as transports. The season having now sufficiently advanced for active operations, Lord Loudoun directed that the Rhode Island forces, which consisted of five Companies, under Colonel Samuel Angell, should be sent, by water, with all expedition, and cantoned in the villages near Albany.

The embargo, which had been laid in the northern Colonies, by order of Lord Loudoun, gave great dissatisfaction, and was, soon after, removed, as far as shipments of corn and other grain were concerned to Great Britain and Ireland, owing to the failure of these crops, in those countries; at the same time, the Colonies were directed to give encouragement and assistance to persons engaged in purchasing and shipping grain to any of His Majesty's dominions in Europe.

The Earl of Loudoun, who was now about to relinquish the command of the Northern army, called upon Rhode Island to send one hundred and fifty men as a reinforcement to Major-general Webb, who was in command of the Colonial forces, at and near Albany, a request which was promptly complied with.

The many privateers which had been fitted out in the Colonies, as usual, in times of war, now gave much trouble, on account of their interference with the commerce of nations with which Great Britain was at peace. The Earl of Holderness, now Secretary of State, addressed a letter to the Governor of Rhode Island, complaining, in the strongest terms, of "the piratical behavior of several privateers, fitted out in North America, against the Spaniards, in the West Indies," with which nation Great Britain was at peace. His Lord-

ship particularly referred to the *Peggy*, Hadden, Master, of New York, and to a privateer from Halifax, which vessels had been guilty of acts against the Spaniards, "not only contrary to "all humanity and good faith, but to the "general instructions given to privateers." The Governor of Rhode Island was directed to detain these vessels, in case they should put into Newport. He was further instructed, with reference to any future Commissions given by him, to privateers, as well as to all privateers from other Colonies, which might come into the ports of the Colony.

A complaint of a more serious character against a privateer commissioned by Rhode Island, commanded by Isaac Hopkins, was made to the Governor, by Jan de Wendt, Governor of the island of St. Eustatius, in the West Indies, belonging to the Dutch. In his letter, the Dutch Governor states that Captain Hopkins, in a private brigantine-of-war, seized and carried off a ship, with a valuable cargo, belonging to gentlemen of that island, subjects of the States of Holland. That he, the said Hopkins, aided by one Richards, of Antigua, took possession of her, "in sight of an English port, into which "they might have carried her: but that, finding "her papers and proceedings regular, and "despairing of success, in that port, carried her "away to Auguilla, twenty leagues distant, in "hopes of taking some advantage from the "inexperience of persons, in trust there, in "regard to the laws." The Judge here, it seems, refused to libel the ship without first sending to Antigua for the advice of Counsel. Upon this, they pretended to send to Antigua, and, in the meantime, advised the Captain of the captured vessel to go to St. Eustatius to advise with the owners, there. This, in the belief of the Governor, was but a concerted scheme to enable the captors the more easily to run away with the vessel and to prevent the owners from pursuing and retaking her. Under these circumstances, de Wendt had granted a flag of truce to Captain Bappel, Master and part owner of the Dutch vessel, to proceed to Rhode Island, and demand the restoration of the ship and cargo. He also called upon the Governor of Rhode Island to "protect Bappel "and aid him in the recovery of the damages "he had sustained" from the privateer or their sureties.

But the complaint of the worthy Dutch Governor against the Colony did not end here, for he adds that he shall take the opportunity, thus afforded, to communicate with the Governor, to acquaint him of the cruel treatment he had met with from a privateer, from Rhode Island, whereof Nathaniel Sweeting was Commander, in having a vessel taken and carried into New

Providence. The cargo, he further asserts, though his own property, had been condemned as French, without having any other evidence for it, as appeared by the statement of the case, sent him by the Judge's authority, than it being consigned to a Frenchman. Furthermore, he states that four thousand, nine hundred, and fifty pieces of eight (\$4950) in cash, the property of the owner, Mr. Neuville, a Dutch merchant, in Amsterdam, were taken. "Such proceedings as these," concludes de Wendt, "against neutral powers, upon a legal "trade, will not bring any honor on the English Government; and when they are properly "represented, as they shall be, and come to "appear before higher powers, will, no doubt, "meet with their just resentment; and the "owners of that privateer may rely upon it, I "will never give the point up till I have justice "done me."

XIX.

SLAVES NOT TO BE SHIPPED BY PRIVATEERS.
RHODE ISLAND SHIPWRIGHTS TAKEN PRISONERS.
BY THE FRENCH, AT OSWEGO. COMPLAINTS
AGAINST PRIVATEERS. DEFEAT OF THE ENGLISH,
AND CAPITULATION OF FORT WILLIAM HENRY.
FRENCH PRISONERS IN NEWPORT. ADMIRAL
COLVILLE CALLS FOR SEAMEN, AND SECRETARY
PITT FOR MORE TROOPS.

It appears that the Commanders of privateers and Masters of other vessels were in the habit of taking away slaves from the Colony, without the consent of their owners, which had occasioned not only much inconvenience, to them, but, often, loss. In consequence of this, an Act was passed by the General Assembly imposing a penalty of five hundred pounds upon any one who should knowingly carry off a slave. Owners of slaves were authorized to go on board privateers or other vessels, and search for their missing slaves, opposition to which, by the Masters, rendered them liable in the same penalty as though they had carried them off.

It will be remembered that Fort Oswego was taken by the French, under General Montcalm, in 1756; but the records of the period make no mention what troops or other men were taken prisoners, by them. By a letter from Governor Pownall of Massachusetts to Governor Greene, dated August 4, 1757, it appears that, among the prisoners, were a number of shipwrights and other artificers, sent from Rhode Island, and employed by General Shirley in building vessels and erecting defences, at that place. These men were taken to Quebec, and, from thence, sent, in a cartel ship, to England. Governor Pownall writes: "Upon application to "the Lords of the Admiralty, in behalf of these

"poor people, their Lordships, in consideration of their sufferings, were pleased to direct that they should be borne on board His Majesty's ships and take their passage therein to their own country. They are recommended to me. I cannot but esteem it my duty to do everything in my power to assist people who have deserved so well of their country and suffered in its service. I have, therefore, advanced them subsistence to carry them to their respective homes.

"It were impertinent in me to recommend those who belong to the Colony of Rhode Island to your Honor's care and protection.

"I cannot but presume, from the justice of their employers, that there will be no need to seek your Honor's assistance in helping them to their pay and other dues, which they claim from those who engaged them in the service.

"I am, with the most profound respect,
"T. POWNALL."

The names of the Rhode Island prisoners, thus restored, were John Tarbox, Mat. Thompson, Robert Hart, Thomas Goddard, Jos. Peterson, Rufus Church, Samuel Mott and Edward Channel. Ten years after, the claims of these men were brought to the notice of the General Assembly, when the subject was referred to a Committee, who reported, at a subsequent Session. This Report contains the names of the men referred to, with a statement of the period for which wages were due to them. Their periods of service extended from thirteen to forty-five months, reckoning from the time of their engagement to their return from imprisonment to their homes. The Committee reported in favor of allowing the claim; and Governor Ward was requested to write to the Agent of the Colony, in London, directing him to apply to the Government, to pay these men, in conformity with the Report of the Committee which had examined their several accounts. By this, it will appear that, as early as the year 1756, in the struggle between England and France, for empire in America, and particularly for supremacy on Lake Ontario, Rhode Island sent her shipwrights and artificers to build ships and construct fortifications at Oswego, as she did, fifty-six years later, in the War of 1812 with Great Britain, when she sent her shipwrights and artificers to build the fleet, on Lake Erie, with which another of her sons, Oliver H. Perry, in command of those vessels, destroyed the British fleet, on the thirteenth of September, 1813.*

*We incline to the belief that our friend, the author of this History, has here made a claim which is a little broader than the facts would justify. Those mechanics, except a few riggers, were sent, if the contemporary authorities spoke truly, from the Brooklyn Navy-yard, and were New York mechanics.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

The French, in Canada, had not been inactive while the English were concentrating their forces, at Albany and Fort William Henry, for the purpose of making a demonstration against them; and had collected a large force of Canadians and Indians, in addition to the Royal troops. In June, the Earl of Loudoun, with a large body of troops, left New York for Halifax, there to join the British fleet, and, with their united forces, make an attempt to recover Louisburg. No sooner, however, had this large force taken its departure, than General Montcalm, who was in command of the French Army of the North, made a simultaneous attack on the several posts, occupied by the English, near Lake George. With an army of eleven thousand men, including French Regulars, Canadians, and Indians, Montcalm laid siege to Fort William Henry, then garrisoned by five hundred men, under Colonel Monroe, with a further detachment of seventeen hundred entrenched near him. At this time, General Webb lay at Fort Edward, fourteen miles distant, with four thousand men, among which were the Rhode Island troops. But they did not go to the relief of the besieged, under the impression that the French force was much larger than it really was. The English held out for six days, when, after one-half their cannon had been burst or dismounted and their ammunition nearly exhausted, Colonel Monroe capitulated. The English were permitted to depart, with the honors of war, on a pledge not to serve against the French for eighteen months.

Upon the application of the Earl of Loudoun, an order was given to place at the disposal of His Lordship, a Company of seventy men, who were to be drawn from the Rhode Island Regiment, by Colonel Samuel Angell, and remain with Lord Loudoun during the Winter. The Council of War were authorized to provide and send transports to Albany, to bring home the troops which had been engaged in the campaign.

Towards the close of the year, renewed complaints were made, by Secretary Pitt, of "violences and depredations committed by His Majesty's subjects in America, against those of Spain," which had been viewed by him with "the highest disapprobation." To check these practices, the Governor was directed to enforce, with the utmost rigor, the observance of the instructions to privateers, and to employ great care and diligence, in order to prevent all excesses, such as were alleged to be committed, in violation of the freedom of navigation of the subjects of Spain. The precise nature of the charges, here referred to, does not appear; but it is evident that the privateers commissioned

by Rhode Island, which swarmed in the West Indian seas, had not stopped to enquire whether it was a French or a Spanish vessel, which they boarded, as long as it was a prize of value. These they took to various West India ports, where they were condemned and sold, and the proceeds turned into cash. Few of these were taken to Rhode Island; and the only evidence of the success which attended a cruise was a valuable return to the owners, in silver and gold, or of valuable merchandise.

The loss of Fort William Henry and the utter defeat of our troops caused the greatest consternation throughout the Colonies; but it was too late to attempt anything new, and the Colonial forces were placed in the Winter establishment. The General Assembly, however, passed an Act to enlist, anew, two hundred and fifty men, for the Winter, from those who were returning from Albany—a measure which gave great satisfaction to Lord Loudoun. In his letter to Governor Greene, that nobleman, in referring to this subject, says: "The Resolution of your Assembly is extremely handsome, and must do honor to your Province, and I think shows a right spirit for the public service, and is worthy of imitation in other Provinces."

The better to provide for the protection of the trade of the Colony, the Assembly voted to build a vessel of war. During the same Session, a Memorial was presented, from the merchants of Providence, asking that an application be made to the King for the appointment of a Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty for the Colony. The Memorialists represented that the merchants had become large adventurers, in private ships of war; and that the property brought in by such vessels could not come into the hands of their owners, until first adjudged and condemned by a proper Court of Vice Admiralty; that there was only a Deputy in the Colony, who was so much limited and controlled by his superior, who lived out of the Colony, that great damages, delays, and inconveniences resulted therefrom.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

V.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness, and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

THE BOSTON BAR—RECOLLECTIONS OF SIXTY YEARS AGO.—The foremost lawyers of the New England bar, at the beginning of this century, were Sullivan, Dexter, Parsons, Otis and Pres-

cott. Governor Sullivan was then sixty years old, Samuel Dexter not quite forty, and Harrison Gray Otis only thirty-five. William Prescott, father of the historian, was four years younger than Dexter; and Theophilus Parsons stood mid-way between the two. Of all these, the last-named only has left anything like permanent fame.

Theophilus Parsons never had his superior at the bar nor his equal on the bench, in Massachusetts. When he took his seat on the latter, in 1806, business had so accumulated on the County Dockets that few cases could come to trial in less than three years. Judge Parsons resolved that the Dockets should be cleared. No delays were allowed; the cases took their turns; and counsel and clients were made to understand that they must go to trial, when called. A new face of things was soon visible in the Courts; and all but the lawyers were satisfied. They said that the Chief-justice was arbitrary and overbearing, especially as he would never permit an argument to be made to the Jury unsupported by evidence. He stopped Mr. Dexter in argument, one day, on the ground that he was trying to persuade the Jury of that for which there was no evidence. The latter became quite angry, and replied: "Your Honor did not argue your own cases in the way you require us to." "Certainly not," was the reply, "but that was the Judge's fault, not mine." In a trial of importance, in Boston, Mr. Otis offered some testimony, which Judge Parsons ruled out. The former submitted, but, in his argument, was beginning some allusion to it, when the Judge said, "Brother Otis, that will not do: you know that evidence was ruled out." But it was very important to the case; and, shortly after, Mr. Otis referred to it, again.

Then Judge Parsons said, "Mr. Otis, please understand and remember that fact is not in the case, and is not to be brought in, thus indirectly." Mr. Otis again submitted and apologized; but, with characteristic pertinacity, before long, again ventured upon an allusion to it. "Sit down, Mr. Otis, sit down, sir," was the stern command; and, without permitting him to say anything more, the Judge arose and charged the Jury. At Worcester, the lawyers determined to resist the innovation.

Frank Blake, the leading Barrister of the County, was the Chief-justice's intimate friend. "Stop a moment, Brother Blake," interposed Chief-justice Parsons. "What points do you propose to present to the Jury on this evidence?" "I will, if your Honor pleases, state them to the Jury." "No; you must state them to the Court, first." "I decline doing so, may it please your Honor; I insist on my right to address the Jury in my own way." "Certainly, if

"you address them at all, you may address them in your own way—and there can be none better; but I must first know whether you have any case to speak about. I do not now see one, but perhaps you may point one out." "I will endeavor to do so to the Jury." "No, you must do so first to me." "This I positively decline." "Very well, with any view of the case I can now take, you will waste the time of the Jury, the Court and the County, by any argument." Mr. Blake then arose, and, turning to the Jury, began; "Gentlemen of the Jury."—when the Judge instantly said: "Mr. Sheriff, commit Mr. Blake to close jail;" and quickly arose and began charging the Jury. The Sheriff approached Mr. Blake, who rose to follow him; but the Judge, interrupting his charge, said to the Sheriff, "Stop, sir, a few moments," and went on and gave the case to the Jury. He then turned to the bar and said; "Brother Blake, will you go to jail now, or wait until you have got through with some of your cases?" "I think," said Blake, "if it is all one to your Honor, or, I will wait a little." The Judge attended an evening supper party at Mr. Blake's house, when Court adjourned; and the awkward scene narrated did not diminish the jollity of the gathering. Still the bar would not yield.

At Taunton, Massachusetts, Mr. Burgess, of Rhode Island, entered into the combat. He came dressed with the elegance and nicety of a gentleman of the old school—silk stockings, knee-buckles, breeches, lace ruffles, and powdered hair. He too, was an old personal friend of the Judge, and had been sent for to do what could be done to gain a cause. A scene similar to the Blake affair occurred. By this time, it was ascertained that, if the points were asked for by the Court, they must be given. Mr. Burgess so far yielded, therefore, as to state one.—"That is no point at all, Brother Burgess. Have you not one?" "Yes, your Honor," and stated it. "You have not a particle of evidence for that point, as you very well know, Brother Burgess: what other?" And so the thing went on, until the Judge flatly refused to let him speak. "May it please your Honor," said Mr. Burgess, "I think I have a good case, an excellent case, and I believe I can satisfy the Jury of it; and I demand, as a matter of right, permission to try." "A very good case you have, no doubt, Brother Burgess: but, unluckily, no evidence, and, therefore, nothing to go to a Jury on." Mr. Burgess at once gathered up his papers and marched indignantly out of Court. When the Court adjourned for dinner, the Judge found Mr. Burgess haranguing the crowd upon the tyranny of Judge Parsons. Waiting a moment, he said:

"Brother Burgess, if you get through in season, come in and dine with me." Burgess stopped a moment; turned around; met Judge Parson's eye, and saying, "I give it up—I give it all up," took the Judge's arm, and went to dinner.

The seniors of the bar were oft-times not a little irritated at Judge Parson's kindness to the younger members. An anecdote is told, in Northampton, of his advice to Elijah H. Mills, upon his first appearance at Court. An old lawyer in Hampshire-county was prevented by illness from being present, and had given young Mills his papers, with the advice to employ some older counsel. "To whom will you refer me, for assistance, your Honor?" inquired the timid young Barrister. The Judge, quick at perceiving merit, replied, "To yourself, Brother Mills. I think you and I can do the business." Everything went on well, with the help of a hint, here and there; and, when the Court adjourned, Mills called at the Judge's chamber to thank him, and say good bye. As he entered, Mr. Serjeant, the leader of the Franklin bar, arose to depart. "I hope I shall see you next term, Mr. Serjeant," said the Chief-justice. "I am not sure about that, Judge," replied the old lawyer; "I think some of sending my office-boy with my papers. You and he, together, will do the business full as well as I can."

Before he became a Judge, Mr. Parsons met Alexander Hamilton, in an important suit, tried before Judge Ellsworth, in the New York Courts. The latter was astonished by his opponent's legal knowledge, and, particularly, by his skill in special pleading, naming him, in open Court, "the giant of the New England Bar." It was upon this occasion that, in replying to some distinctions made, Hamilton said: "May it please your Honor, I have known men to split a hair, and I have tried to do it myself, but I never before saw any one decimate a hair and count the pieces before the Court." Referring to "special pleading," in which Theophilus Parsons had, perhaps, never a superior, arguing a case is not meant, but the written allegations and replies of the parties before the case is tried. He, himself, used to tell his "demurrer story," as it at last got to be called, with great gusto. "Demurrer" is a technical term of special pleading, which means that the party "demurs"—that is, admits the facts, but denies them to be sufficient in law. This brings the case to a higher Court; and is called "taking up demurrer." The senior member of the Stratford Bar entered the Court, one day, in a state of beastly drunkenness; and, in endeavoring to reach his place, fell to the floor. Two or three friends were

about him consulting how they should get him out, without compelling the Judge to notice his condition, one suggesting this way and another that, when the old man called out: "Take me up by demurrer. Judge Jones 'don't know enough of pleading to see through 'that.'"

In confirmation of what Mr. Webster's early journal states, about the eyes of Chief-justice Parsons, one peculiarity used always to be mentioned by those who remembered him, and that was the habit of looking at a person without winking. It is strange that, while we never notice that a person winks when looking at us, unless it is done with disagreeable frequency, when one looks without winking, it is observed, at once. Chief justice Marshall had this peculiarity towards any one addressing him. Lowndes, of South Carolina, said, about it: "Oh, yes; the good old Judge finds it of 'great service. When a lawyer is talking 'against time or annoying the Court with platitudes, that cold, wide-open, never-winking 'grey eye fastens upon him; and a man can't 'stand it.'"

Judge Sullivan was twenty-five years older than Judge Parsons, and was in the full enjoyment of his honors when the latter had risen into notoriety. He was Attorney general of Massachusetts, an office of much more dignity and importance then than it has been since. His manner was easy and engaging; his reasoning, logical and plausible. His addresses to the Jury were always marked by that vigorous display of intellectual power and facility of illustration that gave him his reputation. He was a gentleman of the old school, and, kept up according to the habits of the day, a generous hospitality. Although possessing great dignity of manner and person, he was, nevertheless, fond of practical jokes, none of which, nevertheless, will very well bear the telling. It was, however, in practical wisdom, his great forte lay. He said to a friend who was complaining that, at his age, sixty, he felt that one's days must be few, and the capacity of usefulness well nigh exhausted. "You mistake, there. 'At sixty, a man in fair health may enter upon a 'series of years, equal in usefulness and happiness to those of any period, provided proper 'precautions are taken and proper habits formed. Employment without labor, exercise without weariness, and temperance without abstinence, are rules of life for a man of three score 'years.' This advice, probably, contains as much sound sense as could easily be compacted in the same number of words.

To Judge Jay, who had expressed his regret that Providence permits the benefit of experience to descend to others only in an imperfect

degree; and who had remarked how much wiser the world would be if, when the father died, he could give to his son all those lessons which he had himself learned in the hard school of experience. Mr. Sullivan said: "That would 'never do, Judge. It would defeat the chief 'purpose for which we live. The culture and 'improvement of ourselves, by our own efforts, 'not by the efforts of our parents, is what God 'means.'"

An anecdote, characteristic of both Parsons and Sullivan, used to be told by a witty member of the Suffolk bar, who witnessed the scene. The two eminent lawyers were opposing counsel in an insurance case. Parsons, from some confusion of ideas, in painting the horrors of shipwreck, spoke of the wind "blowing off a lee shore." Sullivan at first doubted the accuracy of his hearing; but when Parsons, reiterating his argument, repeated the same blunder, Sullivan quietly asked what kind of wind that could be. Parsons, much excited, turned quick as a flash upon his enemy, and shouted out with an impetuous voice, "It was an Irish hurricane, 'Brother Sullivan.'"

Samuel Dexter, as we have said already, was eleven years younger than Theophilus Parsons, and nearly twenty years younger than General Sullivan. He was above the average height, of strong and muscular structure, but never inclined to corpulency. His features were large and bold, his complexion dark—Huguenotic, in fact—his mouth large, and his face full of logic. His hair, just before his death, at the early age of fifty-four, was iron gray, coarse, and falling loosely; his forehead broad, his step firm and gait erect, and his dress always neat. For a period of some ten years he was the leading politician, as well as the foremost lawyer, of New England. Madison made him Secretary of the Treasury. He possessed the power, both at the bar and in the forum, of stirring the passions of men. In the Supreme Court at Washington, he rarely spoke without attracting an audience composed of the taste, beauty, wit and learning of the city. He opened his arguments in a progressive order, erecting each successive position upon some other, whose solid mass he had already established on an immovable foundation, till at last the superstructure seemed by its ponderous proportions to bid defiance to the assaults of human ingenuity. He was in mind, gravity and method of speaking, greatly like Daniel Webster. Chief-justice Parsons was given to interrupting counsel saying, e. g., "Supposing you take this view of it, Brother Dexter," and himself then proceeding with an argument. Mr. Dexter becoming one day very angry at

these interruptions, took a small volume from his pocket and said:

"May it please your Honor, I will read with your permission, a few passages from the book I hold in my hand."

"What book is it?" asked the Chief-justice, taking a pen to make a note of it.

"My Lord Bacon's Essay," replied Mr. Dexter; "and I will read from the fifty-sixth 'Essay on Judicature.' 'Judges ought to remember that their office is *jus dicere* and not *jus dare*—to interpret law, not to make it.'"

Reading several sentences of similar tenor, Mr. Dexter closed the book, replaced it in his pocket, and continued his argument without further interruption.

There was great bitterness when Mr. Dexter separated from the Federalists, one of whose leaders he had been. At a political meeting in Faneuil Hall, held shortly after, Mr. Otis addressed the assembly. Mr. Dexter sat at his left hand, a little in the rear, at a distance of eight or ten feet. It was no unusual thing at dinner parties and in counting rooms to accuse the latter of "apostacy," but no man had dared to do it in public. Mr. Otis however, closed his speech with these words, "We shall not be turned aside from our course, which we believe to be the path of duty, by any fear of the rulers at Washington on the one hand, nor by that of apostacy on the other." The utterance of these words was accompanied by a significant gesture which plainly designated Mr. Dexter, upon whom all eyes were instantly turned. The latter half rose with all appearance of great indignation, and said so as to be heard by Mr. Otis, "If he does not retract those words, I will wring his nose." A gentleman friend of both, at once went to Mr. Otis, whispered a word in his ear, when he resumed his remarks, saying that nothing could be more remote from his intention than the slightest allusion of disrespect to any gentleman present—especially to one, the purity of whose patriotism was above all suspicion. He should as soon think of doubting the existence of his God. The matter passed off, but the two eminent men were never afterwards friends.

Mr. Otis's power of persuasion oftentimes damaged him with the Court. He relied too much upon it. Arguing a case before a jury in the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, Justice Parsons said to him once:

"Brother Otis, don't waste your time on that point, there's nothing in it."

Mr. Otis stopped, looked the Judge full in the face, bowed, and, turning to the Jury, went on to another point in his case.

"Nor in this either, Brother Otis: don't waste your time."

Mr. Otis bowed again, went to a third point, to be once more interrupted by the Judge.

Somewhat annoyed, he turned to the bench and said—

"I regret to find myself, your Honor, unable to please the Court, this morning."

"Brother Otis," replied the Judge, with a pleasant smile, "you always please the Court when you are right."

Towards the latter part of Mr. Otis's life, when he was still in active service, however, Noah Webster issued proposals for his first quarto Dictionary, which was to contain three thousand new words. When the fact was mentioned before Chief-justice Shaw, he remarked, "For heaven's sake don't let Otis get hold of it."

Mr. Otis had a peculiar habit of lounging while thinking out his speeches. He would sit for an hour or more, his chair canted backwards, and his feet resting against the wall, gently stroking his nose with his thumb and finger. It was understood that he was not to be interrupted on such occasions. His students jocularly called the process, "milking his brain."

Of William Prescott, father of the historian, there is room here for a word only. He retired early from the profession, both as advocate and chamber counsel, being possessed of an ample fortune, but he never discontinued his legal studies. At the age of eighty-two, when he died in 1844, he was confessedly the most erudite lawyer in New England. He never attempted eloquence, but was, nevertheless, a successful advocate. His genial face and cordial manner, which were transparent vestments of his heart, every old Bostonian remembers.

He was a true representative of the gentle blood of New England. President Kirkland said of him, over his grave, that he was one of the few men who ever lived "that did not need the smart of guilt to make him virtuous, nor the regret of folly to make him wise." *Par negotiis neque supro*—"equal to, not above duty"—was his fit epitaph. N. S. D.

VI.—BOOKS.

1.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY H. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIPNER & Co., Bookellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

A.—PRIVATE PUBLICATIONS.

1.—*Annals of Public Education in the State of New York.* By Daniel J. Pratt, A.M. Second Period. Public Education in the Colony of New York. Part I. From the Capitulation by the Dutch to the First Legislative Act for founding a College. 1664-1746. [Albany: 1870] Octavo, pp. ii., (unpaged) 619-692.

Some months since, we noticed, in the Mag-

azine, the first part of this very interesting work, covering the period of the Dutch dynasty in New York, and describing, in the most elaborate detail, the educational movements of that sterling race. In the portion before us, which is the second, we have the record of the English provisions for the education of the young people in this Colony, prior to the establishment of the King's college—now Columbia.

The same features which distinguished the first of these parts distinguish the second—it is a historical work of great merit; and its excellent author has earned for himself, in its preparation, the highest credit as a pains-taking laborer in the field of American history.

It is to be regretted that, in the printing of these separate tracts—the first of which had formed, already portions of another volume—more attention was not paid to the pagination. It is too important a work to be thus slighted by the workmen, in making it up for the press.

2.—*The First Cruise of the United States Frigate, Essex, with a short account of her origin and subsequent career until captured by the British, in 1814, and her ultimate fate.* Prepared by Captain George Henry Preble, U. S. N. [From the *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Vol. X.] Salem: Essex Institute. 1870. Octavo, pp. 108.

Every school-boy pretending to know anything of his country's history, knows of the *Essex* and Captain Porter; but there are very few, even among those who have attained the age and insolence of manhood, who know anything of that historical war-vessel, beyond the record of her fighting-qualities.

In the pamphlet before us, Captain Preble has presented the history of the good old ship, from the date of the appeal which, on the thirtieth of June, 1798, the Federal Government made to the citizens, for a marine force to protect our growing commerce from the assaults of belligerent Europe, until her gallant crew was overpowered, in the harbor of Valparaiso. She was built by the merchants of Salem, then a mere village of nine thousand inhabitants, and tendered to the Navy at a cost of upwards of seventy-five thousand, four hundred, and seventy-three dollars; having been built by Enos Briggs, of Salem, under the direction of Colonel J. Hackett, of Portsmouth. Her keel was laid on the thirteenth of April, 1799; and she was launched on the thirtieth of September, following. Her tonnage was eight hundred and fifty and a quarter tons; and her battery was thirty-six guns. Her first commander was Captain Edward Preble; she sailed out of Salem, on the twenty-second of December, 1799; doubled the Cape of Good Hope, on the twenty-eighth of March, 1800—the first United States vessel of war which did so—was subsequently commanded by Captains Bainbridge (under

whom she formed part of the Mediterranean squadron), James Barron, (under whom she returned to the Mediterranean) Smith, and Porter (under whom Farragut served as a Midshipman) was the first captor of an armed prize, during the war of 1812; became the scourge of the enemy, in the Pacific; was captured by a superior force; subsequently, transferred to the Royal Navy; converted, years after, into a convict-ship, in the West Indies; and, in 1837, while she was at Kingston, Jamaica, was sold at auction, in London, to be known no more, except in history.

This very interesting Memoir is supplemented with a series of papers and documents, mostly new to the world, which serve to illustrate the subject; and, after his usual habit, Captain Preble leaves very little, if anything, to be done by those who shall, hereafter, have occasion to write of the *Essex* or her history. We wish some of our professional "historians," so called, would take a few lessons from Captain Preble, on the value of documentary evidence, on the importance of presenting it to their readers, and on a careful use of it, themselves.

The proof-reader failed to do his duty, in the correction of the sheets, composing this work, else it had been a very neatly-printed volume.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

3.—*Manual of the First Congregational Church, Franklin, Mass.* Adopted, January, 1870. Boston: 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 63.

It is a commendable habit in Churches, in some parts of the country, to publish such *Manuals* as this, embracing their History, Articles of Faith, Rules of Conduct, Lists of Members, from the beginning, etc.; and few are aware of the value of such works to those who seek the minutiae of local history and biography.

In 1738, the Second Church of Wrentham was organized, in the Western Precinct of that town; and, forty years afterward, in 1778, when that Precinct became the town of Franklin, that Church became "The First Congregational Church of Franklin." It has adhered to the faith of its fathers, under the pastoral guidance, successively, of Messrs. Haven, Barnum, Nathaniel Emmons, D.D., Smailley, Southworth, Hunt, and Keene; has secured a membership of nine hundred and sixty-seven, of whom two hundred and twenty-three were in communion, at the opening of 1870; and is among the most influential of the country parishes in Massachusetts.

The *Manual* before us contains all that we need to know of the origin, faith, and membership of the Church; but we are free to say that the Church over which so noted and so influential a Pastor as Doctor Emmons so long and so ably presided, ought to have been pre-

sented, in its History, with very much more completeness than it has been in this little work.

It is very handsomely printed; and we are under obligations to the Pastor for the copy which is before us.

4.—*Minutes of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Otsego Baptist Association, held with the Exeter Baptist Church, at Schuyler's Lake, N. Y., June 15th and 16th, 1870.* Octavo, pp. 16.

These annual Congresses of the Churches, in which each appears by her Elder and Messengers, are vastly more important than many imagine; and their records form a very important element in the local history of the State.

The homely tract before us is the seventy-fifth of the Otsego Association of Baptist Churches; and we find in it the statistics of nineteen Churches and a sketch of the history of one of them.

5.—*Annual Reports to the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco, submitted to the Chamber, holden May 10th, 1870.* To which are appended Report from Sub-Committee of the Committee on Earthquakes, Report of the Committee on Dockage and Wharfage, Report of the Committee on United States District Courts, Report of the Committee on Laws relating to Pilots and Pilotage, and also, Memorials and Resolutions adopted by the Chamber, during the year ending May 10, 1870. San Francisco: 1870. Octavo, pp. 39.

Our readers know how highly we value the annual Reports of these associations of the business-men of the United States; and how much importance is to be attached to the results of their observation and judicious labor.

The volume before us is not, however, as complete as we hoped to find it; nor has the Chamber seemed to appreciate the full extent of its responsibility to the wide world, in the department of the literature of American Commerce. There is not a line of statistics in the entire book: not a single table presents, ever so poorly, the Commerce of the emporium of the Pacific. May not we hope for better things, hereafter?

The pamphlet is a neat one.

6.—*Auburn Theological Seminary. 1820-1870. Semi-centenary Address and Proceedings.* Auburn: 1870. Duodecimo, pp. xl, 79.

We remember, very well, the venerable Pastor of the Presbyterian-church, at Ithaca—Rev. William Wisner—and it was on his motion, in February, 1818, that the Synod of Geneva resolved to establish a Seminary for the education of young men for the ministry, in Central New York. In May, 1820, the corner-stone of the structure for the purpose of accomodating the teachers and the taught, was laid at Auburn; and, probably, in May, 1870, the fiftieth birthday of the institution was celebrated—we say "probably" because the only date appearing in the narrative of that celebration is that of Doctor Cuyler's Address, which is merely stated to have

been delivered "On Tuesday evening," without describing which particular "Tuesday" of the Past is therein referred to.

We are glad to see an occasional outburst, from among the learning of our Colleges and Seminaries, of respect for the history of by-gone days—if it shall be associated with appeals for money we can excuse it—and we have welcomed this record of old Cayuga's resurrection and temporary wakefulness with peculiar pleasure, notwithstanding the intensely stupid way in which that record has been presented to the world.

We have, FIRST: what purports to be an *Address before the Society of Inquiry*, "on Tuesday evening," by Theodore L. Cuyler, D.D., but, as we have said, neither the month, nor the day of the month, nor the year on which that particular "Tuesday evening" occurred, is presented to the anxious eye of the reader; and all that this volume can possibly assist in the solution of that question is found on the title-page, in the figures "1820-1870." Besides, the report of the *Address* itself is confined to the "happy introduction" of it, while "the subject of the discourse," on which the reader will most desire to look, is dismissed in a few lines of a synopsis, probably from the same indolent pen which did not do its duty, more faithfully, elsewhere. SECOND: We have an *Historical Discourse*, but by whom and when delivered, the Editor of this volume says not, except, in a distant part of the volume, he incidentally refers to Rev. Samuel H. Gridley, D.D., as the author of some such discourse as this is. THIRD: We have a Poem, on *Past, Present, and Future*; but just who was the Poet or just when or where he pronounced it, seems not to have been worthy any portion of the Editor's attention—forty-nine pages back, however, he casually remarked that Rev. C. E. Furman was the happy man who was the author of such a Poem as this is. FOURTH: a chapter describing the *Laying of the Corner-stone for a Library building*, is equally non-communicative—not a date nor a place is mentioned.

Let us not be misunderstood. On the *thirtieth of November*, 1819, the ground was broken for the building of this Seminary: on the *eleventh of April*, 1820, the Charter of the Seminary was granted: on the *eleventh of May*, 1820, the corner-stone of the Seminary was laid: on the *twelfth of July*, 1820, the Board of Trustees was organized—which of these dates formed the starting-point of the Seminary Calendar? A Bible was presented by Sylvester Willard, M.D., "on its *Fiftieth Anniversary*, May 4th, 1870," we are told on page 68: pray of what particular event in the Society's history was the *fourth of May* the "anniversary?" On

which of the various dates to which we have referred was this Semi-centennial celebrated? Who can tell, since this record is silent on that subject?

7.—*The First Church, Orange, N. J. One hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary, November 24 and 25, 1869. Memorial.* Newark: Published for the Session, by Jennings Brothers. 1870. Small octavo, pp. 174.

The venerable Presbyterian-church at Orange, New Jersey, celebrated its one hundred and fiftieth anniversary, in November, 1869; and, in the very handsome volume before us, we find the record of that interesting event.

On the evening of the twenty-fourth, the Pastor preached an admirable Sermon, from *Exodus* xii., 26—"What mean ye, by this 'service'?"—and, at its close, a Memorial Tablet, to the memory of the first two Pastors of the Church, was unveiled and inaugurated, by Rev. Doctor Green. On the twenty-fifth, our excellent friend, Rev. E. H. Gillett, D. D., delivered an Historical Discourse, which was peculiarly appropriate to the occasion; and another of our honored friends, Anson D. F. Randolph, Esq., read a Poem, and Doctor Stephen Wickes an address on the Pastorate of the Rev. James Hoyt, recently the Church's Pastor.

We have said that the Sermon and the Historical Discourse were appropriate to the occasion: we may say the same of every other portion of the services, as those services are represented in this volume; and the typographical neatness, in which the volume is dressed, adds very materially to its attractiveness.

8.—*Discourse delivered before the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, Boston, March 18, 1870, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of its incorporation.* By Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, A. M. With Proceedings and Appendix, Boston: New England Historic-Genealogical Society. 1870. Octavo, pp. 69.

The historical pundits of Boston have been divided, for many years, we understand, into two classes, if not more; and we are told that they love each other, individually and collectively, exactly as Satan is said to love Holy-water. The effect of this peculiarity of their affectionate regard is, that the venerable Massachusetts Historical Society studiously excludes from her membership such recognized scholars in American History as John Ward Dean, John Wingate Thornton, and Samuel G. Drake; while the latter as carefully withhold the graces of good-fellowship, it is said, from such writers as James Savage, and Charles Deane. The venerable Society has always considered herself complete without the co-operation of the "Young America" of Boston's historians; while the latter have not only assured themselves that the sun has not risen nor set in "the

"Dowse-room," over the Suffolk Savings Bank, in Tremont-street, but they have also assured others that that supposition was susceptible of abundant proof.

Some twenty-five years or so, ago, these modern Abednegos who refused to fall down and worship the golden calves which Boston had set up, gravely bethought themselves that there ought to be "equality before the law," in matters of Historical Societies; and they proceeded, evidently without asking the consent of the old Massachusetts Historical Society, to organize a new Society, in which they, themselves, could be recognized as the master-spirits—a Historic-Genealogical Society, in which the true intent was only half concealed and a rivalry in historical literature, *per se*, was more than half-threatened. The contempt of established Boston reputations, which was thus manifested by the progressive party—what Mr. DeCosta would, probably, have called "the New School," had he been there to see—was promptly resented by its venerable rival; and, whether before the Legislature of the Commonwealth or in the world's wide wilderness, the young Society has encountered the heaviest and the bitterest, and the most relentless of the opposition which it has met, from the members of the Massachusetts Historical Society and from the Society, herself. Greek has met Greek and Brahmin has jostled Brahmin, in this lively, if not lovely, contention, for a full quarter of a century; and, notwithstanding this conflict of the clans, Boston rejoices, if we may believe Mr. Slafter, in the remarkable belief that her's is "a people of unusual social and political equality, with an inheritance of many elements of character of which she always feels a just but not ostentatious pride."

Last March ended the first twenty-five years of the existence of the newly-formed Society; and it was its privilege, on that occasion, to flaunt its banners, and blow its horns, and tell what wonders it had, meanwhile, accomplished. Oddly enough, if the truth of history was to become an element in its proceedings, a New England parson was selected to tell the story of its renown; and, reasonably enough, he told of some things of which he evidently knew something while he also told of others of which, quite as evidently, he knew exactly nothing. Let us see, in this elegant volume, how he played his part in this little drama.

Mr. Slafter opened his discourse, boldly, by introducing the handful of excellent, but indignant, men—Bostonians—who met in Boston, in 1845, for the purpose of organizing a new Historical Society in which they could severally play parts; and he very graphically and, probably, very accurately, as far as he went, told

what those gentlemen desired, what they hoped, and what they did, in calling into existence "The New-England Historic-Genealogical Society." He traced, too, after a fashion of his own, the small beginnings and the slow progress to respectability, as a Society, of the new organization; and he told of some things which were true while of other things, equally true and equally german to his subject, he did not tell a single syllable.

He told nothing, whatever, for instance, of the individual grievances and personal bad feeling which originally led to the organization of the new Society: he told nothing, whatever, of the rigid opposition which that Society has experienced, before the General Court and elsewhere, from the old Massachusetts Historical Society: he told nothing, whatever, of the systematic abstraction, time after time, of the more active and influential young members of the young Society, by their subsequent election to what is considered the more enviable membership of the old Society, where the associations were more agreeable: he told nothing, whatever, of the earnest desire of the new Society, time after time expressed, to drop the *Genealogical feature of its name and character*, about which he was so inconsistently but so elaborately eloquent, and to assume the title and honors of "The New England Historical Society:" he was perfectly dumb concerning the reason of its failure to secure that coveted privilege—in short, like most others of his class, he told only what makes for his own glory and the Society's, while his tongue was conveniently silent in all that makes for their individual and associated disadvantage.

What Mr. Slafter said of the importance of Genealogy is unquestionably true; but, if the Society really supposed that Genealogy was thus important, why has that Society desired and attempted, so earnestly and so frequently, to cut loose from it, altogether? Why, too, since the Society's records so clearly indicate how completely distasteful that particular subject is, among its membership, was anything said in its favor, by its last mouth-piece? Is the Society's policy changed, in these our days; or is it on another of its periodical rampages, not wholly sensible of what it desires or what it does not desire; or has its last Orator gravely and wilfully misrepresented its real sentiments, in thus heralding, aloud, with grotesque inconsistency, its most noteworthy feature—what it has so earnestly and repeatedly repudiated and sought to cut loose from?

Mr. Slafter tells, too, of the "strong, deep-seated prejudice, lurking everywhere in the New-England mind, against the cultivation, "in any degree, of ancestral or family history,"

and the "excessive and unnatural modesty" which, twenty-five years ago, *he says*, formed an important element of what he conceives to have been, then, the New-English character; and he claims for the new Society the distinguished honor of having revolutionized, in these latter days, these peculiarities of by-gone Yankeedom, and of adding some new features to the unsophisticated "cheek" with which New England was wont, he says, modestly and timidly, to hear of her fathers, a quarter of a century ago—about the time, for instance, when we heard Rufus Choate tell of "a Church without a Bishop, a State "without a King," which some Lincolnshire runaways, sometime, were unblushingly said to have introduced into the Lantern-land of Rabelais. It is very certain that we should have known nothing of the peculiar "prejudice" or the more remarkable "modesty," to which reference was made, if this Orator in Boston had not so modestly told of them; and, quite as certainly, we should not have believed the story of their existence, so recently, if a New-English parson had not, unblushingly, made us acquainted with the information. Backed by a Historic-Genealogical Society and by a parson, however, who can reasonably dispute the statement?

Mr. Slafter was pleased to allude, also, to THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, and to make special note of the fact that *one* volume of it was published in Boston: for reasons which pleased himself, however—although one would have supposed that the spokesman of a *Historical Society* might have honored the truth by telling it—he did not make any note of the other fact, not less important, that four times as many numbers of that work bear the imprint of "Morrisania, N. Y." as were ever issued from "Boston;" and it has not been published either in Boston or in "the city of New York" since June, 1867, Mr. Slafter to the contrary notwithstanding.

Mr. Slafter was also loud-toned on the "encouragement" which the Historic-Genealogical Society has extended to "the publication "of local history of the most general and various character;" but we hazard nothing in saying that that "encouragement" has consisted only in *receiving what has been given to it*, without expending anything to help the luckless, unpaid author to pay his printers' bills. Indeed, there are not five Historical Societies in the country, all told, which "encourage" historical scholarship in any other way than by bleeding it; and there is, most certainly, not one in Boston, old or new, which has dared to be singular, in that respect, by paying for what it enjoys of current historical literature. But think of

the "modesty" of that parson, in claiming that THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, the Prince Society's Publications, and the *Collections of the Essex Institute*—to say nothing of "many other works,"—were "inspired, moulded, and perfected under "the stimulating and energizing influence of this "Society," which never paid a dollar toward the production of two, if not of all of them.

But we need pursue our subject no further. It is unpleasant to follow the trail of those who profess to be Christians when we can do nothing besides exposing how little of the Master's spirit there is in them, and how little they dare be just before they attempt to become selfish and regardless of the truth.

C.—PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

9.—*Department of Public Instruction, City of Chicago. Sixteenth Annual Report of the Board of Education, for the year ending July 1, 1870.* Chicago: 1870. Octavo, pp. 264.

This elegant volume contains the educational record of the city of Chicago, for the year 1869-1870; and to those who are interested in such matters and to those who collect "locals" relative to Chicago, it is a volume of considerable importance.

10.—*Saint Louis: the future great city of the world.* Illustrated with a map, By L. U. Reavis. Second Edition. St. Louis: Published by order of the St. Louis County Court. 1870. Octavo, pp. 136.

Whatever the future of St. Louis may be, she, most certainly, will not lose any credit by reason of her backwardness in asserting her relative greatness.

In the volume before us, the exact character and importance of which are not fairly represented by its sensational title-page, we find a most profound discussion of the great question of the future of "the West" and, incidentally, of the relative future of the various municipalities, which, as if by magic, have sprung into being, here and there, over its broad domain. Reasonably enough, and not without probability, as to her future, St. Louis looms up, in this elaborate argument, a head and shoulders above her sister cities; and we are not unwilling to believe that the child is already born who shall live to see St. Louis forming, with San Francisco and New York, one of the three great emporiums of America—herself the leading city of the interior, with New York commanding the commerce of the Atlantic, and San Francisco that of the Pacific. Nor are we inclined to deny either the propriety or the probability of an early removal, westward, of the political capital of the confederacy; and we are not disposed to deny that, in such a case, there is a fitness that St. Louis should receive the honor or the dishonor of its presence as well as its advantages and disadvantages.

We are inclined to the belief that some who are already grey-headed will live to see a new order of things, in which those who inhabit the great basin of the Mississippi—"the South" and "the West," occupying the wide domain between the Alleghanies and the Rocky-mountains—will consolidate, individually and materially, and form "a more perfect Union" than they now enjoy; when, without interfering with all the privileges which Washington now claims a proprietorship, St. Louis will, naturally and without an effort, become the seat of Government as well as the seat of trade of the great heart of what are now "The United States of America." But of this, Mr. Reavis has made no mention, among his speculations of the future.

As a "local," this is one of prime importance: as an essay, appealing to the careful consideration of thinking men, it possesses peculiar merit: as a public document, circulated at the expense of the tax-payers of St. Louis, it is remarkably significant.

D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

11.—*T. Maecii Plauti Captivi, Trinummus, et Rudens.* With English Notes, Critical and Explanatory, By C. S. Harrington. M. A. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 278.

The publishers of this volume have presented therein the three Comedies of Plautus which are generally considered the best of his productions. The text adopted is chiefly that of Fleckeisen, occasionally varied with the readings of Brix; and it is annotated from the editions of Ritschl, Brix, Thornton, and the Delphin.

The edition is a very neat one.

12.—*Lighthouses and Lightships: a descriptive and historical account, their mode of construction, and organization.* By W. H. Davenport Adams. Illustrated. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 322. Price \$1.50.

Another of that excellent series of "Wonder-books" of which we have so often written our hearty approval. It is devoted to Lighthouses and Lightships; and we have only to regret, concerning it, that it has so completely overlooked the American portion of its subject.

It is beautifully illustrated and is a handsome volume.

13.—*Life and Alone.* Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1870. 16mo. pp. 407. Price \$1.50.

This is a novel which has been received with great favor, by those whose tastes and leisure lead them to examine this class of literature; and we can do no better than lay before our readers what is said of it, by the influential and excellent Baptist *Watchman and Reflector*. That paper, which represents the New England churches, says: "The opening chapter does not indicate the 'strength of the book.' The plot is singularly

"original, imitating nothing in the range of fiction, and independent of all conventional standards; the characters are striking and well drawn, the situations strong, the development of the story artistic and consistent, and the moral tone thoroughly healthful. It has all the fascination of 'sensation,' but with a continual undercurrent of strong purpose and wholesome sentiment. It has power, but always in the right direction; it has the purest exemplification of piety while it is not a 'religious novel.' It has its full share of social questions without any pandering to bad notions or vicious actions; in short, it meets the most rigid demands of the genuine novel-reader, while inculcating none but the highest moral principles. There is a strange individualism pervading the book which impresses the reader with the conviction that the story is stranger than fiction, that its situations are of real events. But of this we have no knowledge. The author, whoever he or she may be, has written a book which, the more carefully it is read the more favorably it will be judged."

14.—*Wonders of Acoustics; or Phenomena of Sound.* From the French of Rodolphe Radan. The English revised by Robert Ball, M. A. With Illustrations. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. viii, 267. Price \$1.50.

The sixteenth of that excellent *Library of Wonders*, of which we have already given so emphatic an approval.

The typography is excellent and more than a hundred wood-cuts add their attractions to the text, making it a fit companion volume of those which have preceded it.

15.—*A School History of the United States, from the discovery of America to the year 1870.* By David B. Scott. Illustrated with Maps and Engravings. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. xii, 425.

Another school-history, the attractions of which, both typographical and pictorial, are exceedingly enticing. But, while we find general good taste and skill in the use of the material employed by the author, we regret to see him either reject or neglect to employ that which every teacher should use, in his great undertaking of teaching those who are to come after us, as the controlling power of the Republic, concerning its history. Thus, he reproduces all the old stories of Columbus's career, many of which are open to very much doubt. He disregards, if he does not discredit, the knowledge which we possess of the Pre-Columbian discoveries in America and of the Northmen's traffic with that Continent. He certainly misrepresents the Indian tribal polity as much as he overlooks the inter-tribal policy which made them such formidable enemies and such power-

ful allies of the whites. So, too, the theology of the *original* Indians, before they mixed with the white reprobates who invaded their country and spoiled their possessions, is not founded on fact—they knew no "Great Spirit" and as little of any heavenly hunting-grounds. Why the stories about the pretended discoveries by the pirate, Verrazzanno, are repeated in modern school histories or any other history, is a mystery; and the bold repetition of the stories concerning the little Indian, Pocahontas, and the pictorial representation of what is, ridiculously enough, called the "Marriage of Pocahontas," costumed as a civilized bride, in an arched church hung with knightly banners, and surrounded by fashionable gallants and comely dames, is as nearly a burlesque on decency as it is a fraud on the truth. If Mr. Scott did not know that the pretended rescue of John Smith by Pocahontas is a fiction, Mr. Charles Deane has written in vain; and if this adulterous cohabitation of Rolfe, who was another woman's husband, with this same Pocahontas, who was another man's wife, is to be thus treated in school-books, there is little encouragement for parents to teach their children, at home, the beauty of a virtuous life. Is Mr. Scott quite sure that Maryland was originally settled at St. Mary's? The "compact" on the *May-flower* warrants no such description of its purpose as Mr. Scott gives of it; else he has only told one-half of his story, in having neglected to tell why so many of the passengers did not sign it. Why does not Mr. Scott tell his pupils of the fraud practiced by the Puritans in removing the Government of Massachusetts Bay Colony from England to America? Why does he say, page 61, these Puritans "had come to America to enjoy 'religious freedom,'" while all the testimony shows their object, in that respect, to have been exactly the reverse?

The cause of Mrs. Hutchinson's troubles, both in Boston and on Rhode Island, is insufficiently, if not inaccurately, stated. So, too, she was killed at Pelham, not New Rochelle, in this County; and that not because of the Indians' War with the Dutch—*she was not Dutch and the local Indians were friendly with her*—but by refugee Pequots, to avenge the outrages committed on them by Mrs. Hutchinson's countrymen, in New England, especially by her personal friend, Captain John Underhill. Mr. Scott seems to suppose that a majority of the Puritans had respect for "the souls" of the Indians, and, therefore, infused "a strong mixture of 'kindness in their treatment' of them; but he, unfortunately, does not attempt to prove it. Mr. Scott also considers that the term "Plantation," "was soon dropped" by the New England Colonies, "particularly Rhode Island," (page 83):

we fancy that we remember the time when that word formed a part of the official title of "The State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations;" and we fancy, too, that when Mr. Scott went to the Public School Society's schools, in New York City, he was taught that fact. Why is Mr. Scott silent as to Slavery in the early New England Colonies?—even in his "General Reflections," of which so much is said in his "Preface," he is silent on the subject. The Negro-plot, in New York, is also insufficiently described—it was an Anti-Roman-Catholic furore—and why does Mr. Scott limit New Netherland (not New Netherlands, as he writes it,) on the East, to the *Hudson* instead of carrying it to the Connecticut? Would not Mr. Scott have acted wisely in qualifying his emphatic endorsement of Franklin's fictitious claim to certain "famous discoveries in electricity," many of which, if not all, or the theory of all, were appropriated by him from the brain and the laboratory of Professor Kinnersly?

Passing to page 150, Mr. Scott improperly gives Massachusetts too prominent a place among the early revolutionists of the Colonists; and the Boston street-row, which has been dignified with the name of a "Massacre," even in the face of a Boston jury's righteous verdict to the contrary, is unduly paraded as the first bloodshed of the struggle. Why does Mr. Scott say of the New York tea-ship, only "the people" would not permit the tea to be landed," in the face of the fact that, in one case, the ship was sent back to England, and, in another, "the people"—not disguised as Mohawks and not under the shelter of a dark night, as was the practice of Boston—deliberately boarded the vessel, in open day, in their ordinary apparel, and, after carefully removing the other portions of the cargo, turned the obnoxious herb into the water and made Whitehall-slip a revolutionary tea-pot? There was no "mistake," but *disaffection*, on Bunker's-hill; and the gallant Prescott should not be made the scapegoat of *Putnam's wickedness*: only one-half the story of the fight on the Charlestown peninsula is referred to. Independence was not "freely spoken of," in 1775, either within, or without, New England; and a redress of grievances, at most, was the demand of the Colonists, long after that year. The "Connecticut militia" were, certainly, not, either wholly or in part, the captors of Ticonderoga, in 1775; and we incline to the opinion that no "instructions," concerning Independence, were sent to the Delegates of Massachusetts, in the Congress, either on the thirtieth of May, 1776, or on any other day.

We cannot notice the various errors, in other portions of the volume, as we desire, because of our want of space; but we feel constrained

to call attention to that concerning the Shay Insurrection, in Massachusetts, which was neither occasioned by *Federal* causes, nor directed against *Federal* authority, nor suppressed by *Federal* power; to the evident want of correct information, in the author, concerning the condition of the country, under the *Articles of Confederation*; to that concerning the supposed character of the *Constitution for the United States*, which is really only an amendment to the *Articles* referred to, and cancelled, of those *Articles*, only the very few paragraphs which conflicted with it; to that concerning the author of *The Ordinance of 1757*, which was rather Nathan Dane than Thomas Jefferson; and to that concerning M. Genet, who was *superceded* but not "*recalled*."

Notwithstanding these and many other errors in the volume before us, we are not disposed to believe that they are the result of an intent, on the part of Mr. Scott, to mislead his readers—we wish we could say as much of the errors made by some others who have written school histories—and we are inclined to attribute them entirely to his want of correct information. Indeed, we fancy that we see, throughout the volume, an earnest attempt to secure entire accuracy of statement, irrespective of persons or places; and we are confident that, with a more careful reading of the authorities, a volume would have been produced from Mr. Scott's pen, which would have been as honorable to its author as it would have been useful to its readers.

May not we hope that Mr. Scott will seek the necessary information where it may be found, and give our children a text-book on the history of our country, which will embrace the results of the careful investigations of such careful readers as Messrs. Deane, Brevort, Smith, Shea, Drake, Moore, Murphy, O'Callaghan, Upham, etc., and correct the errors of those who have too long misguided our countrymen and taken undue advantage of their own wickedness?

As we have said the volume is a very neat one.

18.—*Willson's New Speller and Analyzer*. Adapted to thorough elementary instruction in the Orthography, Orthoëpe, Formation, Derivation, and Use of Words. By MARCUS WILLSON. New York: Harper Bros. Sine anno. Octavo, pp. 150.

Another of the multitude of school-books which serve to confuse the teachers and confound the scholars, quite as much as they assist the one and inform the other.

There can be no doubt that its arrangement is ingenious and, if impressed on the scholar's memory, that it is susceptible of being made very useful; but we fear that the great mass of children will not fully comprehend the scheme nor make it available.

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THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE;

AND

Notes and Queries concerning the Antiquities, History and Biography of America.

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HENRY B. DAWSON, Morrisania, N. Y.

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AND

NOTES AND QUERIES

CONCERNING

The Antiquities, History, and Biography

OF

AMERICA.

October, 1870.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.:

HENRY B. DAWSON.

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TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

I.—We have pleasure in sending to you another of our delinquent numbers for 1870; and the remaining two are in the printers' hands. We hope to send both of them to your address prior to the first of January.

II.—The number for November will contain Mr. Whitehead's elaborate rejoinder to Mr. Dawson's *Review of the Question*, concerning the New Jersey Boundary, which appears in this number, and Nos. XXI. to XXIV. of Mr. Bartlett's *Naval History of Rhode Island*; a narrative of the adventures of Father Roubaud, S. J.—a paper of great interest to all who are interested in Canadian history—and several minor articles of interest.

III.—The number for December will contain Mr. Dawson's article, on the New Jersey Boundary, replying to Mr. Whitehead's *Rejoinder*, in the November number; a letter, closing the discussion on that subject, by the Attorney-general of New York; and a Postscript, noticing thereon of the New Jersey Historical Society. It will also contain the closing Chapters of Mr. Bartlett's *Naval History of Rhode Island*, several minor articles, and the Title-page and Index of Volume VIII, of the Second Series of the Magazine, which it will complete.

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

VOL. VIII. SECOND SERIES.]

OCTOBER, 1870.

[No. 4

I.—HOPKINSIANISM AND THE EARLY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, IN AMERICA.

BY REV. E. H. GILLET, D. D.

The author of the following discourse, *God's Sovereignty, no objection to the Sinner's Striving*, was William Tennent, whose father and grand-father, both bearing the same name, had been prominent Ministers in the Presbyterian Church, in this country. William Tennent, the elder, was known as the Patriarch of Neshaminy, Pennsylvania, where he established his "Log College," and where, before the establishment of the College at Princeton, many of the Presbyterian ministers received their education. His son was settled at Freehold, New Jersey, and became widely known as the subject of a remarkable trance, during which he lay, apparently dead, for the space of three days, and only revived when the preparations had been completed for his funeral. The author of this discourse was his son; and was born at Freehold, in 1740. He was—(Sprague's *Annals*, iii., 242.)—"graduated at the College of New Jersey, in 1758, and was admitted to the degree of Master of Arts, at Harvard College, in 1763. He was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of New Brunswick, sometime between the meetings of Synod, in 1761 and 1762; and was ordained, by the same Presbytery, between the Synodical meetings of 1762 and 1763. Shortly after his ordination, he went, by appointment of Synod, to Virginia, and labored within the bounds, and under the direction, of the Hanover Presbytery, for six months.

In 1764, the people of Norwalk, Connecticut, wishing to procure a colleague for their Pastor, the Rev. Moses Dickinson, then far advanced in life, applied to Mr. Tennent to preach to them as a candidate for settlement; and, after he had preached several Sabbaths, they unanimously invited him, on the thirteenth of November, to become their Pastor."

Mr. Tennent remained at Norwalk, as Pastor, till early in 1772. Upon his release from

his charge, "he went to Charleston, S. C., and "was installed Pastor of the Church to which "he had been called. Here he was received "with great favor, and, both in the pulpit and "out of it, exerted a powerful influence. "When the American Revolution commenced, "he entered into it with great ardour; and his "far-reaching mind seemed to comprehend, in "an extraordinary degree, the wonderful results to which it was destined to lead. His "glowing zeal and distinguished talents rendered him so great a favorite with the people, "that, contrary to established usage, they, with "much unanimity, elected him a member of "the Provincial Congress. Such was the "urgency of public affairs, that even good men "and Ministers of the Gospel, sometimes, "considered themselves absolved from the obligation to the strict observance of the Sabbath; and Dr. Ramsey states that, "in the "different hours of the same day, Mr. Tennent was occasionally heard, both in his "Church and the State House, addressing "different audiences, with equal animation, "on their spiritual and temporal interests." He "rarely preached political sermons; but his prayers breathed a spirit of lofty patriotism, which they contributed, not a little, to awaken and cherish the same spirit in others. His vigorous pen was often put in requisition for his "country's cause, though nothing was printed "with his name, except two Sermons and a "Speech delivered in the Legislature of South Carolina, on the justice and policy of putting all religious denominations on an equal footing. In the year 1775, the adherents to "the Royal Government, in the back country, "assumed an attitude of such decided hostility towards the friends of the Revolution, that "serious consequences were apprehended. In "this crisis, the Council of Safety despatched a "deputation, consisting of William Tennent "and William Henry Drayton, to endeavor to "enlighten these people in regard to the nature "of the dispute and bring them to co-operate "with the rest of the inhabitants. The Com-

"mittee not only had private interviews with them, but held public meetings, in different places, and made several addresses, which were not without effect. The result of the mission was considered as decidedly favorable to the new order of things; and Mr. Tennent's shrewdness and eloquence had not a little to do with it.

"Mr. Tennent was an earnest friend of religious liberty. Having been born and educated in a Province where there had never been any church-establishment, both conviction and habit rendered it difficult for him to accept toleration as a legal boon, from those whose natural rights were not superior to his own. He drew up an argumentative Petition, in favor of equal religious liberty; secured the concurrence of different denominations in its favor; and, when it was made the subject of legislative consideration, he delivered an eloquent speech in its support. It is understood that he exerted a powerful influence in aid of the reform which was ultimately effected.

"In March, 1777, Mr. Tennent's venerable father died at Freehold, N. J. In the Summer following, he made a journey to Freehold, with a view to conduct his aged and widowed mother to his own home, that the closing of her life might be cheered by his filial attentions. He had reached the High Hills of Santee, about ninety miles from Charleston, on his homeward way, when he was attacked with a violent nervous fever, which, after a short time, terminated fatally. He died on the eleventh of August, 1777, in the thirty-seventh year of his age."

We are ignorant of many circumstances which might satisfactorily explain the origin and the publication of the following discourse. It was preached only a few months before the author was settled as colleague of Rev. Moses Dickinson, at Norwalk, and while the Presbyterian-church of New York, without a Pastor, was preparing to make out a call for the Rev. John Rodgers, of St. Georges, Delaware. The call, at least, was made during the month of January;* and Mr. Tennent's Sermon was preached on the twentieth of the same month. In these circumstances, Mr. Tennent can scarcely be supposed to have been a candidate for the vacant pulpit; and "the earnest desire of the hearers," to have the Sermon published, could scarcely have been occasioned by any personal attachment to, or regard for, him.

We might, from internal evidence, be led to believe that Mr. Tennent, in the denunciation of this "infernal Scheme," as he calls it—in the course of the next few years, very widely

known as Hopkinsianism—had some of the productions of Dr. Hopkins in view. But Hopkins had, as yet, published nothing which would warrant Mr. Tennent in charging him with the "infernal Scheme." This Sermon was preached on the twentieth of January, 1765; and the preface of Hopkins's *Inquiry concerning the Promises of the Gospel*, in opposition to the views of Dr. Mayhew, bears date the eighth of April, of the same year. Evidently, therefore, Mr. Tennent, although his discourse is obviously directed against one of the leading and characteristic tenets of Hopkinsianism, could not have prepared it as an answer to, or a refutation of, Doctor Hopkins's book. Besides, we need an explanation of the interest felt by those who listened to its delivery, and that degree of interest which led them to desire its publication.

It was in 1761, that Doctor Jonathan Mayhew, of Boston, preached his discourse, which originated the controversy, concerning the "Doings of the unregenerate," from the text "Strive to enter in at the straight Gate." In this, as Doctor Hopkins and those who shared his views thought, he inculcated the error that the strivings of the unregenerate may be of the nature of duty, or obedience to the divine command; and that, to such strivings, the promise of success or of salvation is made. The Hopkinsian tenet was opposed to all this, maintaining that the unregenerate, as such, were incapable of holy action; and that, as unregenerate, they had no duty antecedent to repentance and faith. It followed from this, that they denied the character of holy obedience to the doings or prayers of the unregenerate; and even maintained that, in the case of clearer light, stronger convictions, and reformation of evil habits, their guilt was only increased, and their prayers and strivings were even offensive, in the sight of God.

Yet, previous to the delivery of Mr. Tennent's discourse, we knew of no contemporary publication which distinctly or avowedly set forth the Hopkinsian doctrine. Still, the doctrine was recognized by the hearers of Mr. Tennent, as peculiarly obnoxious; and, for some reason or other, he was induced to pour out upon it a very large measure of pulpit denunciation.

The most probable explanation of the matter is this. The Rev. Alexander Cumming, Pastor of the church in New York, from 1750 to October, 1753, was installed over the Old South-church, in Boston, as colleague with the venerable Doctor Sewall, in 1761, only a short time before Doctor Mayhew delivered his two celebrated discourses. To Mr. Cumming, intimate with Bellamy and, as we have strong reason,

*Miller's Memoir of Dr. Rodgers.

from his own writings, to believe, in warm sympathy with Hopkins, Doctor Mayhew's views must have appeared quite obnoxious; and Mr. Cumming was not a man who would be disposed to suppress his dissatisfaction. Doctor Mayhew had never been in good repute, for orthodoxy, among his Boston brethren; and, after the delivery of his *Two Sermons*, men like Mr Cumming would naturally regard him with increased distrust, and shape their preaching in such a manner as to counteract his errors.

But, even at an earlier date than Mr. Cumming, the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton—who, for more than twenty years previous to Mr. Cumming being called as his colleague, at New York, had been Pastor of the Church in that City—had removed to Boston (1754), where he was settled over the New Brick-church. Pemberton, as we know full well, had no sympathy with Doctor Mayhew or Doctor Chauncy; and it would be natural that his influence over his young friend, Cumming, on his arrival in Boston, should be great and important. We may, therefore, suppose that, on his transfer from New York, and on being brought in contact with Doctor Mayhew's views, the sentiments of Cumming, on the disputed points, became more decided and pronounced than before; and we know, in fact, from his controversy with Rev. Andrew Croswell, that of some of Hopkins's tenets he was the avowed defender.

Such a change as this would imply, would naturally attract attention, especially when the controversy began to be raised abroad.

The New York congregation, restless, in consequence of the complaints and agitations kept up, at just this time, by the zealots for Rouse's version—who soon withdrew to form the Scotch Presbyterian-church—would be peculiarly sensitive to the charge of heresy, and only too ready to seize the opportunity to vindicate themselves. Such a vindication would be afforded them by the publication of this Sermon. Printed at their "earnest desire," it would express their indignant repudiation of the *new divinity*, or of errors which, ere long, were to bear the characteristic epithet of "Hopkinsian."

But why should such a discourse have been prepared by Mr. Tennent? Far removed from contact with the leading spirits of New England theology, and with ancestral traditions and training which gave assurance of the fixedness of his own orthodoxy, it might seem as if he had no call to mingle in the controversy. But we have only to suppose—and, as we have seen, we are not without good grounds for supposing—Mr. Cumming, on his transfer to Boston, to have yielded to the current of new opinions, sympathizing with such opponents of Doctor Mayhew as his former colleague, Pemberton, and we shall

discover reasons why Mr. Tennent might zealously attempt to guard his New York hearers against the "heresy" of their former Pastor.

Mr. Cumming was a native of Freehold; was born there in 1726; and the Pastor of the Presbyterian-church, there, was both his Pastor and instructor. Indeed, William Tennent, the father, took charge of his theological studies and his preparation for the ministry; and, during this period, the son, a little boy playing about the house, must have been familiarly acquainted with Mr. Cumming, then a young man of from eighteen to twenty years of age. At the outset of his ministry, Cumming would naturally be in theological sympathy with his instructor; but, when, on a hotly-controverted point, he diverged in a different direction, it would be far from strange that Mr. Tennent, the father, should resent it, while the son, trained to accept his views, would share that resentment with something of a youthful fervor.

Thus would he be prepared, at the very outset of his ministry, and, especially, among a people to whom Mr. Cumming had ministered, to signalize his orthodox zeal by a somewhat vehement repudiation of (what was soon to be known as) the Hopkinsian error. Such expression of his views, moreover, "he could feel assured" would meet a warm welcome among Mr. Cumming's former hearers, who would naturally feel themselves compromised by his apostasy to Hopkinsianism, and who, amid the charges of the Scotch party, would be especially eager to vindicate themselves from the accusation of accepting novel theological speculations.

The Sermon of Mr. Tennent had been issued but a few weeks before the work of Hopkins, which might have seemed the most fitting occasion for its production, appeared. It was an octavo of one hundred and forty-five pages, and bore the title, *An Inquiry concerning the Promises of the Gospel; whether any of them are made to the Exercisers and Doings of Persons in an unregenerate state. Containing remarks on Two Sermons published by Dr. Mayhew of Boston, entitled, Striving to enter in at the straight gate, explained and inculcated, and the connection of Salvation therewith proved from the Holy Scriptures. Also, a Brief Inquiry into the use of means, showing their Necessity in order to Salvation, and what is the true Ground of Encouragement for Sinners diligently to attend on them.*

This closing portion of the work seems to have been regarded as specially objectionable, in different quarters. Rev. Mr. Hemmenway, of Wells, Maine, who professed substantial agreement with Doctor Hopkins, in his view of the state of the unregenerate and their immediate duty to repent, and who likewise disclaim-

ed the belief that there were any promises in Scripture made to their prayers or doings, came before the public with a work entitled, *Seven Sermons, on the obligation and encouragement of the unregenerate, to labor for the meat which endureth to everlasting life. Preached in the First Parish in Wells, by Moses Hemmenway, Pastor of the Church there.* Boston: Kneeland & Adams. 1767. 8vo. pp. 204.

Almost contemporaneously, the venerable Jedidiah Mills of Ripton, Connecticut, who had been one of the leading friends of the Revival, twenty-five years before, and who had been regarded as sympathizing with the class represented by Bellamy, Edwards, and Hopkins, felt called upon to enter his protest against the closing part of Hopkins's book. This he did in a volume entitled, *An Inquiry concerning the state of the Unregenerate under the Gospel; containing Remarks on the tenth section of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Hopkins's late answer to Doctor Mayhew's Sermon on striving to enter in at the straight gate, entitled, A Brief Inquiry into the use of means.* By Jedidiah Mills, Minister of the Gospel in Ripton, Stratford. New Haven: B. Mecom. 1767. 8vo., pp. 124.

To this Hopkins replied in, *The true state and character of the Unregenerate, stripped of all misrepresentation and disguise: a Reply to Mr. Mills's inquiry concerning the state of the Unregenerate under the Gospel; containing remarks on Mr. Hopkins's section on the use of means.* By Samuel Hopkins, A. M. New Haven: T. & S. Green. 1769.—8 vo. pp. 184.

In this, he spoke in a tone and manner with which some of his own friends were not satisfied; but, in point of argument, driving his antagonist out of the field. Hopkins had hitherto paid no attention to Hemmenway, whose distance from the scene of conflict had allowed or warranted him to pass him by, with the slightest possible notice. But, on the publication of the reply to Mr. Mills, Hemmenway prepared to encounter Hopkins in behalf of the former as well as himself.

But while Hemmenway was preparing for his task, other antagonists, nearer home, took up the controversy with Hopkins. Rev. William Hart, of Saybrook, one of the most prolific as well as vigorous pamphleteers of his time, entered the field with, *Brief Remarks on a number of false propositions and dangerous errors which are spreading in the country; collected out of sundry discourses lately published; wrote by Dr. Whitaker and Mr. Hopkins.* Written by way of Dialogue, By William Hart, A. M., Pastor of the First Church in Saybrook. New London: T. Green. 1769. Small 8 vo. pp. 71.

To this Hopkins, replied in, *Animadversions on Mr. Hart's late Dialogue; in a letter to*

a friend. By Samuel Hopkins, A. M., minister of the gospel. New London: T. Green. 1770. 8 vo. pp. 31.

This was promptly followed by a brief reply from Mr. Hart, entitled, *A letter to the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, occasioned by his Animadversions on Mr. Hart's late Dialogue, in which some of his misrepresentations of facts and of other things are corrected.* By the author of that Dialogue. New London: T. Green. 1770. 8 vo. pp. 16.

As Hopkins paid no attention to this, and, evidently, had been sorely annoyed by an anonymous production of Hart's—*A Sermon that never was preached, and never will be*—intended to ridicule his doctrines, Hart was not disposed to rest simply on the defensive. Identifying Hopkins with Edwards, he published *Remarks on President Edwards's Dissertations concerning the nature of True Virtue: showing that he has given a wrong idea and definition of Virtue, and is inconsistent with himself. To which is added an attempt to shew wherein true virtue does consist.* By William Hart, Pastor of the First Church in Saybrook. New Haven: T. & S. Green. 1771. Octavo, pp. 52.

Meanwhile, the controversy spread in other quarters. Mr. Hart, in his *Dialogue*, had been full as severe upon Doctor Whitaker as upon Doctor Hopkins, identifying the two as holding the same scheme. Doctor Whitaker, whose two Sermons, published in London, soon after his mission to England for Doctor Wheelock's School and Dartmouth college, had invited Mr. Hart's animadversions, replied to them, in an Appendix to a reprint, at Salem, Massachusetts, of these two Sermons, bringing out Mr. Hart in another pamphlet, entitled, *A Letter to the Rev. Nathaniel Whitaker, D. D., wherein some of his gross misrepresentations of Mr. Hart's doctrines in his Dialogue entitled, A Brief Examination, &c., and his false and injurious charges against him, contained in his Appendix and Postscript to his Discourses on 2. Cor. v. 19, lately reprinted at Salem, are detected and justly censured. With remarks on sundry doctrines tending to illustrate and confirm the truth, and expose the contrary errors taught by the Doctor.* By the Author of that Dialogue. New London: 1771. 8 vo. pp. 62.

Besides Doctor Whitaker, several other pamphleteers joined in the conflict—among them, Rev. Israel Holly, whose anti-Hopkinsian pamphlets, of a later date, are among the raciest contributions to the controversy; his antagonist, Rev. Mr. Bartholemew, of Harwinton, not unnoted in the Wallingford controversy; and Rev. Moses Dickinson of Norwalk, with whom Tennent had been so recently settled as colleague. The pamphlet

of Dickinson, published at the request of the Association of Fairfield-county, showed how wide a range the controversy had now begun to take. It discussed two questions—"Whether Blindness is the primary cause of all the wickedness, etc.," and "Whether Regeneration is the work of the Spirit." This appeared in 1770.

At length, in 1772, Doctor Hemmenway's reply to Hopkins appeared in an octavo, of two hundred and twenty-seven pages, with the title—*A Vindication of the Power, Obligation, and Encouragement of the Unregenerate to attend the means of Grace, against the Exceptions of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Hopkins, in the Second part of his Reply to the Rev. Mr. Mills's, The True State and Character of the Unregenerate, &c. Boston: 1772.*

With less delay than Mr. Hemmenway, Hopkins hastened to confront his various antagonists, Hemmenway included. But, before his answer appeared, several other pamphlets had been published. The Rev. Moses Mather, of Stamford, the opponent of Bellamy on the Half-way Covenant, ranged himself in opposition to Hopkins. An anonymous pamphleteer, alarmed by the views put forth in Hart's *Dialogue*, yet anxious to avoid the character and tone of a controversialist, and not fully agreeing with either party, issued *Common Sense: in some free remarks on the efficiency of the moral change. Addressed to those who deny such efficiency to be moral. By a By-stander. New York: S. Inslee. &c. 1772. 4to, pp. 49.*

The imprint of this pamphlet, issued at New York, instead of Boston, New London, or New Haven, as well as its superior style of typography, indicated that its anonymous author was a "By-stander," in the sense, at least, of not being mixed in the controversy, as a Connecticut clergyman. The metaphysical character of the pamphlet was more marked than the same feature, in most that had preceded; and while its frequently forcible eloquence suggested a pulpit rhetorician equal to Bellamy, its distinctions and division argued a thinker of a somewhat different class. We may presume that it came from a Presbyterian source; and, while avoiding to enter upon the real question between Hopkins and Hemmenway, it was evidently designed to correct the laxer views of depravity maintained or suggested by Hart. At this day, it is, perhaps, impossible to determine its source; but the man of all others, whose Connecticut origin, native ability, culture, general acquaintance with theology, and interest in the great questions of the day, would indicate as the probable author, was Elihu Spencer, the successor of "the great Mr. Dickinson," at Elizabethtown,

and, at this date, Pastor of the Presbyterian-church, at Trenton.

No public notice of this pamphlet was taken by other parties in the controversy. It coincided, fully, in its views with neither side; and to Hopkins it was, perhaps, unknown when, a few months later, he replied to Hemmenway, Hart and, Mather, at once. His reply was *An Inquiry into the nature of True Holiness. With an Appendix, containing an answer to the Rev. Mr. William Hart's remarks on President Edwards's dissertation on the nature of true virtue; and brief remarks on some things the Rev. Mr. Mather has lately published—also an answer to Rev. Mr. Hemmenway's Vindication, &c. By Samuel Hopkins, M. A., Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Newport. 1773. 8 vo., pp. 220.*

But Hemmenway was not disposed to allow Hopkins the last word; and, so far as the two men were concerned, he closed the controversy with *Remarks on Mr. Hopkins's Answer to a Tract entitled A Vindication, etc. By Moses Hemmenway. 1774.*

The controversy was now transferred to other quarters. Rev. Israel Holly, who had been, for many years, a Separatist preacher, in Connecticut, published, in 1780, *Old Divinity preferable to Modern Novelty*, a second part appearing in 1795. The ground taken by Mr. Holly was substantially the same with that taken by Doctor Hemmenway, distinguishing between the matter of duty and the spirit in which it must be performed, in order to comply with the commands enjoined upon sinners.

In the same year that Mr. Holly's pamphlet appeared, the Rev. Doctor Spring of Newburyport, preached a sermon on *The Importance of Sinners coming immediately to Christ*. Two of his brethren, settled in his vicinity, the Rev. Doctor Dana and the Rev. David Tappan, afterwards Professor of Divinity in Harvard-college, were strong anti-Hopkinsians; and, in 1782, each appeared—in part, probably, on account of Doctor Spring's Sermon, printed two years before—in opposition to the "new divinity," which would allow no doings of the unregenerate, or any use of means to be interposed between the command and the Sinner's coming to Christ. Doctor Dana published two discourses from *Proverbs* xv., 8, on the sacrifice of the wicked; and Doctor Tappan published, also, two discourses which contributed to the opening of the controversy, one on the *Character of Amaziah*, and the other on *The character and best exercises of unregenerate Sinners set in a Scriptural light*.

At issue with the views thus presented and advocated, Doctor Spring published, in 1784, *A Friendly Dialogue on the Nature of Duty*, bearing special reference to Doctor Tappan's Sermon

on the *Character of Amariah*. In the following year, Doctor Tappan replied in an elaborate pamphlet entitled, *Two Friendly Letters to Philalethes*. This was followed, in 1789, by *Disquisitions and Strictures on Rev. Dr. Tappan's Letters*.

Other phases of the Hopkinsian system now began to attract attention, in New England. Especially was this the case after the publication of Hopkins's theology, in 1793. Previous to that date, however, pamphlets were published by Rev. Andrew Lee, Josiah Sherman, Samuel Austin, and Samuel Whitman, the first two in Connecticut and the last two in Massachusetts. Subsequent to the publication, Rev. Doctor Samuel Langdon published, in a letter to a friend, his *Remarks on the Leading Sentiments in the Rev. Dr. Hopkins's System of Doctrines*; and from this date, with brief intermissions, Hopkinsianism was kept, for years, before the community, either by pamphlets or local controversies.

A pupil of the Rev. Doctor Spring, and a member of his church, pursuing, also, his theological studies under his direction, could scarcely be expected to be any thing else but an Hopkinsian. Such a pupil was the Rev. Charles Coffin, who first visited Tennessee, in 1800, and, ten years afterward, was elected President of Greenville-college. He "was viewed," says Rev. Doctor David Dana, "as one of the most acute and able defenders of the new system." Through his influence, Hopkinsianism acquired standing and prestige in Eastern Tennessee, although it had established, for itself, a foothold there, already.

Doctor Coffin had been preceded in this field and in the Presidency of the College, by the Rev. Doctor Hezekiah Balch, a native of Maryland; a graduate of Princeton-college, in 1762; and, after a laborious ministry of more than twenty years, a pioneer missionary to Tennessee. In 1793, he had matured his plan of the College; in 1794, he was elected its President; and, in 1795, he visited New England to collect funds for the institution. It was on this visit that he became thoroughly confirmed in his Hopkinsian views and sympathies, although the tenets to which he gave prominence were not these which had been controverted by Messrs. Mills and Hemmenway.

Footo, in his *Sketches of North Carolina*, says: "Mr. Balch having made a trip into New England, imbibed the theological opinions which were put forth in Dr. Hopkins's *System of Doctrines*, then recently published. These new opinions, Mr. Balch published in the form of *Articles of Faith*, in the *Knorrille Gazette*. In propagating these views, he was overbearing and abusive. The subject was brought before the Presbytery of Abingdon,

"and, upon some unmeaning apologies, from Mr. Balch, it was dismissed. Such was the state of excitement produced by these transactions, that five of the leading Ministers in the Presbytery, Messrs. Charles Cummins, Edward Crawford, Samuel Doake; Joseph Lake, and James Balch, in 1797, withdrew and constituted as 'The Independent Abingdon Presbytery,' professing, at the same time, their readiness to return to the Presbytery as soon as a proper exercise of discipline should be used, with Balch and his adherents."—(Page 293.)

His subsequent experience is, in part, given by Doctor Coffin, in Sprague's *Annals*, iii., 314-316. He says: "It will, perhaps, be sufficient to say that he sympathized with that class of New England Divines who were and still are known as Hopkinsians. His most familiar and favorite sentiment was that all true holiness, both in God and his intelligent creatures, consists in impartial, disinterested goodness, will, love, and benevolence, to all beings capable of happiness; and a benevolent complacency in the moral excellency of all who possess this essential qualification for happiness, and for promoting its diffusion. The first impression which his preaching made upon his church and large congregation, after his return from the North and East, as I received abundant evidence from many of them, was very generally favorable. But alarms were gradually excited among his people; and, in due time, when he thought the case required it, he was heard by his Presbytery,—that of Abingdon,—before whom he stated what were his views of Divine truth, which he fully believed were vindicated both by the Bible and the *Confession of Faith*. So satisfied were the majority of that body that he embraced nothing heretical, or dangerous to the souls of men, that they passed a vote to this effect; and agreed, individually, to do what they could to quiet any alarms existing among the people.

"But so dissatisfied were the minority with this procedure, and so little did they believe that any appeal could serve their cause, that they withdrew from the connection of the Synod and General Assembly, and constituted themselves an independent Presbytery. At their return to order, with due acknowledgment to Synod of the incautious step they had taken, the Presbytery of Union, composed of Mr. Balch and those Ministers of Abingdon Presbytery who had not taken ground against him, was constituted; and with what spirit, the very name by which they chose every where to be known, sufficiently and very truly indicates. Yet the alarms

"kept up by the remaining members of the 'Presbytery of Abingdon extended to those 'who had removed from Washington and 'Greene-counties, to inviting lands below, 'within the bounds of Union. Yet the better 'spirit ultimately prevailed.

Speaking of his trial, before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, Doctor Coffin says: "I was informed by Ministers and 'others, in the Middle States, that when the 'charges against him had been publicly read 'and the testimony heard, and his time for 'defence was announced, he arose with humble boldness, and nobly exerted his power to 'distinguish, explain, and prove, from the 'Bible, what he had been contending for as 'the truth of God; that he was heard with profound attention, by that venerable body and 'a large crowd of spectators; and that he was 'much extolled by persons present for his 'frankness, intrepidity, perspicuity, and earnestness, combined with the submissive deference due to so respectable and numerous assembly of ecclesiastical judges. In order to 'show something of the impression made, at 'the time, upon men of improved minds and 'deep thinking, it may suffice to state one anecdote out of a number. The celebrated Dr. 'Rush, in the midst of extensive professional engagements, had received such information 'of the interesting trial of a Tennessee clergyman, that he chose to take time and hear 'the defence. At the close of Mr. Balch's speech, the Assembly adjourned for dinner. 'The Doctor procured, at the door, an introduction to him; though he had seen him on 'his soliciting tour, and given him his patronage by his name and donation. He pressed 'him to go home and dine with him. Mr. 'Balch made his arrangements with reference 'to others, and went with the Doctor. 'Sir,' said the latter, 'when a Gospel Minister will 'come six hundred miles to face his prosecutors and defend the assailed principles of 'his religious faith with the zeal and intrepidity which I have witnessed, to-day, before 'the highest tribunal on earth to which he 'could be cited, my heart cannot but beat 'warmly in his favor, whether his sentiments 'and mine are identical or not.'

Again, "When the Assembly's Committee brought in their Report upon his 'Creed,' (see the *Digest*,) in which they pointed out 'three particulars as errors held by him, according to their understanding of words ascribed to him, by witnesses; and after hearing his defence, he said he felt assured, when 'he heard them read, that he had never held 'or asserted them as truths. Hence the thought 'immediately struck him—men appear now to

"be leaving you; if God should leave you, your 'condition would indeed be dreadful. 'But,' 'he added, 'the very next thought that took 'possession of my soul, and nerved me afresh 'was—I will at all events stick to God's truth.' 'That very evening, a Clergyman,—not of the 'Assembly—who had been a close observer of 'the whole course of the trial—one who felt, 'as he perceived many others did, that the 'Committee had been led, by words reported 'as Mr. Balch's, to mistake his real sentiments, 'as he had unfolded them in his principal address to the Assembly and in his more private 'communications to his friends, came to him, 'in much excitement—we may hope with more 'love for the truth, as it is in Jesus, than 'soundness of practical judgment, and thus 'addressed him—'Sir, I am afraid you will not 'get fair treatment. My advice to you is to 'go, to-morrow morning, and tell the Assembly that you have been so misunderstood by 'their Committee that you do not see much 'prospect of getting justice from them as a 'judicatory; and that you therefore appeal from 'their fallible tribunal, to the infallible tribunal of the Lord Jesus Christ.' Mr. Balch had 'courage enough, and, if left to himself, might, 'in his extremity, have had rashness enough 'to have welcomed the suggestion. But, from 'his large and righteous heart, instantly burst forth the following Christian reply:—'A 'schism in the Church, Sir, is a dreadful 'thing. I should not like to be the guilty 'cause of any such curse. My shoulders are 'pretty broad—I trust they will spare my conscience. If they will only do that, Sir, I 'can bear, for the truth's sake, whatever burden they may think it their duty to put 'upon me.' Others, of better judgment, 'came to advise him, and to pray with him for 'the favorable interposition of Heaven. At length, Mr. Irwin of Neshaming, who had, 'with great vigor and boldness, sustained 'some of his controverted sentiments before 'the Assembly, called upon him, and put into 'his hands a small piece of paper, and asked 'him to consider its contents and let him know 'whether he could, with a clear conscience, 'make the import of that writing his final answer to the Assembly, and rest the issue of 'his trial upon it. When he had read it and 'felt assured that he correctly understood it, he 'replied that he readily could adopt it, without the smallest reserve, for it stated the 'truth of facts and nothing else; but that he 'had been so misapprehended by the Committee, in their adopted Report, that he was at a 'loss to know whether it would probably be 'accepted. His friend answered him: 'I 'know so much of the minds of the members,

"that I have no doubt it would ; and I entreat you to make use of it." Accordingly, when the Assembly called for his ultimate answer, he gave it nearly in the exact words of the paper handed him. I cannot tell who wrote it. Mr. Balch thought Mr. Irwin wished him to understand that he did not, himself. From Dr. Green's personal friendship and conduct, during the trial, he immediately said to him, 'It looks to me as coming from Dr. Green.' 'If so, it comes from a most estimable source,' said Mr. Irwin; 'and that is enough for me to say.' The answer was accepted by such a majority as precluded any need of dividing the house to ascertain it. So soon as the Moderator, the Rev. Dr. John B. Smith, had declared, in the name of the Assembly, their vote of acceptance, and, by obvious implication, of acquittal, in favor of Mr. Balch, and given him the admonition agreed upon, and a concluding prayer had been thankfully offered, Dr. Green arose, with a majestic dignity in his commanding eye and face, and kindly said: 'Moderator, Mr. Balch is now in as good and regular standing as any member of this Assembly ; and I move you, Sir, that he and the Minister and Elder in Tennessee now come forward, in the presence of this judicatory, and shake hands, in token that they will go home with the full purpose to live in Christian love and peace, hereafter.' Mr. Balch immediately stood on his feet, and, his hand upon his generous and forgiving heart, said,—'Moderator, here is my heart ; and here are both my hands,' extending them, earnestly. They did shake hands, forthwith, to the general satisfaction of that truly Christian and enlightened body. Thus amicably and providentially ordered was the most important ecclesiastical trial of Mr. Balch, leaving him, at its termination, the unrestricted enjoyment of that faith which he had abundantly shown to the Church and to the world was dearer to him than anything else he could call his own."

Through the influence of Doctors Balch and Coffin, as well as that of the Rev. Doctor John Anderson, who conducted the theological education of a considerable number of young men, Hopkinsianism attained a wide prevalence, if not the ascendancy, in Eastern Tennessee; and this fact is not without significance, in connection with the division of the Presbyterian church, in 1837-8, a large proportion of Pastors and Churches adhering to what was then known as the "New School."

But while Doctor Balch, fresh from his visit to New England, was propagating his views in the South-west, an effort was made to spread

Hopkinsianism in New York. Hopkins's work on Holiness, omitting the Appendix in reply to his assailants, was reprinted, there, in 1791; and, a few years later, 1797, *The Theological Magazine* was established, which continued, however, only three years. To this, Doctor West, of Stockbridge, the younger Edwards, and others, classed as Hopkinsians, were contributors. Some of its articles attracted attention and provoked replies, from English writers; but the controversy seemed to die away, until the time of the settlement of the Rev. Doctor Gardner Spring, as Pastor of the Brick-church, in 1810. His father was well known to be an ardent Hopkinsian; and the members of the Presbytery found, on his appearance before them, for examination, with a view to Ordination, that their suspicious of his adherence to his father's views were well-grounded. He read to them a trial Sermon, "as strong, on natural ability, as Hopkins, Smalley, or Emmons would have preached." Some of the Presbytery were opposed to his settlement. Others, disposed to concession, thought that, if he were kindly dealt with, he would yet prove pliable and by no means persist in making prominent his obnoxious views. To this, the Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely, who had previously joined the Presbytery, and who had been intimate with him, during his College Course, at New Haven, as well as subsequently, replied, "Gentlemen: You do not know that young man. What he is now, that he will be to the end of the Chapter."

The Presbytery hesitated; and there was manifest a strong disposition to refuse him Ordination. But, at the critical moment, the Rev. Doctor Miller, of the Wall-street-church, arose and said, "Brethren: You can reject Mr. Spring if you see fit; but in rejecting him, you reject me with him." This decided the question; and Doctor Spring was ordained Pastor of the Brick-church.

But opposition to him did not cease with his settlement. He was not a man to conceal his views, any more than to make an obnoxious parade of them. Other Pastors of the city showed themselves disposed to guard their people against the Hopkinsian leaven; and a powerful under-current of opposition to Hopkinsianism gave evidence, by manifest tokens, of its existence.

At this juncture, moreover, a Missionary Society, conducted by the young men of New York, was in the flush and vigor of its young enterprise. Among the Missionaries nominated for its patronage was the Rev. Samuel Hanson Cox, just entering upon his long and eminent ministerial career. The anti-Hopkinsian members of the Board of Managers of the Society

took the alarm and resisted his appointment. It was, at length, decided that he should be examined. But to this Doctor Spring objected. He was prepared to vouch for the orthodoxy of Mr. Cox. More than this, he was willing to be examined as his proxy. Strangely enough, the offer was accepted; and Doctor Spring, appearing in place of Doctor Cox, was rejected upon examination.

The result that might have been foreseen followed. The Society, composed of elements that could no longer work together or confide in each other, was rent in twain. The controversy was participated in by the laity as well as the clergy. It found its way, not only to the pulpits, but to social circles and business meetings of benevolent Societies.

But before it had reached this stage of development, a new controversialist appeared on the arena; and, by the vigor of his pen, the keenness of his wit, and his thorough mastery of the arts of controversial argument, drew to himself an almost unprecedented share of attention. This was the Rev. Samuel Whelpley, best known as the author of *The Triangle*, the first number of which appeared in a New York journal, and produced such a sensation that the editor declined to insert the second number, and left the author to issue his work in the form of pamphlets.

Mr. Whelpley became suddenly famous, and attracted to himself the opposition and the odium that had been much more widely distributed before. He had been, in earlier years, a Baptist Clergyman, in the region of Western Massachusetts, where he had become acquainted with the Rev. Doctor West, of Stockbridge; had imbibed Hopkinsian views; and had, almost at the same time, surrendered his Baptist sympathies and renounced his connection with the denomination to which he had belonged. In feeble health, he had turned his attention to the work of teaching, and rarely, if ever, appeared in the pulpit. Indignant at what he considered the unfriendly, if not persecuting, treatment to which New England men were subjected, on the ground of their adherence to the "New Divinity," he determined to assail their assailants. This he did, with a piquancy and vigor which created something like consternation in their ranks. Their "triangular theology" was depicted as little better than fatalism; and their intolerance was berated in a richness of invective which, at least, manifested the resources of the English language. Having no evil to fear and no favors to expect, he wrote in a style which, if somewhat more chaste, might have earned him the epithet of the modern theological "Junius." Speaking for instance, of the "Triangular" Clergy, he

pays a tribute to the greatness of Jonathan Edwards and the littleness of Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely, who had, five years before (1811) signalized himself by the publication of *The Contrast*, in which he had set Hopkinsianism and genuine Calvinism in opposite and parallel columns. The task had been sanctioned, if not suggested, by the class of Ministers opposed to the settlement of Doctor Spring; and Mr. Whelpley could not refrain from contrasting the "great gun of the city," the Rev. Doctor John M. Mason, with the little "pop-gun," the author of the *Contrast*.

In an early number of the *Triangle* (1816), he said, "It is nothing to them, that to claim 'the birth of such a man as Jonathan Edwards, 'is an honor to a nation; that for vigour of 'intellect he can fall into no class beneath that 'of Newton and Aristotle. As to 'verbiage', 'his writings, and those of many of his brethren, will be read with instruction and pleasure, 'when the vapid books of those who cast the 'reflection, written with moon-beams, and 'dictated by the night-mare, shall have perished 'in the rubbish, lumber, and rust of libraries.

"There are two very cogent reasons why 'they do not answer the books of these tautologists; one is, because they never read them. 'This, of all suppositions, is the most charitable, after hearing their statements, so infinitely 'distant from the truth. Had they read the 'books they condemn, they must either hold a 'different language, or give up all pretence to 'veracity. The other is, that were they to 'read these books, and in those few instances 'where they have read them, they cannot 'answer them. Were they honest and candid 'they would say, as Doctor Taylor said, after 'reading a small tract of Edwards, 'I have 'been writing these thirty years, and this 'little book confutes it all.

"But they have no notion of argument; they 'do not like that way of defence; it is too 'metaphysical. Their plan, both of defence 'and attack, is drawn from two sources; bold 'assertions, and gross ridicule. Yes, the great 'gun of the city has been fired so incessantly, 'charged with this kind of ammunition, that 'he is suspected by many to be breech-burnt. 'But he does not shoot bullets, of consequence 'no body is killed. And, not only the great 'gun, for I love to talk figuratively, but field-pieces, swivels, blunderbusses, muskets, carbines, pistols—even down to pop-guns, have 'fired in squadrons and battalions; and some, 'I believe, as small as the cannon made by an 'artist of the Queen of Sweden, to shoot fleas 'and bed-bugs with, which is still kept as 'a curiosity in the Swedish museum. One of 'this last description it was that fired off the

"*Contrast*, already mentioned. But likely he "did not kill even a bug."—(Pages 70, 71.)

The sketch of Doctor Ely, is at once vivid and venomous. "Some of this description there "are from New England, who were once professed Hopkinsians—stars in the Zodiac.

"'But, O, how fallen!—how changed!'

"Of this number is the Queen of Sweden's "little cannon, who, little as he is, is a sharp-shooter. He it was, as I before said, that "shot off the *Contrast*. A disappointment in "love, it is commonly reported, made him at "once, an anti-Hopkinsian and a poet. His "poems were so lucky in the article of flattery, "to certain great men he wished to please, that "they effectually did his business for him; "and I expect few have read them without "feeling a strong propensity to do the same "for themselves. There goes a pleasant story "with regard to this man. It is said, after his "total defection, wishing to convince a certain "audience of the enormous errors of the Hopkinsians, he read them, as a specimen, one of "his former sermons. I believe few will wonder that his audience should be struck "with horror. His poems fully indicate his "disappointment, as they abound in the well known

"'Hair-brained, sentimental grace.'"

Not grace in Calvin's sense of the word, for "neither his poems, *Contrast*, nor conduct, show "much of that. But, whether the Hopkinsians "have reason to regret the cruelty of his mistress, or the lovers of poetry to rejoice in it, I "leave for future consideration."

"He adds, "But why all this uproar? A majority of the Synod of New York and New Jersey are full in the sentiments I have advanced. "And will these people unchurch the Synod, "and turn them out of doors? The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church may be "nearly equally divided; though, in that body, "the number in favor of what I consider "correct sentiments is rapidly increasing."

A reply was made to the *Triangle*, in a small pamphlet, said to have been written by the Rev. Alexander Gunn, a Clergyman of the Reformed Dutch Church of New York. Its most effective points were its criticisms of the rhetorical exuberance of the author of the *Triangle*; and it is memorable, now, simply in connection with the work that has saved it from oblivion.

Before the author of the *Triangle* had commenced his task, the Hopkinsian leaven was at work, farther North, on the banks of the Hudson. The Rev. Seth Williston, originally from New England, had, several years, previously, commenced his labors in the then new field, West of the river, finally settling at Durham, in

Greene-county. The Rev. Nathan Bangs, subsequently eminent as a leading Clergyman of the Methodist Episcopal Church, came into collision with him, in a public debate, about 1814-5. So far as the latter was concerned, the result of it was the publication, in a duodecimo of three hundred and twenty-four pages, of *The Errors of Hopkinsianism Detected and Refuted. In six letters to the Rev. S. Williston. New York. 1815.* To this, Doctor Williston replied, in *A Vindication of some of the most Essential Doctrines of the Reformation; being a reply to objections raised against these doctrines, in a late publication, entitled The Errors of Hopkinsianism Detected and Refuted, etc. To which is added a Sermon on the Goodness of God manifested in Governing the hearts of his enemies. Hudson. 1817,* making a closely printed duodecimo of two hundred and sixty-four pages. Several other local controversies, of less importance, in the same or neighboring regions, brought forward some of the Calvinistic tenets, which, to some extent, as in this case, were reprobated as Hopkinsianism.

But, in Philadelphia, at nearly the same time, not a little agitation and discussion was occasioned by the threatened spread of the "New Divinity." A few years before, the author of *The Contrast* had been called to the Church, in Philadelphia, made vacant by the removal of the Rev. Doctor Alexander to a Professorship in the new Theological Seminary at Princeton. Doctor Ely carried with him, to his new field, something of the zeal which lead him to prepare *The Contrast*. The spread of Hopkinsian sentiments, in his vicinity, occasioned him alarm; and, at his instance, the attention of the Synod with which he was connected was called to it. Their response was doubtless all that Doctor Ely could have desired. Their action took form as follows: "The Synod assembled in Lancaster at the present time consists of a greater number of members than "have been convened at any meeting for many "years; and, from their free conversation on "the state of religion, it appears that all the "Presbyteries are more than commonly alive "to the importance of contending earnestly for "the faith once delivered to the saints, and of "resisting the introduction of Arian, Socinian, "Arminian, and Hopkinsian heresies, which are "some of the means by which the enemy of "souls would, if possible, deceive the very "elect.

"The Synod desire to cherish a stronger regard for the truth as it is in Jesus, than they "find at present subsisting among themselves; "and, because they are not ignorant of the "disposition of many good men to cry 'Peace,' "where there should be no peace, and 'There

"'is no danger,' in cases in which God commands us to avoid the appearance of evil, they would affectionately exhort each Presbyter under their care, to be strict in the examination of candidates for licensure or ordination, upon the subject of those delusions of the present age, which seem to be a combination of most of the innovations made upon Christian doctrine in former times. May the time never come in which our ecclesiastical courts shall determine that Hopkinsianism and the doctrines of our *Confession of Faith* are the same thing, or that men are less exposed now than in the days of the Apostles, to the danger of perverting the right ways of the Lord. The Synod would exhort, particularly, all the Elders of the Churches to beware of those who have made such pretended discoveries in Christian theology as require an abandonment of the 'form of sound words,' contained in our excellent *Confession* and the Holy Scriptures."

The matter came, however, before the General Assembly, upon a review of the Minutes of Synod, and was disposed of, not much to the satisfaction of the Synod, by the adoption of the following: "The Committee appointed to examine the records of the Synod of Philadelphia, reported; and the book was approved to page 499, excepting certain parts of a Pastoral Letter, commencing in page 494, and a Resolution in page 498, which enjoins on the several Presbyteries belonging to the Synod, to call to an account all such Ministers as may be suspected to embrace any of the opinions usually called Hopkinsian. On these parts of the records, the Assembly would remark that, while they commend the zeal of the Synod in endeavoring to promote a strict conformity to our public standards, a conformity which cannot but be viewed as of vital importance to the purity and prosperity of the Church—the Assembly regret that zeal on this subject should be manifested in such a manner as to be offensive to other denominations, and especially to introduce a spirit of jealousy and suspicion against Ministers in good standing, which is calculated to disturb the peace and harmony of our ecclesiastical judicatories."

This action of the highest judicatory of the Presbyterian Church effectually quenched the hope that it could ever be induced to exclude Hopkinsianism from its bounds, as necessarily heretical or too inconsistent with its standards to be longer tolerated. Doctor Ely, however, still manfully maintained his position, and indicated his zeal in the publication of two volumes of his *Quarterly Review*, (1819) in

which he did not overlook the obnoxious views of the Hopkinsians of Eastern Tennessee. For the present, however, the heat of the controversy had passed away. Some of the points which had been agitated in connection with it, came up, again, fifteen or twenty years later, when the alarm was again raised against the encroachments of the New England Theology. But the New Haven Divines scorned to wear the mantle of either Hopkins or Emmons; and some of their speculations were evidently designed to evade the necessity of accepting certain obnoxious positions taken by their theological predecessors. Hopkinsianism, as such, ceased to command any special interest; and the new controversies, while they revived some of its issues, ignored others, altogether. Certain views held by Hopkins have gained a very general acceptance. Others are either freely repudiated or referred to, as obsolete.

It will thus be seen that, at the close of more than a century after the Sermon of Mr. Tennent was preached in New York, the interest on the occasion which excited his alarm has become mainly historical. Hopkinsianism has excited local rather than general interest. At times, the opposition to it has been strong and intense; at others, it has been left unmolested and neglected. It has, undoubtedly, exerted an influence to modify, to some extent, the theology of the church; but it has had no effect sufficient to lead to any revision of the standards. It has been tolerated, as a form of Calvinism, not unexceptionable, indeed, but still, by no means, to be pronounced inadmissible. Mr. Tennent's apprehensions have not been realized; but he is entitled to the credit of being the first, within the bounds of the Presbyterian Church, to give them public expression.

[THE SERMON.]

[TITLE.] *God's Sovereignty, no Objection to the Sinner's striving.* | A | SERMON, | PREACHED AT | NEW-YORK | On the 20th of JANUARY, 1765. | And published at the earnest Desire of the Hearers. | By WILLIAM TENNENT, Junior, A. M. V. D. M. | NEW-YORK: | Printed by JOHN HOLT, at the Exchange. MDCCLXV.

[DEDICATION.] TO THE | *Worthy and respectable Members* | Of The English Presbyterian Church, | In the City of NEW-YORK: | THE following pages delivered in their Pulpit, | and now printed at their repeated Solicitations; | tho' not without that diffidence which a first Appearance in Public, and a sense of his own Inequality to the | Subject, naturally beget; are humbly dedicated, with | every possible Wish for their Prosperity, and happiness by | Their | Humble | Servant, | THE AUTHOR. |

[SERMON.] *Strive to enter in at the straight Gate.* LUKE, XIII, 24.

SUCH doctrines as Christ taught, his disciples need not fear to teach; such admonitions as the infallible Saviour of the world hath given, we are warranted to give, and need not fear their consequence. When therefore we behold sinners, in gay and numerous multitudes, gliding carelessly down the broad way, that leadeth to destruction, while a solitary few struggle in the narrow path of virtue; what tho' some arise and cavil? What tho' some endeavour to bewilder the pious mind with difficulties? We may safely warn them, as did our divine master; we need not fear his displeasure, as some pretend, if we persuade them to stop their career, to strive and struggle, that they may enter the straight gate. But, that you may ascertain the meaning of our great Lord in the text,—I beg leave to direct your attention to two things,

1st. By the straight gate is undoubtedly intended, the terms of Christianity, or the conditions upon which our salvation is suspended.

To be assured of this, we need only reflect upon the figure made use of in the text; this is more largely and particularly inserted in MATTHEW, vii, 13. Both of the evangelists without doubt, refer to the same expression of our Saviour; both give the same idea, but one more fully than the other; as in many other instances besides the present: By consulting both, we shall therefore get the true and full idea, which Christ designed to convey. MATTHEW only says, "*enter the straight gate.*" LUKE says, "*strive to enter.*" MATTHEW gives the meaning; but LUKE more fully; that LUKE gives the very words of our Lord, in this part of the sentence, we may reasonably suppose. For first, if he doth not, he certainly conveys an idea, more than was ever intended by Christ. A *struggle towards entering* is certainly more than *simply entering*. It appears in the second place, perfectly agreeable to the latter part of the figure, where the narrowness of the gate implies, the necessity of striving to enter it. MATTHEW mentions one reason for the direction, viz. "*for straight is the gate and narrow is the way that leadeth to life;* with this addition by way of alarm, "*and few there be who find it.*" LUKE doth not mention this, but another as alarming, viz. "*that many shall seek to enter and shall not be able.*"

By taking both together, you find our Lord's direction at large, which is this. "*strive—struggle—be in great earnest to enter the straight gate; for wide is the gate and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many go in thereat; but straight is the gate*

and narrow is the way that leadeth to Life, and few there are who find it; and let this your strife be without delay; for many, when it is too late, shall seek to enter and shall not be able."

WHERE, it is easy to perceive, that man, since the fall, is represented as by nature travelling in pursuit of happiness, but in a mistaken path; travelling in a way which tho' broad, descending and easy, yet leads unerring to the abode of death. Our divine Master represents himself as one who filled with compassion, at the sight of this numerous throng, gaily moving on to ruin, hath in his gospel opened a narrow gate for their reception, which, with the most disinterested pity, he persuades them to strive to enter. "The way you are in, says he, is confessedly broad, and you are kept in countenance by the multitude; but—I warn you, eternal death hath his dwelling there. This way is narrow and difficult; but life and happiness dwell here: Strive and struggle then to enter." &c.,

By the *straight gate*, is therefore intended, the terms of Christianity, or the conditions of the gospel. And what are these, but *repentance and faith*? By the *narrow way*—*The continuance in these terms, or the progress of the Christian.* These are termed straight and narrow, because of the natural corruption and evil propensities of the soul, which make the duties of Christianity difficult and mortifying.

To enter the straight gate then, means neither more nor less, than to *begin* to be a Christian: to submit to the terms of the gospel, or to enter a state of grace: Remark this my beloved brethren, for it will be the foundation of our discourse.

2dly. But to whom is this direction given?—A second particular, which you will please to attend to. Is it to the saints? To those who are already in a state of favour with God, and are already treading the rugged paths of virtue? No—It would be an absurdity, that those who have already entered, should be persuaded to enter. They are not desired to continue—but to begin; it is to sinners, that the words are addressed; it is to those who are in the broad way of sin, which corrupt nature makes easy, and throngs with a multitude.

AND what direction doth he give them? What advice flows from his divine infallible lips? What direction, of consequence, is fit and proper to be given to all such poor wanderers by nature? What direction are his ministers, here-from warranted to give to the numbers, whom they behold treading the same downward road? Why,—"*strive to enter the straight gate.*" Let me remark, my brethren, there is more emphasis in the original word,

translated "*strive*," than can be crowded into any one English term, AGONIZETH. Let your strife be most intense and earnest; not only strive but struggle, as one who would force thro' a narrow pass. It signifies a struggling with a meer agony; I would render it *agonize*, and bow every power of the soul in the earnest attempt, as one who would save an immortal soul.

WHAT difference! What immense difference is there between this advice, and the opinion of certain modern reformers of doctrine, who insist, that sinners ought not to be put upon striving for the salvation of their souls; that they ought not to be directed to seek for faith, or an entrance into this straight gate, into these mortifying conditions of the *gospel*; and who brand all attempts to enter upon the narrow way of Jesus, with the foulest names.

OUR Lord commands; and therefore there must be certain strivings, not only lawful, but the absolute duty of the unconverted, that they may enter the straight gate.

BUT, because this notion is supposed by some to be inconsistent with God's sovereign disposal of grace; let me take up a little of your time.

I. In reconciling the notion of the sinners striving, with *that* of the unmoved bestowment of grace. And in the

II. Place, let me answer the objections offered to the doctrine.

I. In order to the first, let me lay down a few plain propositions, or considerations; which being attended to, the difficulties vanish, and the truths appear reconciled of themselves. And,

1st. *God in the bestowment of his grace or sanctifying the soul, treats man not as he would a stone, in the new modelling its form, but as a reasonable being; by his divine power making use of motives and means, in changing his disposition.* Such rational means and motives, as are in themselves fitted to influence the mind, infinite power makes use of, as the instruments in converting the mind. To what other end are all the rational and persuasive calls, to sinners in the *gospel*, if they are not to be the means in the hand of God, for their conversion? To what end are such glorious prospects set before them to awaken their hopes? Why such awful terror to alarm their fears? Such powerful motives to their gratitude? Such afflictive providences? Such instances of mercy and goodness which, (the apostle expressly asserts) lead to repentance? Are these only sent to vex and disquiet them, without any tendency to bring them to God? Why do we preach, and you hear? Why do we persuade, and you listen? Is the whole

intent, the only design of this to condemn and make miserable? God forbid, that we should harbour such a thought! To suppose that God would lay and execute such a plan, the whole design of which is to condemn and render more wretched—is a thought highly injurious to the great fountain of happiness.

Now, altho' we can conceive of God's implanting a principle of holiness into the soul, by his immediate power, without the interposition of any instruments, yet we have no reason to think that this is his ordinary method. Tho' by a single fiat the whole creation might have come into its present existence and order, yet he chose to do it in days, and by distinct commands; he saw fit that his spirit, or his winds, should move on the face of the water, &c. altho' he might have caused the whole human race to be in a moment, by a single command; yet he sees proper to make use of instruments in its production. As in the world of nature, so in the world of grace, he uses his word and ordinances; they are the instruments in the hands of infinite power, to produce the change; but they are only instruments, which without that power, would never effect it, more than the naked inactive tools would frame an house, without the workman's strength and wisdom. Hence God is said to "*beget us by his word.*"

BUT here it is replied—what is this to our striving? Is there no distinction between the means which God uses with us, and those which we use with ourselves?

II. We answer by our second proposition, which is, that as our souls are rational, and to be changed by the interposition of certain motives and arguments in the hand, and set home by the power of God; so it is necessary, that we somehow or other, attend to these motives and arguments. If this is not the case, the *Toupinambouys in Africa*, are in as fair a way to be converted by the *gospel*, as we who have it in our hands. If there is not a necessity that we diligently attend to it, there can be no benefit in having it. If we never hear, if we never attend to these motives and arguments, how can they be the instruments of our conversion? If we never hear, if we never read, if we never meditate on the word of God at all; how can that word be the means of *begetting us again*? In this sense undoubtedly, "*Faith is said to come by hearing,—and hearing, by the word of God.*" Now says the apostle, "*How shall they hear unless there is a preacher? and how shall he preach unless he be sent?*" Upon the apostle's plan, there must be a preacher—he must preach—we must hear, attend and consider, or else we cannot have faith. Here you see—we must be active in the matter. Now, as this is the ordinary way, in which it hath

pleased God to communicate faith, is not he very absurd, who dreams of getting faith without such attendance and reflection, and all those other things which are consequent upon, and necessarily connected with it? And is not this, reason enough for us to persuade mankind, to go and hear the word preached, to attend with all their might, to strive by reflection to see and feel its force, and so on as to other duties? This kind of striving, you see, is absolutely necessary to faith and holiness, in the ordinary course of God's dealing with sinners.

And we can see no reason, why this notion should be objected to, because there seems to be something done in the matter, which God hath not immediately done: For if it may be his sovereign pleasure, to make use of the instrumentality of others towards my conversion; I see not why he may not also make use of the instrumentality of my own thoughts and reflections, to bring about that desirable end.

And if we may call the dealings of God with us, by the instrumentality of others, *The means of grace*; I can see no reason, why we may not also term his dealing with us by our own instrumentality, the means of grace likewise.

Now, my brethren, tho' some loudly exclaim against our calling these means, *the way in which* God usually confers his grace, because CHRIST hath by way of eminence stiled himself *the way*, that is, *the foundation or procuring cause of salvation*; yet, as there is an evident distinction between *the way, or manner in which*, and *the procuring cause for which*; and inasmuch as we always use it in the former sense, when we speak on this subject; I can see no reason to change the term, a term so expressive, until our great reformer of Christianity shall furnish us with a better.

To conclude this section, Altho' the salvation of a sinner, from first to last, may in a sound and theological sense, be termed *a miracle*, and is begun and accomplished according to the working of GOD's mighty power which he wrought in CHRIST when he raised him from the dead; EPH. i. 19, 20. Yet, as it has pleased God to subject his works in nature, to the instrumentality of second causes, and the ways of his providence and grace, in their ordinary dispensation, to the rational use of means; we are not to expect our salvation, or even the common blessings of this life, without using the means appointed to obtain them. There is a wide difference between what God can do, and sometimes does in an extraordinary way, and what we, as reasonable creatures ought to do. And we leave it to our hearers to judge, whether, according to the instituted method of divine grace, revealed in the holy scriptures, and confirmed by the experience of the saints, it is not

as reasonable to hope, that God will overturn nature, and extinguish the sun by a miracle, for our salvation, as to expect it *without striving*; and in all seasons, whether ordinary or extraordinary, which have happened in the Church of God, the first evidence we have of a sinner's return—is, after diligent use of appointed means, and previous earnest striving. SAINT PAUL's conversion was very sudden, and as miraculous as any we read of, yet the first notice we have of it, is, *behold he prayeth*. ACTS ix. 11. The conversion of the three thousand on the day of Pentecost, ACTS ii. 37. was in the way of an anxious concern for salvation; and we read, that from the days of JOHN the Baptist, the kingdom of heaven suffered violence, and the violent took it by force. MATT. xi. 12. And we have no reason to suppose, that salvation can be obtained on easier terms at this day.

OBJECTION. But if his striving is so necessary—may he not make a merit of it, and thus the bestowment of grace not appear wholly free? See here the principal objection to this scheme; which gives occasion to our

THIRD proposition, viz. *There is a wide difference between the way or manner in which GOD chooses to bestow his grace, and the procuring meritorious cause for which*. You may exemplify this in the case even of the saints. How are saints appointed to get more grace? Are they to be idle, and carelessly wait, to see whether a sovereign God will bestow it? No. They are to cry for it, and act like babes; according to ST. PAUL, they are eagerly to "desire the sincere milk of the word, that they may grow thereby." Now their eager desires, their praying and crying, were it prolonged to eternity, cannot be esteemed an equivalent for one smile of their God. Their desires and prayers are not the procuring cause, or the merit for which God bestows more grace: They do not move him to do it, by way of desert; and yet he hath appointed this as the way, in which for CHRIST's sake, they may expect it. These ordinances, are the means he makes use of in conveying it;—CHRIST, and CHRIST alone, is the meritorious and procuring cause. Thus you see, there is an undeniable distinction, between the way, in which GOD, as a sovereign, chooses to confer;—and the procuring cause, for which. And if the saint, who obtains fresh supplies of grace in this way, hath no cause, and will never find cause, to boast of his having deserved, or moved God to it, by his prayers; much less will the poor sinner, whose attendance upon the means of grace, is so much more imperfect. "*Boasting is therefore wholly excluded*" ed.

If we consider matters strictly, we shall find

that our diligence to eternity, is not a sufficient payment for a morsel of bread.—The smallest mercy of God cannot be repaid by an eternity of our little services—much less can the unspeakable blessing of a new heart—a blessing, that extends its happy influence thro' perpetual ages! I say, much less can this be purchased, by a poor worm's listening, or praying, or crying. What! hath it ever entered the heart of a rational man, to suppose, that a few sighs, a few tears, a few moment's attendance to the proposals of the gospel, is a price to purchase a forfeited happy eternity? God therefore being under no obligation to our merit, even after we have done all, need not bestow his grace: And this scheme represents him as sovereign in his gifts, as sovereignty itself; or as the opposers of our doctrine can wish. You can conceive of nothing more sovereign and free, than that which is bestowed without any foundation of merit in the subject, but against merit. It is necessary that we should attend in that way, but the necessity of our so attending, doth not argue any desert in it, or that God is brought under any obligation; it only argues that God is sovereign in choosing the way of his bestowment, and even when we attend in that way, he is sovereign in bestowing, or not bestowing, as he pleases.

We therefore cannot see any cause our opponents have to cry out against the doctrine, as tending to lead sinners to expect justification in part, by their striving, and to leave only part of their justification to CHRIST. In this argument we have nothing to do with justification; and so much as to bring it in, by way of objection, is a gross impertinency, and only calculated to blind the unwary. Justification can only be founded on merit; and in this affair, we plead for no merit at all; we insist there is none.

It is true, the sinner, who is thus active, is less guilty than he who lives in rebellious contempt. But a bare absence of guilt—my being not so wicked for instance, as Beelzebub, is no reason God should bestow peculiar favours on me; it is no positive merit, but only a reason why I should not be punished equal to another.

But, say our opposers—"Suppose the man who hath thus attended and sought for mercy, to meet with his miserable friend in eternity, who had neglected thus to seek, and died in his sins; would he not have a right to accost him thus? "O thou miserable wretch! why didst thou not strive as I did, and have obtained?" Hinting, that his seeking had in some degree deserved the favour. We answer—thro' rich grace, the saints have a prospect of better judgments, than to be liable to the absurd mistake. The triumphant happy spirit, would necessarily

see, that altho' he had attended in the way which his sovereign had made necessary to his salvation; yet his so attending (altho' it rendered him, as far as it went, less guilty) had no procuring merit in it; and far from ascribing the praise to himself, his redeemer, who procured the blessing, would be all his song.

ONLY reason with yourselves, and you will find that the glorified saint, who sits upon a throne of more exalted eminence, in the world above; will have just as much reason to exult over his inferior friend, as the saint will have over the sinner. For God is as sovereign, in the bestowment of superior degrees of grace, in the use of means upon saints, as he is in giving grace to sinners at all. Our opponents cannot deny this, consistent with their own sentiments. And do you think that the most exalted spirit above, will have an opportunity to boast over the inferior? You need not alledge, that God hath bound himself by promise to his people, and therefore, there is a difference; they may strive and obtain more grace. God never acts, God never promises under the gospel, but upon the footing of equity and merit. If he hath promised, it is not upon the footing of desert in them, but only in CHRIST, and that in their attendance upon the means of his institution. The saint cannot deserve the mercy by his doings, more than the sinner. The favour conferred on him, is therefore as free grace, as that on the sinner; and if the sovereignty and freedom of grace, is an argument against endeavouring to obtain it, it wars as much against the saint's endeavours, as against those of the sinner.

Thus we see, a proper attendance to the plain distinction between *the way in which*, and the meritorious cause, *for which*, entirely removes all the difficulty about boasting.

But, you will say—"There is a wide difference; the saint can do actions that are spiritually good; the sinner cannot, for he is represented as spiritually dead. We answer, this does not at all alter the case, as to the sovereignty of God's bestowment, unless it be supposed that the spirituality of these actions do really merit such a bestowment; but this our opponents cannot allow, upon their own principles. And if their spiritual actions do not justify, or merit, they are as much the subjects of pure mercy as the sinner. This brings us to our

FOURTH proposition, which is, "Tho' the unconverted can do nothing that is spiritually good, yet they can do what is materially good; nor is this distinction vain. The matter and the form of duty are most obviously distinct. *Praying* is the matter of a duty—with *faith*, is the form of it. *Hearing* is the matter of a duty

—with love, is the form; *doing alms*, is the matter, from a principle of *divine charity*, is the form. Where these good dispositions are wanting, the form of the duty is bad—tho' the performer is nevertheless not so guilty, as he who neglects matter and form both. Now the sinner can pray, he can hear, he can do alms, he can do things materially good, tho' not formally so. The performance of these duties, as a natural man can perform them, is the way in which God usually confers his Grace, for CHRIST's sake, altho' they do not merit it; and such performance leaves him less guilty, than if he did not perform them at all. The one is only an improper compliance, the other an open affronting denial. If this is not a truth, then you can make no difference, as to guilt, between the most profligate, and him who is only outwardly moral. 'Tis as absurd therefore, as it is shocking, that some oppose the use of any means, by men in their natural estate, under the notion that they only render themselves more guilty, than they would be without them. It is not only contrary to reason, and sides with the cursed suggestions of the wicked heart, but opens a door to all licentiousness.

OBJECTION, "But will God ever reward duties sinfully performed?" It is not a reward that we look for in the present case; it is not a reward that we would have sinners expect. They are only to attend upon God in the way in which he ordinarily takes notice of sinners, hoping that sovereign pity will deign to light on them, and confessing that they may with justice be abandoned after all.

Our fifth and last proposition is founded on the rest, viz. *The man who carefully attends upon the means of grace, and seeks for the renewing influences of the holy Spirit, hath all the encouragement which fallen sinful creatures should dare to ask; but those who live in the avowed neglect of the gospel have no encouragement at all.*

First, As for the former, he is encouraged from the gospel scheme. He knows that CHRIST hath died to make it possible for such to come to God: He knows that he hath purchased the holy Spirit for that very purpose; he knows that faith comes by hearing, and that God ordinarily bestows his grace by the instrumentality of these means, &c. And is not this a sufficient encouragement to make him attend upon them?

Secondly, As to those who live in the avowed neglect of the gospel, they have no encouragement to hope for grace at all.

First, When they look at the general course of his proceeding, they cannot hope from that. As to the motives and means in the gospel; they withdraw themselves from them. And to hope that God will convert them in an extraor-

dinary and miraculous way, is as absurd as to hope that he will change the course of nature. What if he hath done it in a few instances? so he hath also caused the sun to stand still, but is it to be expected that he will always do so? and especially that he will make thee a signal instance, when thou presuming on that, dost make it a foundation to abuse him?

BUT above all, methinks there can be no idea more detestable to our rational nature, than that propagated by some,—viz. that the most presumptuous heaven-daring sinner, is in as fair a way to meet with God's favour, as he who is seeking for grace as a natural man may seek. Nay,—say some, he is in a fairer way—for, "publicans and harlots should enter the kingdom of heaven, sooner than the self-righteous pharisees."

THOSE publicans and harlots who came to our Lord and sought for his favour, it is true, were in a more likely way to obtain it, than those self-conceited men, the whitened sepulchres, who denied him and despised the only Saviour of mankind: But to suppose that publicans and harlots in general, have a fairer prospect than the moral seeker, not only contradicts all our notions of God's working on the heart, by the means and motives of the gospel, which cannot be in the case of him who never attends to them, but it casts a most horrible reflection upon the very nature of God, as if he were inclined most to mercy, where the most abominable guilt is, and therefore the more accused our crimes, the nearer to heaven. O infernal blasphemy! upon this plan—go on ye profane! laugh at heaven, despise the terrors of God—blaspheme the awful name—exceed hell itself, and cause the dam'd to shudder at superior crimes! the more execrable, the more likely to be exalted. And ye infidels, ye atheists of every name! ye who most disbelieve and most condemn the gospel! ye have the fairest prospects of salvation by it.

It is in vain that you attempt to excuse the blasphemous insinuation, by saying that it gives more glory to the grace of God. Is it giving more glory to his grace to say, that it is readier to alight on a greater transgressor than on a small one? that the more guilty, the more fit objects for his mercy? does this give a lovely idea of the nature of the best of beings? we do not deny that he can, and does make some examples of his grace among the most profligate, to shew the happy extent of his gospel; to shew that Christ is able to save even them. But to argue from hence that it is more agreeable to his nature, than to let his mercy fall upon smaller transgressors, is blasphemous and false; and even to say that he makes as many instances of grace, among the former as among the latter, is

also false. The least vicious have no claim to his favour by that, as it is no virtue or real merit in me, that I am not so bad as the devil. Yet to say that the most vicious are not farther off from God, and of consequence that their salvation is not more improbable, implies blasphemy. And if the gospel, my beloved brethren, gives you any such notion of God; if it renders the salvation of the greatest sinner only as probable as that of the least: O be terrified! the gospel encourages the presumptuous sinner, and you ought not to receive it: Reject then that impious book, that gives so false an idea of infinite perfection, and serves to poison the already poisoned souls of mankind. But rather blast the wretched pen, which would palm on inspiration, doctrines of which this is the plain consequence; and thus, under the guise of friendship, betray the cause, like Judas.

BUT to sum up the whole. If God ordinarily bestows his grace, in the use and by the instrumentality of certain means, and thereby hath rendered our attendance upon those means necessary; if our attendance upon those means, infers no obligation upon God by way of merit, but leaves him still sovereign in his bestowment; If he who strives hath sufficient encouragement, and he who does not hath none; What shall we conclude? what, but that it is reasonable and warrantable to urge home the advice of my text upon sinners? strive to enter the straight gate.

Secondly, A few objections remain to be answered.

First, "The essence of true religion, say some, seems to consist, in an entire *willingness* to return to God thro' CHRIST. Now it appears absurd to suppose that a man can strive to make himself willing; for it is to be supposed that we are willing already when we strive."

WE answer, common experience may contradict this, for who knows not, that often our rational judgment and our practical judgment contradict each other? "What I would that I do I not, and what I would not, that do I," could an apostle say. In my depraved estate, I often find myself unwilling to do what my reason dictates. And when I am convinced that the ways of holiness are best in themselves, and lead to life;—when my conscience approves them, and yet I find my heart reluctant; may I not sit down and calmly strive to reason myself into a willingness? are not the people of God, often obliged to do this when they find reluctance within? why then may not the sinner use this means, and many others? and how know you that God will not render them effectual to that end? so that you see, we may be unwilling and yet strive.

HIS. MAS. VII. 14.

II. OBJECTION, "the apostle gave no such direction to the trembling jailer, who asked 'what he should do to be saved.'"

WE find his reply is only, "believe."

THE apostle answered according to the question, which proceeded from pagan ignorance of the *terms* of salvation. And such also should be our answer when a blind heathen is solicitous to know what is required of him, as a suspending term of salvation. But if we are asked what is the most probable way to have this faith implanted—the question is different, and we must answer as in our text.

III. "BUT is not this setting up a new law 'of works?' yes, if we made our doings the procuring cause for which, or the means of our justification: But when we exclude them from having the least share in it, and only admit them as the most probable way to get faith, we are not afraid of this imputation.

IV. BUT it is objected, in the fourth place, that "sinners are already so prone to depend upon these attempts, to recommend them to God, that it is dangerous to direct them." And if they are prone to turn good into evil, shall we not therefore insist upon their duty? all that can follow from this argument is, that we should be extremely careful to shew them, that no dependence is to be placed upon any thing but CHRIST for justification.

V. "WHO then maketh us to differ? if the 'first step towards this is our own, may we not claim a share in the event?' no more than the lifeless impotent tool of the carver, can claim a share in the excellency of a fine performance in carving. If the preacher can claim no share in the conversion of that soul, which without the energy of the divine Spirit, had remained in the chains of sin, sure the hearer must be silent. Supposing I laboured under a dangerous disease, and by the order of my physician, it became necessary that I should wait upon him in a certain place; suppose me, in effect, cured by his prescriptions,—should I not be laugh'd at, if I assum'd to myself any praise of the cure, because I had complied with that order? Hearer apply it.

VI. As to those objections brought against us by a certain sophistical and splenetick pen, (with which popularity seems to be the greatest crime) drawn from the popularity of this doctrine; they are insufficient and false.

1. INSUFFICIENT, inasmuch as altho' we confess that many of the distinguishing doctrines of the gospel are disgusting to the carnal mind, yet we cannot thence infer, that every doctrine which is not so, is not a Christian doctrine. For many of the doctrines of Christianity are so self-evident and really pleasing to the rational mind, that they do not disgust even the wicked;

And the case hath been known, where even a pagan emperor desired of an august assembly, that the man JESUS should be enrolled among their gods, on account of some of his doctrines. But the objection to our plan is,

2. **FALSE.** It is far from pleasing the carnal taste. The carnal mind ever hates the divine sovereignty. And we represent the Deity, *first*, sovereign in designing to bestow grace at all; *secondly*, sovereign in his conditions; *thirdly*, sovereign in his choice of the way or manner in which sinners must attend; and at last he is sovereign in bestowing or not bestowing at all, even after we strive to obtain it. And this idea of the divine sovereignty is at least as mortifying to the carnal mind, as that opinion of our opponents, who represent the most base of mankind, as near to heaven as the moral seeker after divine grace. Let none of us therefore my brethren, give into that specious trap,* and suppose that because the promulgator of such pernicious doctrines meets with deserved contempt, they therefore must be genuine Christianity.

OUR discourse concludes, with a few remarks upon the pernicious tendency of the doctrine we oppose; and with a short application to such as our text is addressed to in particular.

1. THE doctrine we oppose, in the first place, tends to give an unlovely idea of the nature of God, as being *equally* inclined to have mercy upon the most abhorr'd, as upon the least so. And here, be not afraid that it can be replied, that we represent the sovereign majesty, as actuated by a view of real merit in the least vicious, which is not in him who is more so. We have already observed, and it is evident to common sense, that my not being so wicked, is no positive claim to peculiar favours. An absence of guilt can only procure an absence of punishment, but not positive blessings.

2. THE contrary doctrine represents all the means which are used with sinners, under the gospel, as useless; and thus all those calls, those motives, those tender arguments, addressed to sinners; arguments in which all the bowels of heaven seem to sound, are to be esteem'd as *useless lumber*. For unless they are to be attended to, of what use are they? if they are necessary and useful, must it not be the duty of sinners to attend to them? and if so, what is the guilt of those who would prevail with sinners to condemn their duty and to omit, alas! what they are too much inclined to omit already!

3. BUT, what is most shocking—they who would discourage the strivings of the unconverted, *only* join with the reluctant wicked

heart,—and join with the enemy of God and man, to encourage a continuance in sin. It is well known, that the carnal heart is *only* to be worked upon by motives of profit and fear, that are present. If therefore their present prospects, as to the favour of God, are wholly the same, whether they serve their abandoned lusts to the utmost, or not; whether they seek for divine mercy in the abstinence from gross sins, or wholly give themselves up to wickedness; then, what single motive have we to restrain them? It is vain to tell them, that they will be more miserable hereafter—*Hereafter* never affects them as the present—They are void of that faith, which is the evidence of things not seen; and unless they have a prospect of some present advantage, they will not abstain. “We can but “be damn’d,” say they, “then let us fill up our “measure, since it is as probable that in this “way we shall meet with favour as in any “other.” This is the conclusion the wicked are apt to draw, in spite of all our endeavours to the contrary; this is the excuse they plead—and methinks there is little need to confirm it. We dare appeal to every wicked heart here present, and it must confess, that it frequently brings our opponent’s doctrine as a plea for its licentiousness; and we now call to witness the effects—the sad and horrible effects, which have followed where ever the fatal doctrine hath been preached. “Only let it be proclaimed “from this desk, that the most vicious are in as “likely a way to obtain divine grace, as he who “is seeking it in a moral life.” And you will directly hear it in the mouth of every impious debauchee, as a justifying argument: The secure sinner makes it a reason for his carelessness, and contempt of every ordinance: The duties of the family and the closet are neglected; and those who have been baptised, lead the life of pagans. Well did you collect your household churches, ye faithful servants of the most-high! well did you warn your sons and daughters to turn a deaf ear to the preacher, and to avoid the fatal rock.*

O! my beloved brethren, it is painful to see the consequences which have followed, and which must follow in places, where the infernal scheme hath been broached. And

IV. WHAT think you can be the design of a man, who takes unwearied pains to propagate it? Can it be to benefit mankind, by preaching the *gospel* in purity? No—his very scheme tends to discourage those who have the greatest necessity for it, from attending upon it. Can it be to mend the morals of mankind? No—for the worst, according to him, in a natural state,

* It is imagined, that that argument, from the unpopularity of the doctrine, has had much influence upon some unguarded tho’ well designing persons

* We have understood, that some worthy persons have found themselves obliged upon hearing such doctrines, to call their families together, and warn them against it.

have as fair a prospect of the mercy of God, as the best. Can it be to recommend the ministry of the gospel? No—all those, who have ever spoken or written before his *important Self*, are in errors—and it would seem, the whole ministry, a needless article. Can it be to recommend the *gospel* itself? No—if it represents the Deity, as by nature more *inclined*, or even equally inclined, to take favourable notice of the more vicious, as of the less so; if it encourages to continue in sin, by affording only as good a prospect to the most profane as to the what better plea, what stronger argument must the deist wish for against Christianity? In short, sirs—The searcher of hearts knows what is the design of a man—but it becomes us to be aware, to be very suspicious of every one, and of every thing that in its own nature tends to overset that *gospel*, on which are founded all our hopes.

LET me conclude by earnestly entreating the secure and careless, that they will not suffer themselves to be deceived, either by the suggestions of a wicked heart, by the enemy of God and man; or even by this—what shall I name it? infernal machination. Ye who are in the broad road to destruction, who are unwilling to straggle in the narrow paths of virtue and life? O reflect—where do those gay and sprightly ways conduct you? Doth not eternal death hold his domain before you? Why, for a few moments' guilty pleasure would you abandon yourself to eternal pains? The gay mob, it is true, is with you; but why should that encourage you? O learn to look upon them only as oxen, who tho' trimmed with garlands, and playing down an easy passage, are devoted to slaughter.

THE Saviour of mankind, hath opened a safe retreat from death. The Saviour of mankind, out of disinterested compassion, invites you to *strive to enter the straight gate*. Your souls, your eternity join in the important demand; and all that should influence a rational being, urges home the proposal. In this it is true, you will be opposed by the world, with all its scorn and malice, the flesh with all its corrupt inclinations, and by the devil, with every art, his long practised cunning can invent; and therefore, *striving, struggling, nay agonizing*, will be necessary. That careless, indolent life will never do. But remember, a whole immortality—the love of Jehovah himself is the prize.

AND let it not discourage you, that God, and God alone, must be the great efficient. Were it to be performed by a man, or even by an angel, you would have some room for discouragement; but infinite benevolence, the eternal fountain of goodness and grace, is he to whom your suit is directed.

LET me therefore conclude with the apostle's exhortation to this purpose. (Who by the by, uses our opponent's arguments, to a direct contrary purpose to their's) "Work out your salvation with fear and trembling;" for why? "knowing that it is he who worketh in us to will and to do," and that it is of his own "good pleasure." AMEN!

II.—THE NORTH-EASTERN BOUNDARY OF NEW JERSEY.—CONTINUED.

IV.—A REVIEW OF THE QUESTION.

BY HENRY B. DAWSON.

The question which has been so ably discussed in the columns of *The Gazette*, by the learned Attorney-general of the State of New York and by the two distinguished historians, Messrs. BRODHEAD and WHITEHEAD, who followed him, is one which possesses great historical importance; indeed, no other subject than such an one could have arrested the attention and employed the pens of such a trio of disputants.

The question was thus stated, originally, by General Cochrane: "THE WATERS BETWEEN 'STATEN ISLAND AND NEW JERSEY, THE 'KILL 'VAN COLL, 'THE SOUND, AND 'RABITAN-BAY,' OR BY WHATEVER OTHER BAPTISMAL NAMES THEY OR THEIR PARTS MAY HAVE BEEN, OR ARE NOW, DESIGNATED, TOGETHER WITH 'ALL THE WATERS WHICH LAKE STATEN ISLAND SHORES, WERE, FROM THE PERIOD OF THEIR DISCOVERY, KNOWN AND ACCEPTED, AND SHOULD PROPERLY NOW BE CONSIDERED, THE 'WATERS OF HUDSON'S-RIVER;" and the affirmative arguments of the learned proponent were sustained by remarks and a letter from Mr. Brodhead; while all these were subsequently controverted, in an elaborate *Review*, by Mr. Whitehead. It is the purpose of this paper to notice the arguments and evidence which have been adduced by each of the gentlemen referred to; and, as far as may be possible, from those arguments and that evidence and from authorities which none of those who have gone before have employed, it is hoped that some further light may be thrown on a subject which has merited and received the notice of many of the leading minds of our country, at different periods of her history.

It is not pretended, even by the learned proponent, that the question under discussion possesses any other than a *historical* significance, unless it shall be incidentally; and it is not proposed, by this paper—as it was not by him—to disturb the peaceful relations of the two States, on this subject, as they were settled by the inter-State Treaty of 1834. It is not considered improper, however, to gather wisdom from any

of the lessons of the Past; and the dignity of History may not be improperly asserted and maintained, and her importance in the disposition of great questions of State may find a satisfactory illustration, it is hoped, even in so informal a discussion as this.

It will be seen from the argument and authorities of General Cochrane, that he maintained that "the Bay" is the proper term for what is now generally known as "the lower Bay;" that the Hudson-river, after receiving the waters of the East-river and forming "the harbor," discharges its waters through two mouths, which are separated by Staten Island, into "the Bay;" and that, in consequence, the local names of "Kill van Coll," "the Kills," "The Sound," "Raritan-bay," etc., which have been applied to the westernmost of these mouths, possess no primary significance in the relations between the two States.

The effect of this argument, if it shall be sustained by the evidence, will be to guarantee to the State of New York, historically, her ancient possession of Staten Island; to deny the historical propriety of the cession of a portion of the waters of New York to New Jersey, which was effected by the Treaty of 1834; and to define, more distinctly, the character of other portions of those waters, not included in the Articles of the Treaty referred to, as well as the respective rights of each of the States of New York and New Jersey, therein, and in every part thereof.

Mr. Brodhead, in his remarks before the New York Historical Society and in his letter to Mr. Whitehead, has sustained the proposition of General Cochrane, both by authorities and by argument; and the weight of his concurrence in General Cochrane's views adds materially to the importance of this discussion.

Mr. Whitehead, on the contrary, denies both the premises of General Cochrane and his conclusions. He admits that "the earliest geographers, on their earliest maps, leave it" [*the lower Bay*] "unnamed, as being simply an arm or portion of the Atlantic Ocean;" but he denies that it is proper to consider it as "the Bay" or "the great Bay" of history: he denies, also, that the waters which separate Staten Island from the main land of New Jersey either have been or can be considered, properly, as one of the channels of the Hudson-river; and that the local names of the waters last referred to, such as "Kill van Coll," "The Kills," "The Sound," and "Raritan-bay," have no more than a local and limited significance. He contends, on the contrary, that the waters which separate Staten Island from the main-land are the waters of the Raritan, and Passaic, and Hackensack-rivers, and that they have no relation to the

Hudson; that the waters of the latter are discharged into "the Bay" or harbor of New York; and that the only outlet to the ocean, of the waters of "the Bay"—into which the Hudson, the East, the Passaic, and the Hackensack-rivers are supposed to flow—is the strait which is known to us as "the Narrows."

The effect of this argument, if it shall be sustained by the evidence, will be to confine the mouth of the Hudson, historically, to a line extending from the Battery, in the city of New York, to the Jersey shore, probably at Powles'-Hook; to consider the harbor of New York as "the Bay" of History, with its outlet at "the Narrows," so-called; to transfer Staten Island, historically, to New Jersey; to establish, historically, the claim of New Jersey to the entire waters of "the Kill van Coll," "the Sound," and "Raritan Bay;" and to deny the historical propriety of what may then be considered a surrender by that State to New York, in the Treaty of 1834, of Staten Island and of the easternmost one-half of the waters which separate that island from the main-land of New Jersey.

There are several other subjects of little relative importance, which have been introduced by the parties who have principally participated in this discussion; but they are not of sufficient weight to withdraw, from the main questions, the careful attention of the reader—indeed they tend rather to confuse than assist the intelligent student, in his laborious search for the truth of the matter. These, therefore, will remain either unnoticed in this paper, or, if any attention shall be paid to them, they will be alluded to, in passing, in the course of the discussion of other and graver subjects.

It will have been seen, also, that both the leading parties in this discussion appear to rely greatly on the terms of the Grant by the King to the Duke of York, dated March 12, 1664; on those of the Lease by the Duke to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, dated June 23, 1664; and on those of the Release to Berkeley and Carteret, which was executed by the Duke, on the twenty-fourth of June, of the same year.

It cannot be denied that these several instruments are interesting as well as useful; but it is not so clear that they possess any other importance in this discussion than that which attaches to them, as illustrative of the meaning of those which are greatly more important. They will be regarded in this paper, therefore, rather in the useful but less important character of merely illustrative documents; while the more authoritative testimony of other instruments will be appealed to, for the foundation of the remarks which shall now be offered on the subject.

The reason for this rejection of the Charter of March 12, 1664, and of the Duke's Lease and Release of June 23 and 24, of the same year, as leading authorities in this discussion, may be very briefly stated. They are these:

FIRST: There are very grave doubts of the validity, under the established and recognized law of England, of that Grant which assumed to convey an estate which was not only claimed by a foreign power with which England was then at peace, but one which was actually in the undisturbed possession of that friendly power, at the date of the Grant, and for many months after the execution and delivery of that instrument to the Duke of York.

SECOND: Whatever legal rights the Duke or his Grantees, Berkeley and Carteret, may have secured in the territories or waters in question, by virtue of the King's Grant of March 12, 1664, and the Duke's Lease and Release of June 23 and 24, of the same year, they were wholly annihilated by the re-conquest and subsequent occupation of that territory and those waters, by the Dutch, under Commanders Binckes and Evertsen, in 1673; and any rights which either the Duke of York, or Lord John Berkeley, or Sir George Carteret possessed therein, after the restoration of the same to the English, and the actual occupation thereof, by the latter, under Major Edmund Andros, were derived, **SOLELY**, from the Royal Charter to the Duke, dated June 29, 1674, and from the Duke's Lease and Release to Sir George Carteret, in severalty, dated July 28 and 29, 1674, and from no other source whatever.

For these reasons, among others, the so-called Charter, and Lease, and Release, of 1664 are not considered valid, for the determination of contested rights which have wholly accrued since the days of the dates of the Charter, and Lease, and Release, of 1674; although the former may, properly, be employed to illustrate the meaning of specific terms employed in the latter, whenever they will admit of any such illustration.

The preliminary questions which have arisen in this discussion having been thus disposed of, the subject which was proposed by General Cochrane, in its most simple form, presents itself for our consideration—to the territory of which State, New York or New Jersey, do the waters which separate Staten Island from the main, historically belong?

It is matter of History, and, therefore, needs no proof, that the waters in question as well as the adjacent shores of Staten Island and New Jersey were portions of the territory of the Colony of New Netherland, which was seized, in 1664, by the English under Colonel Nicolls; that, with that Colony, they were recaptured,

agreeably to the Law of Nations, in 1673, by the Dutch under Commanders Binckes and Evertsen; that, in the following year, agreeably to the terms of the Treaty of Westminster, they were restored to the King of Great Britain from whom they had been captured; and that the latter was thereby vested with all the rights of Proprietary as well as of Sovereignty, over every part and parcel of them.

It is matter of History, also, that, on the twenty-ninth of June, 1674, "for divers good Causes and Considerations, of his special Grace, certain Knowledge, and meer Motion," the King of Great Britain, in whom the title was then vested, granted divers lands and waters, among which were those in question, to his brother, James, Duke of York and Albany:—(*Letters Patents to the Duke of York*; Recorded November 4, 1674,—*Grants, Concessions, and Original Constitutions of the Province of New Jersey*, by A. Leaming and J. Spicer, 41-45;)—that, on the twenty-eighth of July, 1674, for a valid consideration, the Duke of York, in whom the title was then legally vested, leased to Sir George Carteret a certain "Tract of Land," being a portion of those which had been granted to him, by the King, in the preceding month, conditioned for the payment of a certain specified rental; (*Recital of the Duke's Release*, July 29, 1674—*Leaming and Spicer*, 48;)—that, by virtue of that Lease, Sir George Carteret took immediate and "actual Possession of the said Tract of Land and Premises" referred to therein,—(*Release by the Duke*, July 29, 1674;)—that, on the following day, (July 29, 1674,) the Duke executed, agreeably to the Statute, a Release to Sir George Carteret, of the "Tract of Land" referred to in the Lease to which reference has been made,—(*Release by the Duke of York*, July 29th, 1674.—*Leaming and Spicer*, 46-48;)—commissioned a "Governor and Councilors," for the administration of a Government therein,—(*Commission from Sir George Carteret, to Philip Carteret, etc.*, July 31, 1674—*Leaming and Spicer*, 58-60;)—and issued certain "Directions, Instructions, and Orders" * * to be "observed by the Governor, and Council, and Inhabitants of the said Province;"—(*Directions, etc.*, July 31, 1674—*Leaming and Spicer*, 50-57;); and that there remained to the Duke all others of the Lands and Waters, and, without any diminution whatever, every other Right and Property which had been conveyed to him by the King, in the Letters Patents, to which reference has been made.

It will be seen, also, by reference to the Letters Patents of the King to the Duke, that *separate from, and in addition to*, the conveyance to the latter of the "Lands, Islands, Soils, Rivers, Harbours, Mines, Minerals, Quarries,

"Woods, Marshes, Waters, Lakes, Fishings, Hawking, Hunting and Fowling; and all other Royalty's, Profits, Commodities and Hereditaments to the said several Islands, Lands and Premises belonging and appertaining," which were contained therein, the King "further" gave and granted unto the Duke of York, "full and absolute Power and Authority to correct, punish, pardon, govern and rule all such the Subjects of us, our Heirs and Successors, or any other Person or Persons, as shall from time to time adventure themselves into any of the Parts or Places aforesaid, or that shall or do at any time hereafter inhabit within the same, according to such Laws, Orders, Ordinances, Directions and Instructions as by our said dearest Brother, or his Assigns, shall be established," etc. —in short, that the Duke was vested with sub-royal authority therein, subject only to the provisions of the Laws of Great Britain and to the right of Appeal to the King;—(*Letters Patents to the Duke*, June 29th, 1674—*Leaming and Spicer*, 41-43);—no portion of which prerogatives, affecting the Realities of the territory, was conveyed or delegated by him to Sir George Carteret, in the Lease and Release of "the said Tract of Land and Premises" to which reference has been made, nor in any other Instrument of Conveyance or Delegation, either at that time or at any subsequent period. —(Compare the *Release to Sir George Carteret*, dated July 29th, 1674, with the *Letters Patents to the Duke of York*, June 29th, 1674.)

By reference to the Lease and Release by the Duke of York to Sir George Carteret, which is the original source of the title of the latter and of his representatives, in and to the "Tract of Land and Premises" which were known, subsequently, as East-Jersey, and to its Appurtenances, it will be seen that the Duke Released and Conveyed "unto the said Sir George Carteret, his Heirs and Assigns for ever, all that Tract of Land adjacent to New-England, and lying and being to the Westward of Long-Island and Manhitas Island, and bounded on the East part by the main Sea, and part by Hudson's-River, and extends Southward * * * which said Tract of Land is hereafter to be called by the name or Names of *New-Oaxera* or *New-Jersey*: And also all Rivers, Mines, Mineralis, Woods, Fishings, Hawking, Hunting, and Fowling, and all Royalties, Profits, Commodities, and Hereditaments whatsoever, to the said Lands and Premises belonging or appertaining with their and every of their Appurtenances, in as full and ample manner as the same is granted unto the said James Duke of York by the before recited Letters Patents; and all the

"Estate, Right, Title, Interest, Benefit, Advantage, Claim and Demand of the said James Duke of York, of in and to the said Lands and Premises, or any Part or Parcel thereof, and the Reversion and Reversions, Remainder and Remainders thereof;" and nothing more.—(*Release to Sir George Carteret*, July 29th, 1674.) None of the "Islands," nor "Soils," nor "Harbours," nor "Waters," nor "Marshes," which had been conveyed to the Duke, in the King's Letters Patents, were thus conveyed by the former to Sir George Carteret; nor were any of the "Rivers," nor "Fishings," etc., thus conveyed, except those "to the said Lands and Premises" [*described in the Release*] "belonging or appertaining."—(Compare the *King's Letters Patents* with the *Duke's Release*.)

The "Tract of Land and Premises" which were thus conveyed to Sir George Carteret, therefore, and the "Rivers belonging or appertaining thereto," were and are, historically, all that then formed, or now form, the Province or State of East-Jersey; and whatever tracts of land and whatever rivers "belonging or appertaining thereto," which were not thus Released, and all the Islands, Soils, Harbours, Waters, and Marshes which were between Connecticut-river, on the East, and Delaware-river, on the West,—whether within or without the limits of East-Jersey—"together with the River called Hudson's-river" and the several prerogatives of sovereignty which had been separately and specifically conveyed to the Duke, by the King—(*Letters Patents*, June 29th, 1674)—remained with the Duke, entirely unimpaired.

Whether or not the waters which separate Staten Island from the main were then considered, or are now to be considered, historically, waters of Hudson's-river—which was the only question proposed by General Cochrane—may be ascertained from the terms of the Duke's Release to Sir George Carteret, as illustrated by the standard geographical authorities of the day and by the subsequent action of both the Grantor and Grantee, in the premises; while, from the terms of the same Release, compared with those of the Letters Patents and the subsequent action of both the Grantor and Grantee, in the premises, may be most accurately ascertained, SECONDLY, whether, in whatever character those waters were then considered, they were really conveyed or intended to be conveyed, by the Duke to Sir George Carteret, and thenceforth became part and parcel of East Jersey,—a question which seems to have received the earnest attention of both General Cochrane and Mr. Whitehead—and, THIRDLY, whether those waters and the adjacent Islands and Marshes, on either side of the stream, in whatever character those waters were then con-

sidered, or may now be considered, were retained by the Duke of York, as part of his Colonial possessions, and are still to be considered, historically, waters and lands of the State of New York.

It has been seen that the title to the waters in question, as well as that to the adjacent shores, was vested in the Duke of York, by the King's Letters Patents, on the twenty-ninth of June, 1674; and that on the twenty-ninth of July, in the same year, the former conveyed to Sir George Carteret, by Release, certain specified portions of the estate which had been granted to him by the King, retaining to himself, with title unimpaired, all those waters and all those lands, thus granted to him, which he did not then specifically convey to Sir George Carteret, by the Release referred to.

It has been seen, also, that among the waters thus retained by the Duke, without encumbrance of any kind, were those of Hudson's river; and the first question which presents itself is, were the waters in question, on the twenty-ninth of July, 1674, treated in the Release by the Duke of York to Sir George Carteret, and should they now be treated, historically, as waters of Hudson's river?

It will be seen by the terms of the Duke's Release, that none of the "Islands" which he had received from the King, a month before, were conveyed by him to Sir George Carteret—(Compare the Duke's *Release* with the King's *Letters Patents*.)—and, consequently, that Staten Island, both in law and in fact, remained a portion of the Duke's Colony of New York; and that the boundary between the two Provinces of New York and New Jersey was then drawn to the westward of that Island, where "the Kills" and "the Sound" are, rather than to the eastward of it, where "the Narrows" are, as some have supposed and maintained.

It will be seen, also, that the Duke's Release described "the Tract of Land and Premises" conveyed to Sir George Carteret, as "bounded "on the East part by the main Sea, and Part by "Hudson's River;"—(*Release to Sir George Carteret*, July 29, 1674—*Leaming & Spicer*, 47;)—that no intervening waters or lands, between "the main Sea" and "Hudson's River," were named or referred to; and that, consequently, either "the main Sea" or "Hudson's River," or portions of each, were then considered, both by the Grantor and Grantee, as flowing between Staten Island, WHICH THE DUKE RETAINED, and "the Tract of Land and Premises," "to "be called by the Name or Names of *New-Ceese*—" *rea* or *New-Jersey*," WHICH HE CONVEYED TO Sir George Carteret.

It is proper, in this place, to notice the fact that Mr. Whitehead, following the example of

many honored predecessors, has insisted that the waters which separate Staten Island from the main, are, in fact, the waters of the Hackensack, Passaic, and Raritan-rivers, rather than those of the Hudson; that not a drop of the waters of the latter passes to the westward of Staten Island, to the sea; and that, in consequence, the waters in question have not been, nor are they now, *in fact*, waters of Hudson's river.—(*Review*, Number IV., *ante*.)

It is not the purpose of this paper to dispute these statements: it is rather its province to admit what is *true* and to resist that which is *false*; but the question is not as to the *physical* facts concerning those waters, but, solely, the *historical* character which belongs to them.

In 1769, when the Commissioners of New York for determining the Northern line of New Jersey insisted on a line which, if extended, would have run from the head of Connecticut-river to the head of Delaware Bay, the Commissioners of New Jersey, (Messrs. Stevens, Parker, and Rutherford,) submitted, in opposition to the proposed line, that "Whatever may "be the strict Rule of Law in the Construction "of Deeds and Grants, in Cases where it may "well be presumed both the Grantor and "Grantee have all the means of being well acquainted with the Premises to be granted, "yet in the present Case where the whole Country was at the Time of the Grant of King "Charles the Second to the Duke in the possession of the Dutch, and the interior Part "of it, then but little known to the King "or his Subjects; it is *humbly conceived* that "however uncertain or undeterminate the express "Words of such Grant as to its extent may "be, THE PRINCIPLES OF JUSTICE REQUIRE, THAT "THE INTENT AND MEANING OF THE PARTIES "SHOULD BE THE GOVERNING RULE OF CONSTRUCTION. In the Grants of many of the "Colonies on the Continent," they add, "there "will be found either an uncertainty, or an interfering with respect to their Bounds and extent, and yet they have always been adjusted "upon the Principle of the INTENTION OF THE "GRANTS."—(*MS. Brief of the Claims of the Province of New Jersey*, September 28, 1769—pages 45, 46—*N. J. Boundary Papers*, ii. New York Historical Society.)—They also cited, in support of that very just view, the precedent of "the Proprietors of the Patents of Minisink "and Wawayanda," [who] "upon a late Occasion insisted that considering the Antiquity of "the Grant to the Duke of York, it ought "reasonably to be supposed that *its true Boundaries were better understood at or shortly after the Time of its Date than at this Day*."—(*Ibid*, page 53.) See, also, pages 38, 39, of the same *MS. Brief*, for further illustrations of

the views of the Commissioners from New Jersey, on this subject.

This view of the principles which, in 1769, "should be the governing Rule of Construction" of the terms of the Grant to Sir George Carteret, is equally true in 1865; and the New Jersey theory, at the former date, for the determination of her *Northern* line, cannot be reasonably disregarded by her advocates, to-day, while discussing the question of her *Eastern* line,—whether the waters of Hudson's-river *really* pass to the westward or to the eastward of Staten Island, or on neither of its shores, is, therefore, entirely immaterial in this discussion; and What did the parties to the Release understand was the case, when that instrument was executed? and What were their "Intent and meaning," while conveying and receiving that "Tract of Land and Premises," "which is hereafter to be called by the Name or Names of New-Cæsarea or New-Jersey?" are the only questions to be now determined.

That there was no intervening boundary between New York and New Jersey, between the mouth of "Hudson's River" and "the main Sea," according to the "Intent and meaning of the Parties" to the Release, is evident, from the entire absence of any allusion to any other line of boundary, on the Eastern border of New Jersey, than "the main Sea" and "Hudson's River," as was before stated, as may be conclusively ascertained by a reference to the Release by the Duke to Sir George Carteret: the exact spot where "the main Sea" was joined by the waters of "Hudson's River," in the Intent of the parties to that Release, will be seen hereafter.

This fact is evident, also, in the current opinions of the day, as expressed by standard Geographers of that period; and from the same authoritative evidence, *what was THEN understood by the term "Hudson's River,"* may, also, be accurately ascertained.

Three years before the execution of the Release in question, (1671) John Ogilby, at that time the Royal Cosmographer, had published in London, under the patronage of the King, a splendid folio volume, descriptive of America, which was doubtless the standard authority at the time of the conveyance of "The Tract of Land and Premises" to Sir George Carteret. Speaking of the rivers of "New Netherland," "now call'd New York," this official Cosmographer thus alluded to the Hudson: "The *Manhattans*, or *Great River*, being the chiefest, having with two wide Mouths wash'd the mighty Island *Watouwaaks*, falls into the Ocean. The Southern Mouth is call'd *Port May*, or *Godyns Bay*. In the middle thereof lie an Island call'd *The States Island*; and a

"little higher the *Manhattans*, so call'd from the *Natives*, which on the East side of the River dwell on the Main Continent."—(*America: Collections from the most Authentic Authors*, by John Ogilby, Ed. London, 1671, page 170.)

The description of Hudson's-river, with its "two wide mouths," the Southernmost of which he termed "*Port May* or *Godyns Bay*"—names used by Mr. Whitehead to prove that the waters were *not* the waters of Hudson's-river—and with "an Island call'd *The States Island*" [Staten Island] "IN THE MIDDLE THEREOF," was illustrated by this *protege* of the King, with an elegant map, in which his theory of the character of the waters in question was plainly set forth; and, in that map, the mouth of "The Great River" was brought to the line between *Coney Island* and *Sandy Hook*—the latter of which was thus made the point of junction of those parts of New Jersey which were "Bound-ed on the East part by the main Sea," with those parts of the same Province which were bounded "by Hudson's River."

The value of this authority, for the determination of questions concerning "the Intent and meaning of the Parties" to this identical Grant to Carteret, may be ascertained from the fact that, in 1759, when Messrs. Stevens, Parker, and Rutherford, as Commissioners from New Jersey, were engaged in the settlement of the Northern Boundary of that Province, they introduced both the Map and the Narrative of Mr. Ogilby to which reference has been made, as *their* principal evidence of the "understanding" of the Parties to this Release, concerning the Delaware-river, and of the "meaning" of the term, employed therein, "Delaware Bay."—(*MS. Brief of the Claims of New Jersey*, 39, 40.)

It is a noteworthy fact, also, that, both on the second and the fifteenth days of September, 1769, the three Commissioners of New Jersey, to whom reference has been made, (Messrs. Stevens, Rutherford, and Parker,) appeared before the Commissioners for determining the northern boundary-line of New Jersey, at the Long Room in the Merchants' Exchange, in the city of New York, with a copy of Mr. Ogilby's volume, which they introduced as their principal evidence on matters connected with that portion of the Boundary between the two Provinces;—(*MS. Minutes of the Commissioners*, 711, 729—New Jersey Boundary Papers, iii, New York Historical Society)—it is not considered necessary, therefore, in 1865, in a renewed examination of the same Release by the Duke of York to Sir George Carteret, for the purpose of ascertaining the boundary of the same "Tract of Land and Premises," on its eastern front, to strengthen the character of

him, who, at the time, was relied on as the chief supporter of the claims of New Jersey, concerning her *northern* front, on the great principles which must control all others; nor is it considered necessary, in this place, to do more than recognize the peculiar manner in which Mr. Whitehead has treated General Cochrane's reference to Mr. Ogilby's statement, and to express our disapproval of what seems to be its entire unfairness, in such a discussion as this.

It will be remembered, however, that Mr. Ogilby stated, in his title-page, that his materials had been "Collected from the most "Authentick Authorities" who had preceded him; and, without conceding the necessity of strengthening his testimony, for the purpose of this examination, the character of the current opinions of the best-informed men of that period, on the subject of the waters on the western borders of Staten Island, may be learned from the writings of those most "Authentick "Authorities;" and the effect of those current opinions, on the minds of both the Grantor and Grantee of New Jersey and on the terms of the *Release* itself, may be, therefrom, most certainly ascertained.

In the year 1671, Jacob Meurs, a bookseller, published in the city of Amsterdam, in Holland, a folio volume entitled *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld, of Beschryving van America en t' Zuid-land*: by Arnoldus Montanus; in which a minute description of America was printed in the Dutch language. A chapter of that volume was devoted to a description of Nieuw-Nederland; and the description of the waters in question is in these words: "Onder de stroomen is *de Manhattans of Grote rievier* verre de voor-naemste: als welke met twee wijde monden, bespoelende t' magtig eiland *Matouwacs*, in d' *Oceaan* uitwaterd. De zuidelijke mond word genaemt *Port May* of *Godijns Bay*: midden-weegs leid t' *Staeten-eiland*, en weinig hooger t' *Manhattans*, alsoo genoemt na het volk, welk aen d' oostzijde der stroom t' vaste land bewoond."—(p. 123.) [Among the streams, the *Manhattan* or *Great-river* is by far the chiefest, as with two wide mouths, washing the mighty island *Matouwacs*, it empties into the *Ocean*. The southern mouth is named *Port-May* or *Godyn's Bay*: midway lies the *Staten-land*, and little higher the *Manhattans*, also named after the people, who, on the east side of the stream, inhabit the main-land.]

This work, which contains the well-settled opinion, on this subject, of the Dutch, who had settled the Province and held it for many years, is also illustrated with a carefully-prepared map, exactly similar, in every respect, to that employed by Mr. Ogilby, in his volume on America, already referred to; and there is little

room to doubt that, while it was the standard work on this subject, in Holland, it also furnished the "Authentick" original from which the latter gentleman evidently collected a portion of his information, while he was compiling his volume.

Again: on the thirteenth of April, 1670, while the country had been in the possession of the Duke, before its capture by the Dutch, under Binckes and Evertsen, Governor Lovelace had purchased, in behalf of his royal master, the island known as Staten Island; and it is a reasonable conclusion that the description of that property, as expressed in the Deed of Conveyance to the Duke, was expressive of the current opinion of the day, on that subject.

Fortunately for the purposes of this investigation, the original Manuscript Conveyance of the property referred to has been preserved in the Library of the New York Historical Society; and the following, carefully copied from that original, will not fail to throw some light on this interesting subject. It was thus described in the Deed referred to:

"All that Island LYING & BEING IN HUDSONS RYVER Comonly called Staten Island, & by the Indians *Aquehonga Manacknong*, having on ye South ye Bay & Sandy point, on ye North ye Ryver & ye City of New York on Manhatans Island, on ye East Long Island, & on ye west ye Main land of After Coll, or New Jersey."

Again: Doctor Peter Heylyn, whose ardent friendship for the Stuarts, in their adversity, was rewarded by the King, on his restoration to the throne, by the appointment of Prebendary of Westminster, published, in the year 1657, a fine folio volume, entitled "*Cosmographie in four books*;" and, in 1669, a fourth edition of that work was issued with the Author's last revisions and corrections, and illustrated with large maps, under the especial patronage of the King, to whom it was dedicated.

On page 96, Liber IV., of the last-mentioned edition of that work, under the head of "*Novum Belgium, or Nieuw Nederlant*," the author said, "Rivers of note they have not many. That want is supplied by many large and capacious Bays, all along the Coast. The principal of those that be, 1. *Manhattes*, by some called *Nassovius*, but by the Dutch commonly *Noordt Rivier*, which falleth into the Sea at *May-port*," [the "Port-May or Godyn's Bay" of Ogilby and Montanus,] "so called by *Cornelius May*, the Master of a ship of *Holland*, at their first Plantation:"—information which will receive fresh importance when the peculiar relations which then existed between the author, and the King, and the Duke of York, shall be remembered.

It will thus be seen that, in 1674, when the Duke of York conveyed to Sir George Carteret, the leading Cosmographers of the time, both English and Dutch, concurred in the opinion that the Hudson discharged its waters through two mouths, the Narrows and the Kills; that these mouths were separated by Staten Island; and, consequently, that the waters which separated Staten Island from the main were *then* considered only as waters of Hudson's river.

It will be seen, also, that this opinion prevailed, and was fully and clearly expressed, in the formal Deed of Conveyance which was accepted by the Duke's Governor in America and by the Duke himself, when Staten Island was purchased by him, with the description, "all that Island lying & being IN Hudsons Ryver;" and bounded on "*ye South*" [by] "YE BAY & Sandy point, on *ye North*" [by] "YE RYVER & ye City of New York on Manhatans Island, on *ye East*" [by the River "*IN*" which it was and] "Long Island, & on *ye West*" [by the River "*IN*" which it was and] "*ye Main land* of After Coll, or New Jersey," and nothing more appears to be necessary, *in the absence of any opposing evidence*, to establish the generally-received opinions of the day, both in Holland and in England, concerning the character of the waters in question, when the Duke of York conveyed to Sir George Carteret, the territory which was subsequently known as East Jersey;—that they constituted the southernmost mouth of the Hudson; that, *as such*, they flowed through what was *then* known by the several names of the "Bay," "Port-May," and "Godyn's Bay," into the ocean at Sandy-hook; and, consequently, that what we know by the term, "the Bay," or harbor of New York, as well as that which is known to us as "the lower Bay," were and still are, *historically*, only expansions of the waters of the Hudson.

Nor was that generally-received opinion, in 1674, in accordance with which the Duke Released, and Sir George Carteret accepted, "the Tract of Land and Premises" which was subsequently known as East Jersey, inconsistent with other and earlier authorities, both English and Dutch: indeed, Mr. Whitehead admits,—(*Number IV, ante*),—that, on one of these points, at least—the name which was then given to "the lower Bay"—General Cochrane was entirely correct.

This is evident from the following, selected from "a cloud of witnesses," to whom reference might be made:

I.—On the twenty-ninth of September, 1673, notice was sent from New Amsterdam to the Neversink, by Governor Colve, with an order for its publication, that, on the arrival of any ships from sea, he should be notified at the

earliest possible moment.—(*Minutes of the Council, September 29, 1673—Col. Doc. ii. 610.*)

On the twenty-third of the following April, information was received "that a ship or ships have come to anchor within SANDY HOOK OF THE NORTH RIVER OF NEW NETHERLAND, Capt. Cornelius Ewoutsen is therefore hereby ordered and commanded instantly, with the Snow, in his command, to sail to the aforesaid Sandy Hook, to learn what ships they be," etc.—(*Minutes of the Council, April 23, 1674—Colonial Documents, ii., 707.*)

The fact that Sandy Hook was *then* considered a portion of the territory bordering on "the North River," is not without significance, for the purposes of this discussion.

II.—In the correspondence of Samuel Maverick, one of the Royal Commissioners to New England, and better informed than most others, on the details of the Colonial affairs of that period, the following appears:

FIRST: Writing, from New York, to John Winthrop, Jr., on the twenty-fourth of February, 1669, Mr. Maverick referred to a letter which had been received from Colonel Nicolls, then in London, in which the latter had said, concerning some action relative to the boundaries between New York and New Jersey, "Staten Island is adjudged to belong to N: York. The L. Barkley is vnder a cloud, and out of all his offices, and offers to surrender vp the Patent for N. Jarsey. Sir G: Carteret, his partner, is in Ireland, but it is thought he will likewise surrender, and then N. Yorke will be enlarged."—(*The Winthrop Papers—Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, IV, vii., 315*)—The "judgment," in 1668, that Staten Island "belonged to N: York," necessarily carried with it the judgment that the boundary between the two Provinces was to the westward of Staten Island; and, consequently, that either "the main Sea" or "Hudson's River," which formed the only lines of limitation to the territory of New Jersey, on the East, flowed between the Island and the main:—to which of these two classes, those waters were *then* supposed to belong, has been already seen.

SECOND: A few weeks later, Mr. Maverick wrote to the Rev. Sampson Bond, at Bermudas, and informally invited him to remove to New York. At the same time, he informed Mr. Bond that the Governor had said, "if your selfe and copany came, he would order yow a proportion of land (accordinge to the families you should bringe) on an Iland called States Iland, about 3 or 4 leagues from this cittie, the most commodiousest seate and richest land I haue seene in America. It is probable (if his multiplicitie of business will permitt it) he will lett you know it by his owne penn. I

"have it from his owne mouth."—(*Winthrop Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections*, IV., vii., 817.)

In view of the fact that Mr. Bond was a personal friend, both of the Royal Commissioner and of the Governor of New York, there is very little probability that a tract of land would have been offered to him, which was not, *indisputably*, within the Colony of New York; and the student may learn from this fact what, at least, was the current opinion, on this subject, in the best-informed circles in New York, in 1668-9.

III. On the twenty-third of January, 1657, Jacques Corteljou, Surveyor-general of New Netherland, petitioned the Governor and Council, in behalf of the heirs of Cornelis van Werckhoven, for leave to found and erect a village on Long Island, "AT THE BAY OF THE 'NORTH RIVER';"—(*MS. Council Minutes*, viii., 424;) and a Patent for the territory which was then occupied was subsequently granted by the Colonial authorities. The following description of the premises is taken from that Patent: "130 morgens of valley, situated on Long-Island, 'at the East hook of THE BAY OF THE 'NORTH-RIVER, opposite Coney-island, bounding with the 'west end on the land of Anthony Jansen from 'Salee, northeast on the Kil where Gravesend 'mill stands, southeast and south abutting on 'said Kil, southwest on the BAY OF THE NORTH-RIVER.'—(*MS. Records, Liber HH., Part II., Patents*, Folio 99.)

On the fifteenth of August, 1668, Governor Nicolls issued a new Patent for this settlement, in which the territory was then described: "Beginning from Nayack-Point," [*known to us as "Fort Hamilton,"*] "stretching alongst the "Bay to the land belonging to francis Bruyne, "and from thence run into the woods along the "said Francis Bruyne's land to the land here- "tofore belonging to Robert Pennoyer, neare "upon a N. E. line 1200 Dutch Rods from "which goe againe in a direct line to the North "River, runing 300 rods to the North of the "whole Hooke or Neck of land; and then "again alongst the North River to Nayack- "Point."—(*The Charter*, quoted in THOMPSON'S *Long Island*, ii, 191.)

As "Nayack-Point" was the name given, at that time, to what we now know as "Fort Hamilton,"—(*Nicolls's Map of New York, in VAL-ENTINE'S Manual for 1863*,)—it will be seen that what we now know as "The Bay," or harbor of New York, was then called "the North River;" while the waters which were to the East of "Nayack-Point," now called "the lower Bay," were then called "The Bay."

On the thirteenth of May, 1686, Governor Dongan issued a third Patent, in which the bounds of the town were thus described: "Be-

"ginning at the North-East corner of land "appurtaining to Mr. Paulus Vanderbeeck call- "ed *Goanus*" [*Gowanus*] "to the Bounds of "Flatbush Pattent, and soe along the said "bounds of the said Pattent, and stretching "from thence South-East and by South till "they meete the Limitts of Flatlands, Graves- "end, and the said Utrecht, and from thence "along Gravesend Bounds to the *Bay of the "North River*, and soe along the said Bay and "River till it meets the Land of the said Paulus "Vanderbeeck," etc.—(*Dongan's Charter*, as quoted in THOMPSON'S *Long Island*, ii., 191, 192.)

It will be seen from this instrument, that, as late as 1686, while Governor Dongan was at the head of the Government, the waters below Gowanus were called "THE NORTH RIVER;" while westward from the line of Gravesend, our, so-called, "Lower Bay" was called "THE BAY OF 'THE NORTH RIVER.'"

Those who are curious to pursue the enquiry concerning the name of "BAY OF THE NORTH RIVER," as applied to our, so called, "Lower Bay" will find other examples of its use, in the *Certificate of Governor Stuyvesant's farmers*, August 14, 1666—(*Colonial Documents*, ii, 474;)—in the description of Van Dicklagen's purchase on Staten Island, August 5, 1650—(*Whitehead's History of East Jersey*, 19;)—in Cornelis van Tienhoven's *Information relative to taking up land in New Netherland*, March 4, 1650;—(*Colonial Documents*, i, 366;)—in his *Observations on the settlement of the Boundary*, etc., February 22, 1650—(*Colonial Documents*, i, 361;)—in the Patent of land, in Gravesend, "on the Bay of the North River, on Long Island, over against Conyne Island," to Anthony Jansen from Salee, May 27, 1643;—(*MS. Records, Liber GG., Patents*, Folio 61;) etc.

IV. On the twenty-ninth of October, 1661, Peter Stuyvesant presented to the States-General, an answer to certain *Observations of the West India Company on his Report of the surrender of New Netherland*, in 1664. In that answer, he minutely described the measures which had preceded the surrender, in the course of which he said: "Peter Alricks, the city's Commissary, "was sent as early as May to the Manhatans "from the city's Colonie of New Amstel" [*New-castle, Del.*] "to purchase some provisions and "cattle. These were not to be had in New "Netherland; accordingly, having bought up, in "June and July, a lot of cows, oxen, and sheep, "in New England and on the East end of Long "Island, he had, in the absence and before the "return of the Petitioner from Fort Orange, "conveyed the greater portion of them ACROSS "THE NORTH RIVER FROM LONG ISLAND TO "NEUWESINKS, distant the one from the other

"about 2 @ 8 leagues, and for the security of "the aforesaid cattle put them under the care "of some farmers and farm-servants and a few "soldiers from the Colonie of New Amstel."—(*Answer of the Hon. Peter Stuyvesant, etc.*—*Colonial Documents*, ii., 432, 434.)

V. On the last of February, 1664, the Director-general and Council of New-Netherland wrote to the Chamber at Amsterdam, concerning the aggressions of the English, "In our "last, by the ship *St. Jacob*, duplicate whereof "accompanies this, we have stated and plainly "shown, among other things, that although we "should cede Westchester and the English "towns on Long Island to the Colony of Hartford, it would not satisfy the latter. The "proof and effect thereof manifested themselves "shortly after the dispatch of our letter; for, "some English, both from the East end of Long "Island and from Gravesend, DID SECRETLY "CROSS OVER THE NORTH-RIVER TO THE NEW- "ESINGS," [*Neversink*] "lying behind Rensselaers-hook, and there endeavored to purchase "a tract of land," etc.—(*Letter*, dated "the last "of February, 1664."—*Colonial Documents*, ii., 231.)

The fact that the "North-river" was considered, in 1664, as flowing down as far as Sandy-hook, will be evident, to every one who bears in mind that the waters which were "crossed" by Peter Alricks and his live stock, and by the English land-speculators, in that year, to which reference is made, in the preceding paragraphs, were what we call "the lower Bay," which separates Gravesend and New Utrecht, on Long Island, from the Neversinks, in New Jersey—facts which throw great light on this important subject, and indicate, with remarkable clearness, that the opinions which prevailed, at a later day, concerning the mouth of the Hudson-river, were also the well-settled opinions of the best-informed Colonists, as early as 1664 and 1666.

VI. On the eighth of April, 1665, Governor Nicolls made a Patent for lands at Neversink, of which the following is the description: "All "that Tract and Part of the main Land, beginning at a certain Place commonly called or "known by the name of Sandy Point, and so "running ALONG THE BAY West North West, "till it comes to the Mouth of the Raritans "River," etc.—(*Monmouth Patent*, dated April 8, 1665.—*Leaming and Spicer*, 661.)

Those who are curious to pursue the enquiry concerning the use of the term, "The Bay," as applied to what we term "the lower Bay," will find other examples in Director Stuyvesant's letters to Messrs. La Montagne and van Rensselaer, Aug. 29, 1664—(*Colonial Documents*, ii., 372;) in *The Register of the Principal Events*

which occurred in the Attack and Reduction of New Netherland.—(*Colonial Documents*, ii., 410); etc.

VII. About the year 1656, was published, in Holland, a map entitled, *Novi Belgii novaque Angliæ nec non partis Virginie multis in locis emendata a Nicolao Joannis Visschero*.

On this map is minutely depicted "Nova "Belgica sive Nieuw Nederlandt," in all its parts; and the student will find on it, *no name whatever for the Hudson-river, EXCEPT AT ITS MOUTH*. Our "lower Bay," so-called, is called on this map "Port-May of Godyns Bay,"—the term used for the southernmost mouth of the Hudson, by Ogilby, and Montanus, and Heylyn—while OUTSIDE of this inscription concerning the Bay, between Sandy-hook and Coney-island, where the mouth of the river was then supposed to be, is inscribed these words:

"Groote Rivier at

{	<i>Manhattans R.</i>
	<i>Noordt Rivier.</i>
	<i>Montaigne Ri.</i>
	<i>Maurits Rivier."</i>

The weight of this authority may be ascertained from the fact that, even in Holland, as early as 1656, it was employed as an exhibit, in an important case—(*Brodhead's History of New York*, i.,) from the fact that, on the fourteenth of September, 1769, it was introduced among the leading testimony, in the case of the Northern boundary of New Jersey, before the Court of Commissioners appointed to consider this subject—(*MS. Minutes of the Court*, Sept. 14, 1769—*N. J. Boundary Papers*, iii., 709. N. Y. Hist. Society's Library;)—and from the fact that that Court, in its judgment in the case, expressly referred to it, and depended greatly on its testimony—"We further find among the "many Exhibits," said the Court, "a Certain "Dutch Map, Compiled by Nicholas John Vischer, "and published not long before the aforesaid "Grant from the Duke of York, which we have "Reason to believe was Esteemed the most correct "Map of that Country at the Time of the said "Grant;"—(*MS. Minutes of the Court*, October 7, 1769—*N. J. Boundary Papers*, iii., 706. N. Y. Historical Society's Library.)

VIII. In 1656, Evert Nieuwenhof of Amsterdam, published a small quarto volume entitled: *Beschryvinge van Nieuw-Nederlant* * * * *Beschreven door Adriaen vander Donck*; and this volume is illustrated with a map exactly similar, in every respect, save its extent—being limited to the territory of New Netherland—to that which bears Nicholas Vischer's name, and which has been already described. As in the latter, there is no name inscribed along the line of the Hudson-river, to designate its title; "Port-May "of Godyns-Bay," the names applied by Ogilby, Montanus, Heylyn, Visscher, etc., to the southernmost mouth of the Hudson, are re-

peated in this; and the five names of the river, at its mouth, are as fully set forth on this map as on that of Nicholas Visscher; and the approval of that map, by so intelligent a Colonist as van der Donck, gives fresh value to it and stamps it with the highest contemporary authority.

The importance of the testimony, on this subject, which has been furnished in the original edition of this ancient and well-known map, warrants a notice of the action, concerning it, of the New Jersey Historical Society, and the entry of an earnest protest against what seems to have been a violation of the records, on this subject, by that distinguished body.

In the first volume of the *Collections* of that Society, what purports to be a copy of a section of this map has been introduced as the frontispiece of Mr. Whitehead's *East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments*; but, while the words "Port May of Godyns Bay" have been VERY DISTINCTLY inserted in the proper place, the names of "THE GROOTE RIVIER," OUTSIDE of the former, have BEEN STUDIOUSLY OMITTED; and van der Donck has been FORCED to say NOTHING whatever concerning the Hudson, either at its mouth, at Sandy-hook, or elsewhere.

Whether considered, to some extent, at least, as parties in interest in this long-continued and closely-contested controversy, or simply as conservators of the truth of History, it would have been more consistent with propriety and its duty, had the New Jersey Historical Society avoided even the appearance of unfairness. No one will deny, however, that, in this peculiar mutilation of the original Map of van der Donck, this learned and influential body has quailed before the testimony, on this subject, which that map has presented; while it is not less evident that, as a conservator of the truth of History, it has manifested, by this action, its entire unwillingness to follow the truth, on this question, whithersoever she may lead it.

IX. In 1655, was published in London, a small volume entitled, *America, or an exact description of the West Indies*: * * * Faithfully represented by N. N. Gont; on pages 265-270 of which is a description of "Novum Belgium, or 'Nieu Nederlandt'."

On page 269 of this work appears the following: "In stead of Rivers, which this Country seemeth a little to want, there are many large and capacious Bayes all along the Coast: the 'principall whereof are, that which the Dutch call Nassovius-Bay, SOMETIMES THE NORDT-RIVER, WHICH FALLETH INTO THE SEA AT 'MAY-FORT'—a statement which is exactly parallel with those which were made by all the

leading authorities of that period, both Dutch and English.

X. In November, 1653, the West India Company addressed a letter to the States General, to which was appended a *Description of the boundaries of New Netherland*, which had been written in February, 1651, in which occurs these words: "Immediately after obtaining the Charter, the Honble Directors sent divers ships to New Netherland with people and cattle, which people being for the most part servants of the aforesaid Company, purchased many and various lands; among others, ON THE NORTH (alias Maurice) RIVER, STATEN ISLAND, Pavonia, Hoboocken, Nut Island, and the island of Manhattans, with many other lands thereabout," etc.—(Letter dated "the last of February, 1651."—*Colonial Documents*, i., 542.)

XI. In another part of the same *Description*, the author of it, who is supposed to have been Peter Stuyvesant, the Governor of the Colony, remarked: "I insist that the boundary of New Netherland along the sea-coast, should be calculated from the South-bay, beginning at Cape Hindlopin, and including the South-river, unto Godyn's point," [Sandy-hook,] "being the South-hook of the North Bay, or BEGINNING OF THE NORTH-RIVER," etc.—(Ibid—*Colonial Documents*, i., 544.)

In view of the fact that this *Description of the boundaries of New Netherland* was probably written by Peter Stuyvesant; that it was adopted by the West India Company; and that it was presented by that Corporation to the States General, too much importance cannot be attached to the evidence which it affords in the question concerning the spot, on the eastern boundary of New Jersey, where "the main Sea" terminated and "Hudson's river" began; and, incidentally, for the determination of the character of those waters which separated Staten-island from the main.

XII. In the *Remonstrance of New Netherland and the occurrences there*, addressed by Adriaen van der Donck, Augustyn Harman, Jacob van Couwenhoven, and others, delegates from the Colonists at New Netherland to the States General, on the twenty-eighth of July, 1649, it is said: "TO THE EAST OF THE NORTH-RIVER LIES LONG ISLAND, about 40 leagues in length," etc.—(Remonstrance, etc.—*Colonial Documents*, i., 276.)

In view of the fact that, in 1649, a delegation from the Commonalty of New Netherland, embracing some of the most intelligent and influential of the Colonists, considered the North-river washed the western shore of Long Island, the subsequent testimony, to the same effect, of Ogilby, Montanus, Heylyn, Visscher, and

Governor Lovelace is made more trustworthy, since it clearly shows that the latter were not ignorant of the well-considered opinions, on that subject, of those residents in the Colony who were best acquainted with it.

It is worthy of remark, also, in this connection, that, on the twenty-third of December, 1667, when Governor Nicolls granted what we call Bedlow's-island to Robert Needham, it was described as "*lying and being in Hudson's-river TO THE WEST OF LONG ISLAND;*"—(*Patent*, quoted by the Commissioners from New York, September 28, 1807.)

XIII. On the tenth of September, 1645, a deed was executed by certain Indians, for lands in Gravesend, which were thus described: "Land on Long-island from Kynen" [*Coney*] "island to Gouwanes ALONG THE NORTH RIVER," and from the same island along the sea-shore "to Weywitprittner" etc.—(*MS. Records*, Liber GG., *Patents*, Folio 53.)

The shore-line of Long-island, from Coney-island, westward, to Gowanus, was thus described as "ALONG THE NORTH RIVER;" and it is evident, therefrom, that, as early as 1645, that river was supposed to flow into the ocean between Sandy-hook and Coney-island.

This mass of testimony, concerning the lower waters of the Hudson, has been introduced for the purpose of illustrating, as far as that can be done, what was "the Intent and meaning," on that subject, of the Duke, in conveying, and of Sir George Carteret, in accepting, in 1674, "the Tract of land and premises" which is known to us as East Jersey.

It is a recognized mode of ascertaining "the Intent and meaning" of the parties to such an Instrument as the Lease and Release of July, 1674, to inquire what was the generally-received opinions of competent persons, at the period of the execution of the Instrument, on such subjects as that which is now in dispute; and when those opinions can be sustained, *as these have been sustained*, by the concurrent testimony of the preceding thirty years, from both Europe and America, it may be reasonably claimed that, *in the absence of any contrary evidence*, the sense of the terms employed has been correctly ascertained.

For this reason, therefore, it may be said, with reasonable confidence, that in 1674, the Hudson-river was considered by all intelligent, well-informed persons, English, Dutch, and Americans, as flowing on *both* sides of Staten-island and into "the main Sea" at Sandy-hook; that, in that sense, the term, "and part by Hudson's river," was employed in the Grant to Sir George Carteret; and that, in that sense alone, considered *historically*, should the waters which separate Staten-island from the main be now considered.

The "Intent and meaning" of the two parties to the Release of July 29, 1674, concerning the subject under discussion, having been illustrated by the testimony of the best-informed men of that period, both in Europe and America, and by that of the most intelligent Colonists and the most eminent scholars during the thirty years which preceded the execution and delivery of that Instrument, it is proposed to illustrate the subject still further, by an examination of the action, thereon, of both the parties to that instrument and of their common Sovereign, subsequent to its execution and delivery, and subsequent to the occupation of their respective territories, by the Duke and Sir George Carteret.

I. On the thirty-first of July, 1674, three days after his acceptance of the Duke's Release, Sir George Carteret executed and published certain *Directions, Instructions, and Orders to be observed by the Governor and Council, and Inhabitants of New-Cæsarea or New-Jersey*, in the recital of which he described his territory as "bounded on the East part by the main Sea, "and Part by Hudson's River," in the exact and very plain words of the Duke's Release, to which reference has been so often made.—(*Directions, etc.—Leaming and Spicer*, 50.)

II. On the first day of July, 1676, Sir George Carteret entered into an agreement with the assigns of Lord John Berkeley, for the partition of the joint property of the two, if any there was, in the lands now known to us as New Jersey; and, on the same day, what has since been known as a "Quintipartite Deed" was executed by the respective parties, embracing the terms of that agreement.

In that "Quintipartite Deed," the bounds of the territory assigned to Sir George Carteret—the same which the Duke of York had Released to him, in July, 1674—were thus described:—"Extending Eastward and Northward ALONG THE SEA COAST AND THE SAID RIVER CALLED HUDSON'S RIVER; from the East side of a certain Place or Harbour lying on the Southern Part of the same Tract of Land, and commonly called or known in a Map of the said Tract of Land, by the name of Little Egg Harbour, to that Part of the said River called Hudson's River, which is in Forty One Degrees of Latitude, being the Furthestmost Part of the said Tract of Land and Premises which is bounded "by the said River," etc.—(*Quintipartite Deed*, dated July 1, 1676.—*Leaming and Spicer*, 67.)

It will be seen that Sir George Carteret, in both the *Directions*, etc. and in the Deed which have been referred to, recognized the important fact that his territory was bounded, on its Eastern front, *only* by "the Sea-Coast and the

"River called Hudson's River;" and, consequently, that where the "Sea-Coast" ended, on the line of that boundary, "the River" began; that there were not, *then*, considered any other bounds to East-Jersey, on the East, than those two classes of waters; and that the distinctive claims, in behalf of "the Raritan," "the Sound," "the Kill van Col," etc., as such, had not yet been brought into existence.*

The great weight of this very important feature in the early descriptions of the Eastern boundary of East Jersey, was apparent to the learned Commissioners from New Jersey, on whom devolved the duty of determining the boundary, and who discussed the subject with so much ability, in 1807; and they were not slow to take advantage of the arguments of their opponents, from New York, based on an imperfect knowledge of the subject, which seemed to disregard it. With a clearness of statement which might have been expected from such intellectual giants as Aaron Ogden, Alexander McWhorter, William S. Pennington, James Parker, and Lewis Condict, they submitted to their opponents, as a preliminary question, "whether it must not be intended that the Duke considered 'the Hudson's-river ending at the point where the main Sea commenced, or otherwise can it be intended that he meant to leave a chasm in the line of the eastern boundary of New Jersey?" They also gave four reasons for holding that the Kill van Col was not "intended by the Duke as a part of the main Sea;"—(*Aaron Ogden and others to Ezra L'Hommedieu, Egbert Benson, and others*, October 5, 1807;)—and they clearly and forcibly insisted, as the waters which separated Staten Island from the main were not "intended as part of 'the main Sea,'" that both the island and the waters in question belonged to New Jersey, since the Duke could not have "meant to leave 'a chasm in the line of the eastern boundary 'of New Jersey.'" Their opponents, on the contrary, failed to take advantage of those points

which a proper understanding of the history of the subject would have enabled them to have seized; and, unfortunately for their State, they tacitly admitted that the waters in question were not waters of the Hudson, and, consequently, that both the waters and the Island were westward from "Hudson's River," and, therefore, portions of the territory of New Jersey.

The argument of the Commissioners from New Jersey, thus seconded by the unpardonable mistake of those from New York, would have been irresistible, and both the waters and the island would have been lost to New York, had not her Commissioners summarily closed the negotiations by an arbitrary refusal to entertain the principal claim which was made by those from New Jersey—(*Correspondence between Aaron Ogden and others with Ezra L'Hommedieu and others*, October 6 and 7, 1807.)

It is equally fortunate, for the purpose of this discussion and for the defence of the truth of History, that much of the light which was withheld from the Commissioners of 1807 and 1834 has been placed before the world, within the past few years; and, from the State Paper Offices in both Europe and America, and from the collections of the several zealous students who have recently honored themselves and given fresh interest to the memorials of the Past, the present generation has been enabled to learn more of the truth and to ascertain, with greater certainty, more of the groundwork of the errors by which their predecessors were so sadly encumbered, than any which has preceded it.

III. On the twenty-third of September, 1675, Governor Andros of New York, issued a Warrant to the Constable of Staten Island, for taking up some swine belonging to Governor Philip Carteret, which had been "forc't into the water "or by some other accident are swum over "from the point of land by after Cull river to "Staten Island; the said Hoggs or Swine which "Swum over, having his knowne marke:"—(*Warrant, etc.—MS. Records*, Secretary of State's Office, Albany;)—an evidence that the Duke's Governor, at that early day, considered the island to be a part of New York, and, consequently, eastward from the waters of either "Hudson's River" or "the main Sea," on its western borders, which, alone, formed the eastern bounds of East-Jersey, by the terms of the Release.

IV. On the twenty-fifth of March, 1676, a Grant was made by Governor Andros to Captain Christopher Billop, of a "Certaine Parcell "or Tract of land within a Neck upon Staten "Island, * * * * * lying and being "on the South-west side of the said Island, "beginning on the North side of a Creeke which "lyes over against the Land belonging to M.

* The same description of the Eastern boundary of the territory of the Province may be seen in the *Deed* made by Messrs. Crenner and Pocock, Dame Carteret, and the Trustees under Sir George's will, to William Penn and others, February 9, 1683—(*N. J. Boundary Papers*, iii, 185—N. Y. Hist. Soc. Library;) in the *Release* by the Duke of York to the twenty-four Proprietors, March 14, 1683, (*Leaming and Spicer*, 141-150) in the King's Letters Patents, recognising the Proprietors' Rights to Soil and Government, November 28, 1683; (*Ibid.*, 151, 152) and in the Articles of "Surrender from the Proprietors of East and "West Jersey of their pretended Right of Government, "to her Majesty," April 15, 1709, (*Leaming and Spicer*, 309-315). It is evident that the effects which attended the same description, in the earlier papers, also attended each of these; and as they have been properly considered evidence of the views of the makers of those Instruments, as well as those of the Acceptors thereof, each of these, also, may justly be considered in the same light as witnesses against the arguments of Mr. Whitehead and of those who concur in his opinions.

"Gabriel Minvielle in the Province of New Jersey so running with the west side alongst the Great Kill to THE BAY then forward with the South side alongst the said BAY to the East side of a great Pond," etc.—(*Patent and Confirmation*, March 25, 1676.)

In *A Short Account of the General Concerns of New Yorke from October 1677*, (*Colonial Documents*, iii., 257) under date of "November ye 16th," in the latter year, appears the following entry: "the Governor" [Andros] "parted from New Yorke, and went to take his leave of Governor Carterett in New Jersey, & lay there all night; the 17th went aboard neare Staten Island, weyed & went down in YE BAY NEAR SANDY POINT, whence hee sayled."

Reference is made to these subjects for the purpose of showing the continued use of the term "BAY," after the date of the Duke's Release and before Sir George's death, in 1679.*

V. Among the *Acts of the General Assembly at Elizabeth-Town, the third day of April, 1679*, was one ordering the levy, "in a Country Rate," of one hundred and fifty Pounds, "to lye in Bank for the Encouragement of any Vessel to come into the Province to Traffick and Trade with Money;" the disposition of which tax was to be made by a Committee to be chosen for that purpose, and approved by the Assembly.—(*Act, etc.—Leaming and Spicer*, 131.)

It is evident, however, that that body soon discovered that the trade which it coveted would probably be made only with Elizabeth-town; in which case the vessel would be compelled to approach her Port, either through the waters which are the subject of this discussion or by way of the Narrows and the Harbor of New York, concerning the latter of which New

Jersey has graciously forborne to make any claim whatever, affecting the question under consideration.

In the latter case, it was evident, also, that the adventurer would be legally subject to the payment of Customs, etc., at the City of New York: in the former, when the harbor of New York would not be entered, and no other waters than those of what are now known as "The Lower Bay" and "The Sound" would be touched, no one, of course, but the Proprietor of those waters could legally take notice of the passage, over them, of the enterprising respondent to New Jersey's youthful aspirations for a foreign trade.

The action on this subject, illumined with the light of that early day and stimulated by the commercial incentive to which the Act referred, of the Colonial Assembly of East-Jersey, in this contingency, possesses the greatest interest; and whomsoever it recognized, at that time, as the sole Proprietor of those waters, may be considered, to some extent, at least, entitled to enjoy that honor. If Sir George was that Proprietor, the vessel and her cargo would have been perfectly safe from all interference in her passage through "Godyn's Bay" and "The Sound" to Elizabeth-town; and no provision was required to indemnify the Captain for the passage of his vessel through these waters to his destined port, the Capital of New Jersey: if, on the contrary, the waters through which the vessel must pass, on her way to Elizabeth-town, belonged to the Duke of York, as portions of his Colony of New York, the trade through those waters would be a violation of the Laws of that Colony; and the Duke's servants might rightfully seize the vessel and her cargo, on charges of smuggling; and both the property might be confiscated and the crew punished. What, then, did the Colonial Assembly of East-Jersey do in this matter?

Simply this; and "nothing more." It reviewed its action concerning the proposed Committee for the "Encouragement of Traffick and Trade" in the Province; and it passed a second Act, reciting the terms and purposes of the levy ordered in the former Act, and providing "That if any one Vessel or Ship shall come in to the Province of New-Jersey, BY WAY OF SANDY-HOOK, and shall do and perform such Duties as is proper to be done and performed, in the said Province, viz: Enter and Clear in His Majesty's Custom-House, which is at the Governor's House in Elizabeth-Town, where is the King's Customer and Collector of New-Jersey, any one Vessel so going out as aforesaid by SANDY-HOOK, the said Vessel should be by any of the Government of NEW-YORK arrested, detained, and condemned, and bona fide

* It is clearly evident that that use of the term was continued to a much later period. This will be seen from the following, selected from a number of examples:

The fourth Chapter of the Laws passed by the General Assembly of East Jersey, which met at Perth-Amboy, on the twelfth of October, 1698, provided for the division of each County of the Province into Townships; and the township of Middletown was thus described, on that occasion: "In the County of Monmouth the Township of Middletown, includes all the Land from the Mouth of the Neversinks River, and runs up the said River and Swimming River" . . . "thence to the head of Matavan, thence to the head of Chesqueaks Creek, thence down said Creek to THE BAY, thence round along Shore to where it began," at the mouth of Neversinks River. (*Leaming and Spicer*, 380.)

After the surrender of "the pretended Right of Government" to the Crown, in 1702, the same names of Counties were continued; and in the General Assembly of New Jersey, January 21, 1709-10, another Act for dividing and ascertaining the Boundaries of all the Counties in this Province was passed. In that Act, Monmouth County is described as beginning "at the Mouth of the Creek aforesaid, that parts the Land of Captain Andrew Bowne, deceased, and George Willocks," . . . "thence Southerly along the said Division Line" of the Eastern and Western Divisions of the Province) "TO THE SEA; thence ALONG THE SEA to the Point of Sandy-Hook; thence up THE BAY to the aforesaid Creek where it first began." (*Acts of the General Assembly—Allinson's Edition—19*).

"made PRIZE of, for the only Cause of Trading in this Province, and not entering and clearing at New-York, although entered and cleared as aforementioned, in this Province, that then this said One hundred and Fifty Pounds shall be improved FOR THE REPARATION OF ANY SUCH VESSEL, according to the true Valuation of the same."—(Acts, etc.—*Leaming and Spicer, 131, 132.*)

It will be seen that no attempt was made, or to be made, to protect the vessel, or to defend her enterprizing officers before the Prize Court which should adjudge the case: no assertion of a Proprietary right, in Sir George Carteret, to these waters, or any of them, was made or insinuated: the possibility of a seizure of the vessel, by "any of the Government of New York," for a violation of the local laws of New York, which were operative only within the territory of New York, was recognized, without complaint or dissent: and provision was made "for the Reparation of any such Vessel, according to the true Valuation of the same," with the most perfect good temper imaginable—a degree of resignation to an unavoidable fate, which was consistent only with a corresponding knowledge, on the part of that Assembly and Sir George Carteret and his servants, that resistance to that fate would be useless; that the jurisdiction of the Duke and his servants, over those waters, was unquestionable; that they had not been conveyed to the former, in the Duke's Release; and that they were then, in fact, as they are now, historically, part and parcel of New York.

This recognition of the character of the waters in question was not interrupted until the tenth of September, 1680—more than a year after the passage of this Act by the Assembly of East Jersey—when, "for and in Consideration of a competent Sum of lawfull English Money, unto his said Royll Highs. in hand payed," the Duke of York "granted, bargained, sold, and confirmed" unto Sir George Carteret, "the Grandson and heire" of the first Grantee of the Province, "THE FREE USE OF ALL BAYES, RIVERS, AND WATERS, LEADING UNTO or lyeing between the said Premises," [of East Jersey] "or any of them, in the said parts of America, FOR NAVIGATION, FREE TRADE, FISHING, OR OTHERWISE:"—(Duke of York's Release to Sir George Carteret, the younger, September 10, 1680—*N. J. Boundary Papers, iv.*)—the best of evidence concerning the recognized Proprietary of those "Bayes, Rivers, and Waters leading unto" the only port which East-Jersey then possessed, prior to September, 1680; and not less useful in determining the person in whom the ownership was continued, after that date, subject only to the easement

which had been purchased by the younger Sir George Carteret, "for Navigation, free trade, fishing, or otherwise."

It is proper to notice, in this place, the License which, on the fourteenth of February, 1678, was granted to Joseph Hunt and others, by Governor Carteret, of New Jersey, giving to them "free leave and liberty, to take or kill any whale or whales, or such like great fish, whether at sea, or in any creek or cove between Barnegat and the easternmost parts of this Province."—(Records, Proprietors' office, Amboy, Book III, 152.)

This License has been used as evidence of the action of New-Jersey, at an early day, concerning the ownership of the waters in question, and in proof of an averment, on the part of Sir George Carteret's servants, of his rights therein; but there seems to be but little ground for any such pretension. No one has ever pretended that any cove or creek between Barnegat and the easternmost parts of the Province "was anything but a part and parcel of the Tract of Land and Premises," which had been conveyed to Sir George, in the Release of July 29, 1674; nor can it now be pretended, with any reason, that those "coves or creeks," or any of them, were not part of the "Appurtenances" to that "Tract of Land and Premises" which were legally conveyed to Sir George, on that occasion. At the same time, it is equally evident that the waters between Sandy-Hook and Constable's point, whether known as "Hudson's-River," or "Goodyn's-Bay," or "The Bay," or "The Bay of the North-River," or "Raritan-Bay," or "The Sound," or "The Kills," or "The Kill van Col," or "The North-river,"—by all of which names they have been known—could not then, nor can they now, be styled or considered, with any reason, either "a cove" or "a creek," or "at sea;" and no reason exists, nor can exist, for introducing the terms of that License, as evidence, in the present discussion, nor in any other, relative to the particular subject now under consideration.

Nor is it less evident that much light may be thrown on this subject, from the contingent Grant of land on Staten-island—"in case Staten-island falls within this Government"—which was included in a similar Grant for fishing, made to John Ogden and others, on the fifteenth of February, 1668;—(*MS. Records of the Proprietors of East Jersey, Liber iii., Folio 22*)—as well as from the omission of that clause from similar Grants, after "Staten Island had been adjudged to belong to N: Yorke," in 1669;—(Compare the last-named entry in the Records with Samuel Maverick's letter to John Winthrop, Jr., February 24, 1668-9, and with the License for fishing, granted by Governor Carteret, February 14, 1678

—*MS. Records of the Proprietors of East Jersey*, iii., Folio 152).

It is very clear that, during the former occupation of New-Jersey, jointly, by Sir George Carteret and Lord John Berkeley, a claim had been made for Staten-island; that, subject to the contingency of an adverse decision in the case, portions of it were granted to John Ogden and others, as before-stated; that, at a subsequent date, it was duly "adjudged to belong to N: Yorke;" and that, thenceforth, Sir George made no pretensions thereto, and made no conveyances of lands or privileges thereon. Indeed, from the date of the Duke's Release, (July 29, 1674,) until that of Sir George's death (January 14, 1679,) no question, whatever, appears to have been raised by him, nor by those who acted under his authority, concerning the ownership of either Staten-island, of the waters which separate it from the main, or of the Company's farm at Ahasimus;—(*Gov. Dongan to the Earl of Perth*, Feb. 13, 1685—*Colonial Documents*, iii., 854)—and this significant fact is entitled to great weight, in the examination of this subject.

Of all persons then living, except the Duke of York, Sir George was the most competent to judge of "The Intent and Meaning" of the parties to the Release of July 29, 1674; and as he lived upwards of six years, without discovering that Staten-island, and the Company's farm, and the waters between the island and East-Jersey were his property; and died (January 14, 1679) without disposing of them, and without attempting to do so, it may reasonably be inferred, therefrom, that the terms of the Release, as he understood them, had vested no property in the premises referred to, in him, or in his heirs.

VI. It is said that Sir George left a will, in which he appointed his wife, Dame Elizabeth Carteret, his Executrix, and, John, Earl of Bath, and five others, Trustees "to sell his property for the Payment of his Debts and Legacies;"—(*Recital in the Duke's Release to the Earl of Perth and others*, March 14, 1682-3—*Leaming and Spicer*, 146)—that those Trustees, on the sixth of March, 1679-80, "conveyed the said Premises, "amongst others things, to Thomas Cremer and "Thomas Pocock;"—(*Ibid*)—that, on the second of February, 1682-3, Messrs. Cremer and Pocock, in connection with the Executrix and Trustees, granted and conveyed to William Penn and eleven others, "all the said Premises called East New-Jersey;"—(*Deed*, dated Feb. 2, 1682-3—*New Jersey Boundary Papers*, iii., 185)—that William Penn and his eleven associates subsequently "conveyed one Moyety of the said Tract of Land "called East New-Jersey and of all other the "Premises," to James, Earl of Perth and eleven others;"—(*Deed*, etc.—*Leaming and Spicer*, 146)—that "for and in Consideration of a competent

"Sum of lawful English Money," the twenty-four proprietors subsequently purchased from the Duke of York, *what the latter had already sold to the younger Sir George Carteret, as already stated*—all the right of Government in East Jersey, which had been exercised or claimed by the Duke and, in his behalf, by his servants in New York, together with a right to navigate, for commercial purposes, and to fish in, "all Bays, Rivers, and Waters leading into or lying between "the said Premises, or any of them;"—(*Ibid* 146, 147)—and, on the fourteenth of March, 1682-3, a formal Release, promising those Rights to the Earl of Perth and his twenty-three associates, was duly executed.—(*Release*, etc.—*Leaming and Spicer*, 141-150.)

It is worthy of notice that it was during this period, between the death of Sir George Carteret and the perfection of the title to the Province, of the twenty-four Proprietors, that the claim for Staten-island and the Company's farm, at Ahasimus, was renewed; but it is also worthy of notice that the invalidity of that claim was carried on its face; and rendered it the more contemptible.

The fact is undisputed, that, subsequent to the date of the Duke's Release, Sir George Carteret made no claim for either Staten-island, or the waters adjacent thereto, or "the Company's "farm;" that he died, in January, 1679; that he bequeathed all his property in America, to the Earl of Bath and others, as Trustees, to be sold for certain specified purposes; and that, on the sixth of March, 1679-80, those Trustees sold all the property referred to, to Messrs. Cremer and Pocock, by whom it was held until the second of February, 1682-3, when they re-sold it to William Penn and others. The value of a claim to property in Staten-island, which was set up, for the first time, on the twenty-eighth of March, 1681, by DAME ELIZABETH CARTERET;—(*Dame Elizabeth Carteret to James Bollin, Secretary*, March 28, 1681)—as well as that of the demand therefor, in her behalf,* which was made by Governor Carteret, on the twenty-first of July, 1681, on the basis of the Duke's illegal Grant of New Jersey to Berkeley and Carteret, in 1664;—(*Governor Carteret to the Governor of New York*, No. 1, July 21, 1681.)—may be readily ascertained; nor will it require much more trouble, in view of these facts, to ascertain the worthlessness of a similar claim which was also set up, IN BEHALF OF THE SAME PERSON, on the basis of the Duke's Release to the younger Sir George, dated September 10, 1680;—(*Governor Carteret to the Governor of New York*, No. 2, July 21, 1681)—

* "You are to lay claim to Staten Island as belonging to us, according to his Royal Highness's Grant, and also "the farm at Horseman, and to take it in possession for "my use."—(*Letter of the Dame to James Bollin*, March 28, 1681.

the Dame, in any capacity, having *never* possessed any right thereto; and all the rights which her husband had possessed therein, if any, having been legally conveyed, by his legatees, to Messrs. Cremer and Pocock, two years before, in accordance with the terms of his will. The only explanation which can be offered for so remarkable an attempt, on the part of the Dame, to obtain what, in any event, belonged to other persons, is her extreme covetousness; another notable instance of which was displayed in her "frivolous Pretences" to the possession of "the House belonging to the Proprietors," at Elizabeth-town, which so much annoyed the twenty-four Proprietors, about the same time.—(*Instructions to Governor Lawrie*, 5th Month 20th, 1683.—*Leaming and Spicer*, 177.)

VII. On the first day of March, 1682-3, a General Assembly convened, at Elizabeth-town, in East Jersey; and, soon after, "having taken into Consideration the necessity of dividing the Province into respective Counties, for the better governing and settling Courts in the same," it passed AN ACT to divide the Province into four Counties, from which may be learned, definitely, what was then considered, by Sir George Carteret's successors, the territory and boundaries of East-Jersey.

In this very important Act, FIRST, no claim whatever was made to any portion of the waters which flowed on the eastern borders of the main land; nor was Staten-island alluded to, in any of its provisions; and, SECOND, Bergen-county was thus described: "Bergen County to contain all the Settlements BETWEEN HUDSONS RIVER AND HACKINSACK RIVER, BEGINNING AT CONSTABLES-HOOK, and so to extend to the uppermost bound of the Province Northward between the said Rivers."—(*Act*, etc.—*Leaming and Spicer*, 229.)

The careful student will observe that this Act embraced a description of all the Territory which the Assembly of East-Jersey then considered as belonging to the Proprietors of that Province; and, as Staten-island and, consequently, the waters in question, were not embraced in its provisions, it is a fair inference that neither of these was then supposed to form portions of their Territory. There is, however, a more interesting feature in this Act, which tends still further to the establishment of the opinion, concerning the Hudson-river, which was entertained by that very early Assembly of East-Jersey.

Bergen-county was said, in the Act under consideration, "to contain all the Settlements between Hudsons River and Hackinsack River," from "Constables-Hook to the uppermost bound of the Province, Northward between the said Rivers:"—any map of New Jersey will show

that "Hudson's River" was thus formally recognized as far to the Westward as the entrance to the Kill van Col, at least; and if Mr. Whitehead's *Map of the settled portion of East-Jersey, about the year 1682*, with which he has illustrated that period of his *History of East-Jersey*, (Page 88,) may be relied on—which, for the purpose of this discussion, is assumed to be the case—this Act recognized the waters of the Kill van Col as "Hudson's River," as far Westward as the entrance to the Achter Col, or Newark Bay.

It is proper to notice, in connection with this reference to the Act of March, 1682-3 and Mr. Whitehead's Map of the same period, that, as one illustrates the other's meaning somewhat to the disadvantage of the claims of modern New Jersey, and carries the Hudson-river between Staten-island and the main, Westward, to the Achter Col, there is a peculiar interest attached to them, for the purposes of this inquiry. Nor is that interest diminished by the fact that Mr. Whitehead seems to have been disposed to conceal that disagreeable truth, in his exposition of the terms of the Act of March, 1682-3: a disposition which was distinctly displayed in his paraphrase of the Act referred to:—"Bergen included all the settlements between the Hudson and Hackinsack-rivers, and extended to the northern bounds of the Province,"—(*East Jersey under the Prop. Governments*, 97,)—omitting all reference whatever, to Constable's Hook, which his map, illustrative of this Chapter, had just shown to have been at the south-western extremity of the Neck, to which point the waters of the Hudson would have been necessarily recognized, on his own authority, had he told "the whole truth" of the matter.*

VII. On the thirteenth of September, 1682, the Duke of York commissioned Colonel Thomas Dongan, as Governor of his Colony of New York. In that Commission, the Duke inserted these words: "And whereas I have since for divers good causes and considerations by several instrum^{ts} und^r my hand and seale bargained sold released and confirmed unto Sir George Carterett (late Vice Chamberlaine to His Mats

* There is a very notable fact, however, which illustrates the entire correctness of Mr. Whitehead's map as well as the impropriety of his omission, from the text of his work, of this portion of the earliest description of Bergen-county.

Samuel Smith, the learned historian of New Jersey, under the date of 1693 thus alluded to the "Constable's Hook" of the period of the Act referred to: "There was a considerable settlement on Bergen Point, then called CONSTABLES HOOK, and first improved by Edsall, in Nicoll's time."—(*History of the Colony of Nova-Casaria or New Jersey*, Ed. 1765, page 166;)—and no better evidence than this is required to show the exact meaning of the Assembly of East Jersey, in 1683, when it formally recognized the Hudson's-river as far westward as the Achter Col, and the unfairness of Mr. Whitehead in omitting all notice of that recognition, from the text of his narrative.

"Household) and his heires, and unto Edward Billing and others and their heires, all y^e tract of land (prell of y^e pmisses) comonly called or knowne by the names of East and West Jersey, scituate on THE WEST SIDE OF HUDSONS RIVER according to certaine Boundaries more particularly expressed in y^e sevral instr^{ts} and und^r certaine rents and covents as therein relac^{on} being thereunto had may more fully appeare."—(*Commission*, etc.—*Colonial Documents*, iii, 329.)

This description of the bounds of East-Jersey will be more expressive when it shall be read in connection with the Act of the Assembly of East-Jersey, for dividing that Province into Counties, and in comparison with allusions to Staten-island, which were made, about the same time, by Sir John Werden, the Duke's Secretary, and by Governor Dongan.

On the first of November, 1684, the Secretary remarked, probably in response to something which the Governor had written: "Staten Island without doubt belongs to y^e Duke for 'if Sr George Carteret had had right to it, that would have bene long since determined'"—(*Letter*, etc., November 1, 1684—*Colonial Documents*, iii, 352.)

In a letter to the Earl of Perth, responsive to a very insulting letter which the Earl had written to him, Governor Dongan remarked: "Your agents have dispersed printed papers to y^e disturbance of y^e inhabitants of Staten Island, 'It hath been in the possession of his Rll Highnes above twenty years (except y^e little time y^e Dutch had it) purchased he Governour Lovelace from ye Indyans in ye time of Sr George Carteret, WITHOUT ANY PTENCES 'TILL Y^e AGENTS MADE CLAIME TO IT.'"—*Governor Dongan to the Earl of Perth*, February 13, 1684-5—*Colonial Documents*, iii., 354.)

IX. Reference has been made to the omission of any notice of Staten-island, as a part of East-Jersey, when, in March, 1683, that Province was divided into Counties; and it has been inferred, therefrom, not without reason, that, at that time, Staten-island was not considered a part of that Province, even by its own Assembly; while the waters which flowed between the Island and the main, in that case, were necessarily considered, by that body, either as "the main Sea" or "Hudsons river."

It is a very significant fact, in that connection, that the Governor of East-Jersey never pretended either to possess or to exercise any authority on Staten-island; while, on the contrary, the Government of New York had never ceased to claim such authority and to exercise it; and, in November, 1683, when the latter Province was divided into Counties, "Staten Island, Shutter Island, and the Island of Meadow on the west

"side thereof," were constituted a County, with the name of "Richmond," by which it is known to this day.

It is true, as Mr. Whitehead has stated, that Captain Palmer, in May, 1684, asked for a Deed of Confirmation of his property on Staten-island from the Governor and Council of New Jersey; but it is obvious that Mr. Palmer's caution led him to seek a Release from *all possible claimants of the Island*, in order that, in any event, his property might be safe, without improving the pretended title of the Proprietors of East-Jersey or impairing the real one of the Duke of York. This precaution is no evidence that he considered the pretended title thereto, of the Proprietors, as worth a straw: it proves only that he desired to be safe, against every contingency. It is evident, however, that the authorities of East-Jersey had no confidence in their own pretended Rights in the premises; and that their pretended confirmation of Palmer's title was considered, even by themselves, as little better than a farce. The entry on their *Minutes* is in these words:

"Present, the Deputy Governor," etc.

"Petition from John Palmer, esq., to have a Patent for the lands he has had and taken up on Staten Island. Upon consideration thereof, and that it may be of no ill consequence, BUT RATHER OF SERVICE IN OUR CLAIM TO THAT ISLAND, It is agreed and ordered, that the Governor and Council may take a Patent of the same to him."—(*MS. Minutes of Proprietors*, Liber A B, folio 13—quoted in *Report of Commissioners*, Edit. Trenton, 1807, p. 62.)

We decline to accept as true Mr. Whitehead's statement that "the Duke not only conveyed" (*to the Earl of Perth and others*) "the eastern moiety of 'the whole intire premises,' but added 'together with all Islands, Bays, &c.,' words 'not in the original Grants,' and our reasons can be ascertained by any one who will read the papers referred to; nor are we prepared to admit, as true, what he insinuates, that from the day of the date of the Duke's Release to the Earl and his associates, Staten-island and the Bay ceased to be parts of the Duke's Province of New York.

This is evident from the facts that the Duke had already granted THE SAME properties, rights, and privileges, such as they were, to the younger Sir George Carteret—(*Release to Sir George Carteret*, the younger, September 10, 1680):—that he possessed no portion of what he was asked by the Earl of Perth, to Release and convey "to the twenty-four Proprietors;" that he cautiously conveyed, therefore, only, "AS FAR AS IN HIM LYETH," the lands and premises which had been held by Sir George Carteret, the elder, "together with all Islands, Bays, Rivers, Waters, Forts, Mines, Minerals, Quar-

"ries, Royalties, Franchises, and Appurtenances "whatsoever to THE SAME BELONGING, OR IN "ANY WISE APPERTAINING; and all the Estate, "Right, Title, Interest, Reversion, Remainder, "Claim, and Demand whatsoever, as well in Law "as in Equity, of HIS SAID ROYAL HIGHNESS "JAMES, DUKE OF YORK, of, in, unto, or out of "the same, or any Part or Parcel of the same;" and that the substance of this conveyance to the Earl and his associates, was simply his confirmation, as the Mesne Lord of the Country, of the change of Lessees of East Jersey, and his permission to navigate the waters "leading unto or "lying between" the lands thus Leased to the Proprietors, from which the former Lessees had been carefully excluded. That the Duke's meaning was fully understood by the Grantees is evident from the terms of his Commission to their first Deputy-governor, Gawn Lawrie, which was in these words: * * "constitute and appoint him Deputy Governor of the said Province, and of all Isles, Rivers, Islands and "Seas WITHIN THE SAME, OR BELONGING THERE- "to."—(*Commission*, etc., July, 1683—*Leaming and Spicer*, 168-170.)

If Mr. Whitehead had quoted the Duke's Release to the Earl of Perth, without mutilation, it would have been apparent to every one, as it must have been to the Duke's Grantees, that a Release, "as far as in him lyeth," of what "belonged or in any way appertained" to something which he had already Released to the younger Sir George Carteret, did not amount to much, as an absolute conveyance of either what was or what was not mentioned in the Deed; and it is not very clear that a grave argument of title resting entirely on the mutilated record of this empty quit-claim, is any better entitled to the respect of the candid, impartial student of the history of our country, than the conveyance or the mutilated record on which it depends.

X. On the fourteenth of August, 1687, an order was sent from the Home Government to Governor Dongan, to allow all ships and vessels bound for Perth Amboy to proceed directly to that port, without touching at New York. The order is in these words: "Whereas by former "Instructions given unto you His Maty has "thought fitt to Order, That all Ships & Vessels "coming within THE RIVER and CHANNEL of "New York shall enter at His Maty's City "and Port of New York, his Maty is pleased, "upon further consideration, to direct us to signify his pleasure to you That you permit all "Ships & Vessels bound for New Perth," [Perth Amboy] "in His Majesty's Colony of East-Jersey "to go directly thither, without touching at "New York or being carried thither, until further order. Provided always that the Government of East-Jersey do suffer such person as

"YOU OR THE RECEIVER GENERAL OF HIS MATY'S "REVENUE AT NEW YORK for the time being "shall appoint, peaceably & quietly to receive " & collect for His Maty's use the same Customs " & Imposts as are usually paid at New York for "such shippes and their lading as are entred "there."—(*Order*, etc., August 14, 1687—*Colonial Documents*, iii, 428.)

On the thirteenth of December, of the same year, the King issued *Instructions for our Trusty @ Webelov'd Matthew Plowman, Esqre our Collectr and Receiver of our Revenue on our Province of N York and the Territories depending thereon in America*, in the third clause of which the Hudson's river is styled "the River or "Channell of New York or Hudsons River"—which explains the meaning of the term which was applied to Godyn's Bay, in the Order to Governor Dongan, last referred to, and establishes the fact that His Majesty and his Council considered, as late as 1687, that Hudson's river extended, seaward, as far as Sandy Hook.

In the eighth clause of these *Instructions* is an Order of similar purport to that which had been issued to Governor Dongan, four months before; and in that, also, the waters leading to Perth Amboy are styled "the River or Channell of N "York or Hudson's River."—(*Instructions*, etc., December 13, 1687—*Colonial Documents*, iii, 501, 502.)

It will be seen, from these orders, that the waters leading from the ocean to Perth Amboy, [*Godyn's Bay*] were considered, in 1687, as "the "river and channel of New York or Hudson's "River;" that the jurisdiction over those waters belonged to the Governor of New York, notwithstanding the Release to the Earl of Perth; and that, even when a special favor was granted in order to facilitate Trade, the Governor of New York did not cease to exercise legal and recognized authority over those waters and that Trade, even at the piers in the port of Perth Amboy.

What better evidence is needed to prove that, in 1687, at least, the waters which are the subject of this inquiry, as well as those which lead to them, were considered, by the common Sovereign of both New Jersey and New York, as belonging to the latter?

XI. In the year 1689, "several Merchants and "adventurers trading to and interested in the "province of New York and the adjacent Colonys and Islands in America," petitioned the King that the inroads of the French had jeopardized the Colonies; and they prayed that measures might be adopted to protect them.—(*Petition*, etc.—*Colonial Documents*, iii, 651.)

Accompanying this Petition were Sundry Reasons to "inforce" it on His Majesty's attention; as well as sundry "Proposals," of which the

following is the first: "That a platform be built at Sandy Hooke or sandy Bay in East Jersey AT THE ENTRANCE INTO HUDSON'S RIVER FROM THE SEA which lyes so conveniently situated by reason of the great settled sandbanks there that no ship can pass up into Hudson's river but within muskett shott, as will appear by the mapp."—(*Reasons, etc.—Colonial Documents*, iii, 352, 353.)

XII. It is very well known to all who are acquainted with the early history of New Jersey and New York, that the Proprietors of East Jersey insisted on their right to establish a Port at Perth-Amboy, at which goods might be laden and discharged without accountability to the Colonial authorities of New York; while the latter steadily resisted the claim and denied its legality.

At length, the subject was brought before the King and his Council; and the result of that application was communicated by the Lords of Trade to the Earl of Bellomont, in these words:

"Since your Lordship's departure from hence, the proprietors of East and West New Jersey having been very pressing for the Privilege of Ports in those Countries, we have been obliged to enquire carefully into their pretended right thereunto, and to lay our opinion before His Majesty, that they have no such rights, and that it is not convenient it should be granted to them; upon which His Majesty having been pleased to GIVE DIRECTIONS ACCORDINGLY, and a copy of our representation being inserted in the order of Council made thereupon, we send you herewithall a copy of the said order, that you may understand the reasons of that determination and TAKE CARE THAT THE RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK BE NOT INFRINGED."—(*Lords of Trade to Earl Bellomont*, February 23, 1697-8.—*Colonial Documents*, iv, 298.)

A careful perusal of the "opinion" of the Board of Trade, on the subject referred to, and of His Majesty's Order in Council, which was based on that "opinion," would throw some light on the ridiculous pretences of some who have assumed to speak in behalf of the "pretended rights" of East-Jersey, on other subjects as well as this. For the purposes of this enquiry, however, only a small portion of that "opinion," which His Majesty adopted and embodied in his "Order" on the subject, need be quoted; but that portion is a fair specimen of the character of the entire paper.

In reference to the Proprietors' petition for an "Order" to establish a Port at Perth-Amboy, the Board of Trade expressed this "opinion:

"That it is, in no place that we know of, either in England or elsewhere, usual to have

"two Ports, independent on each other, IN ONE AND THE SAME RIVER, OR WITHIN THE SAME CAPES OR OUTLET INTO THE SEA; such a practice being manifestly liable to great Inconveniences.

"That Perth-Amboy LIES ON ONE SIDE OF THE MOUTH OF THE SAME RIVER WHICH RUNS BY THE CITTY OF NEW YORK (THAT RIVER BEING DIVIDED IN THE MOUTH OF IT BY AN ISLD CALLED STATEN ISLAND) and is within the same capes."—(*Report of Board of Trade*, 25th November, 1697—*MS. Documents*, Secretary of State's office, iv, 298.)

This "opinion," as has been stated, was adopted by His Majesty and the Council, and embodied in their "Order" denying the "pretended right" and coveted privilege; and a copy of it was transmitted, officially, to the Governor of New York, that he might "understand the reasons of the determination;" with an order to "take care that THE RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK be not infringed."

The consequence of this Order in Council was very soon apparent. The Proprietors, whose principal purpose in purchasing the lands and settling them was to make themselves independent, on matters of Government, of all other persons—(*Memorial of the Proprietors to the Lords of Trade*, July 5, 1699)—abandoned the project and surrendered their "pretended right" to the Queen—(*Articles of Surrender*, April 15, 1702;)—while Perth-Amboy was "overshadowed by New York;"—(*Gordon's Gazetteer of New Jersey*, 214.)—and New Jersey, on all matters of commerce, thenceforth, became, in fact, as well as in law, entirely subordinate to New York.

XIII. On the seventh of December, 1700, the Earl of Bellomont ordered Colonel Romer, a well-known engineer, to sound the waters between the city and the ocean; to ascertain whether any ships could approach, by way of Amboy; and to select sites for defensive works, for the protection of the city from an assault on its water-front.

On the thirteenth of the succeeding January, [1700-1] the Colonel made an elaborate Report, in every part of which the waters which separated Staten-island from the main were considered as, and called; "a second arm of Hudson river called the Coll, between Staten-island and East Jersey."—(*Report of Colonel Romer*, January 13, 1700-1—*Colonial Documents*, iv., 836, 837.)

It will be seen that Colonel Romer, after whom the celebrated "Romer Shoal" was named, followed the theory of the Board of Trade and the King and Council; and considered "The Kill van Col," "The Sound," "Raritan Bay," and "The Lower Bay" only as "a second arm of Hudson's River." The value of his opinion,

on this subject, may be readily ascertained from what has been written.

From the evidence which has been adduced, it will be seen that, from an early day—as early as 1643—the waters of what we call “The Kills” and “the Lower Bay” were considered and disposed of as waters of Hudson’s River—(*Patent to Anthony Jansen, at Gravesend, May 27, 1643*;)—and that, without a single adverse witness, the same opinion prevailed and the same action was continued, both in Europe and America, among the Dutch as well as the English, until the surrender of the Colony to the King of Great Britain, and its transfer to the Duke of York, in July, 1674.—(*Original Deed for Gravesend, L. I., September 10, 1645*; *Remonstrance of Adriaen van der Donck and others, July 28, 1649*; *Cornelis van Tienhoven’s Information, etc., March 4, 1650*; *Director Stuyvesant’s Description of the boundaries of New Netherland, February 1651*; *N. N’s America, Edit. 1655, page 269*; *Adriaen van der Donck’s Map of New Netherland, Edit. 1656*; *Nicholas J. Visscher’s Map of New Belgium, etc., Edit. 1656*; *Jacques Corteljou’s Petition, January 23, 1657*; *Director Stuyvesant’s Letter to the States-General, “last “of February, 1664:” the same to Messrs. La Montagne and van Rensselaer, August 29, 1664*; *The Register of the Attack and Reduction of New Netherland*; *Governor Nicholls’s Patent for lands at Neversink, April 8, 1665*; *Certificate of Director Stuyvesant’s farmers, August 14, 1666*; *Director Stuyvesant’s Observations, 1666*; *Governor Nicolls’s Patent for the town of Gravesend, August 15, 1668*; *Heylyn’s Cosmographie, Edit. 1669, Liber IV, page 96*; *Indian Deed of Staten-island, April 14, 1670*; *Montanus’s De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld, Edit. 1670, page 123*; *Ogilby’s America, Edit. 1671, page 170*; *Minutes of the Council, April 23, 1674*; etc.)

At that time, after the opinion above referred to had become well-grounded throughout the entire civilized world and while it was yet entirely uncontradicted by either the avaricious or the envious, in any part of the globe, the Duke of York, as the Mesne Lord of the Country, Leased and Released to Sir George Carteret, “all that “Tract of land and Premises” which was known, subsequently, as East-Jersey and bounded, on its Eastern front, by “the main Sea” and “Hudson’s River;”—(*Release, etc., July 29, 1674*; *Sir George Carteret’s Directions, Instructions, and Orders, July 31, 1674*; *Quintipartite Deed, July 1, 1676*; *Release to Sir George Carteret, the younger, September 10, 1680*; *Dame Elizabeth Carteret and others’ Deed to William Penn and others, March 14, 1682*; *Articles of Surrender of the Proprietors’ pretended right of Government, April 15, 1703*; etc.)

It is a reasonable conclusion, therefore, that,

in accordance with the general use of the term, at that period, the Lease and Release in question were intended to convey only the lands which were bounded, on the East, by *low water mark* on “the main Seas,” or Atlantic Ocean, and on “Hudson’s River,” or, as it is now called, in different localities, on “The Lower Bay,” “Raritan Bay,” “The Sound,” “The Kill van “Col,” “The Bay of New York,” and “The “North River;” and that the latter and the islands which are in them, are not, historically considered, nor have they ever been, waters or islands of either East Jersey or New Jersey.

This conclusion is sustained, **FIRSTLY**: By the terms of the original Deeds of *Lease and Release*—(*Release, July 29, 1674*).—**SECONDLY**: By the subsequent action of both the original parties thereto—(*Sir George Carteret’s Directions, etc., July 31, 1674*; *Quintipartite Deed, July 1, 1676*; *Gov. Andross’s Warrant for taking up Gov. Carteret’s pigs, Sept. 23, 1676*; *Patent, by Gov. Andross, to Captain Billop, Mch 25, 1676*; *Act to levy £150, in East Jersey, April 3, 1679*; *Omission of Grant of land on Staten-island, to Joseph Hunt, Feb. 14, 1678*; *Sale, by the Duke, of a right to navigate the waters referred to, Sept. 10, 1680*; *The similar sale to the Earl of Perth and others, March 14, 1682*; *Order from the Lords of Trade to Governor Dongan, Aug. 14, 1687*; *Instructions to Collector Plowman, Dec. 13, 1687*; etc.)—**THIRDLY**: By the action or direct acknowledgment of those into whose hands Sir George’s estate in East-Jersey fell, after his death, in 1679—(*Purchase, by Sir George Carteret, the younger, of a right to navigate, Sept. 10, 1680*; *Act for dividing East-Jersey into Counties, March 1, 1683*; *Deed of surrender to the Queen, of “the pretended right of Government, “by the Proprietors, April 15, 1702*; etc.)—and, **FOURTHLY**: By the action or direct acknowledgment of King William and his servants, into whose hands the Duke’s property passed, after the abdication of the latter.—(*The King’s Orders in Council, November 25, 1679*.)

Although it is confidently believed that the position of the learned Attorney-general has been clearly sustained by the train of authorities, extending from 1644 until 1702, which have been adduced, and by the application of their testimony to the several branches of the subject; there is another stand-point from which the question which was proposed by General Cochrane may be examined, it is believed, with precisely the same result.

Thus, it may be said, for that purpose only, that the waters which separate Staten-island from the main are not, nor were they ever, properly considered waters of the Hudson’s river; that the Narrows were, and are, the only

channel of that river; or, if that shall be more acceptable, that the river does not flow, nor has it ever flowed, *as such*, further to the Southward than the southernmost point of Manhattan-island.

It is unquestionably true, that, by the terms of the Treaty of Westminster, the title to New Netherland, for the first time, was legally vested in the King of Great Britain; and that, on the twenty-ninth of June, 1674, Letters Patents were issued to James, Duke of York, in which were included Grants, among other properties, of "all that Island or Islands, commonly called by the several Name or Names of *Matowacks* or *Long-Island*, scituate, and being towards the West of *Cape Codd* and *Narrow-Higansetts*, abutting on the main Land between the two Rivers there, called or known by the several Names of *Connecticut* and *Hudsons-River*; together also with the said River called *Hudsons-River*, and all the land from the West side of *Connecticut River*, to the East side of *Delaware Bay*. And also all those several Islands called or known by the Names of *Martin Vineyards* and *Nantukes* otherwise *Nantuckett*; together with all the Lands, Islands, Soils, Rivers, Harbours, Mines, Minerals, Quarries, Woods, Marshes, Waters, Lakes, Fishings, Hawking, Hunting and Fowling; and all other Royalty's Profits, Commodities and Hereditaments to the said several Islands, Lands and Premises belonging and appertaining, with their and every of their Appurtenances; and all our" [*the King's*] "Estate, Right, Title, Interest, Benefit and Advantage, Claim and Demand of, in, or to the said Lands or Premises, or any Part or Parcel thereof, and the Reversion or Reversions, Remainder or Remainders; together with the yearly and other Rents, Revenues, and Profits of the Premises, and of every Part and Parcel thereof; TO HAVE AND TO HOLD all and singular the said Lands and Premises, with their and every of their Appurtenances, hereby given and granted, or herein before mentioned to be given and granted, unto our said dearest Brother JAMES Duke of York, his Heirs and Assigns forever;"—not absolutely, in fee simple, as Mr. Whitehead seems to suppose, but—"to be holden of us, our Heirs and Successors, as of our Mannor of *East Greenwich* in our County of *Kent*, in free and common Socage, and not in Capite, or by Knight Service yielding and rendering. And the said JAMES Duke of York, for himself, his Heirs and Assigns, doth Covenant and Promise to yield and render unto us our Heirs and Successors, of and for the same yearly and every Year, Forty Beaver Skins when they shall be demanded, or within Ninety Days after such demand made."—(*Letters Patents to the Duke of York*, June 29, 1674.)

It is not necessary, for the purpose of this discussion, to notice other portions of the Grant to the Duke of York; nor is it any more necessary to describe, in all its details, the nature of the tenure by which the Duke held the immense tracts of land and water to which reference has been made.

It is enough to say that the Duke was merely *the King's tenant*, holding the country as a *tenement*, agreeably to the well-established and well-known law of the land, as it was at the period of the Grant; and Mr. Whitehead and those with him who measure, by the standard of modern conveyancing, in America, the Grant of what was subsequently known as East-Jersey, either by the King, or the Duke of York, have either failed to discover a very important element in this subject or neglected to bring it before their readers and the world.

But, as has been said, this branch of the main subject need not be discussed, in this place, as it has little connection with the question which is immediately under examination.

It is equally true, however, that, on the twenty-ninth of July, 1674, the Duke of York, as *the Mesne Lord of the Country*, "for and in consideration of a competent Sum of good and lawful Money of England to his Royal Highness in Hand paid by Sir George Carteret," *re-leased to the latter*, as a sub-Tenant, after the feudal custom of those times, "all that Tract of Land adjacent to *New-England*, and lying and being to the Westward of *Long-Island* and *Manhitas* Island, and bounded on the East part by the main Sea, and Part by *Hudson's River*, and extends Southward * * * which said Tract of Land is hereafter to be called by the Name or Names of *New-Caserea* or *New-Jersey*: And also all Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Fishings, Hawking, Hunting, and Fowling, and all Royalties, Profits, Commodities, and Hereditaments whatsoever, to the said Lands and Premises belonging or appertaining; with their and every of their Appurtenances, in as full and ample manner as the same is granted unto the said JAMES Duke of York by the before-recited Letters Patents; and all the Estate, Right, Title, Interest, Benefit, Advantage, Claim, and Demand of the said JAMES Duke of York, of, in, and to the said Lands and Premises, or any Part or Parcel thereof, and the Reversion and Reversions, Remainder and Remainders thereof: * * * TO HAVE AND TO HOLD all and singular the said Tract of Land and Premises, with their, and every of their, Appurtenances, and every Part and Parcel thereof, unto the said SIR GEORGE CARTERET, his Heirs and Assigns forever; yielding and paying therefore unto the said JAMES Duke of York, his Heirs and Assigns,

"for the Tract of Land and Premises, Yearly the sum of *Twenty Nobles* of lawful Money of *England*, if the same shall be lawfully demanded at or in the Inner Temple Hall London, at the Feast of *St. Michael* the Arch Angel yearly."—(*Release to Sir George Carteret*, July 29, 1674.—*Leaming and Spicer*, 46-48.)

It will not be necessary to encumber these pages with a detailed description of the tenure by which, as the Duke's tenant, Sir George held the "Tract of Land" or tenement which has been described; nor will it be necessary to inform the reader why, as such Tenant, a yearly rental therefor was agreed upon, in addition to the "fine," or "competent Sum of good and lawful Money of *England* to his Royal Highness in Hand paid by the said Sir GEORGE CARTERET, before the Ensealing and Delivery of" the Duke's Release, by which the Grantee was settled in his possession, after the restoration of the country to the King of Great Britain.

It will be useful, however, to remind Mr. Whitehead, that Sir George bought nothing but the possession, as a sub-tenant, of the "Tract of Land" and its appurtenances, which have been described, for which he agreed to pay his Lord, the Duke, a yearly rental of Twenty Nobles; and that, as no other reservation, by way of rental or otherwise, was made by the Duke, as the Mesne Lord, Sir William Jones subsequently decided, with great propriety, that no other consideration or rental than the Twenty Nobles, per annum, which had been reserved in the Release to Sir George, could be legally imposed upon the sub-tenant or his Assigns, by the Duke or his servants.—(*Sir William Jones's Opinion*, 28 July, 1680—*Colonial Documents*, iii, 285.)

It is equally clear, however—and Mr. Whitehead and those who concur with him appear to have overlooked that fact—that the terms of the same Release which protected Sir George and his Assigns from the Duke's tax-gatherers, also protected the Duke from Sir George Carteret and his Assigns, in the legal occupation and control of all the LANDS of his Dominion, (except the "Tract of Land adjacent to New England," which was described in the Duke's Release to Sir George,) and of EVERY "Island" (INCLUDING STATEN, and Shuttens, and Hobcock) and EVERY "Soil and Harbour" (including The Bay of the North River or Godyn's Bay) and ALL the "Quarries and Marshes" (including those which were made parts of Richmond-county, in the Act of November 1, 1633) and ALL the "Waters" (including the Sound and the Kill van Col—the Achter Col—"belonging or appertaining" to East Jersey.—) and ALL the lakes, which were within the entire country, together with all the Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Fishings, Hawking, Hunting, and Fowling therein, WHICH DID NOT

NECESSARILY BELONG OR "APPURTAIN TO THE SAID LANDS AND PREMISES," inasmuch as no portion whatever of all these had been conveyed by him to Sir George or to any other person.

If this view is correct—and it may be settled, for himself, by any one who will take the trouble to compare the character and extent of the Duke's estate, in America, as described in the *King's Letters Patents* of the twenty-ninth of June, 1674, with what he Re-leased to Sir George Carteret, as described in his *Release* of the twenty-ninth of July, 1674, both of which have been copied into this *Review*—Sir George had acquired no more title to the waters in question, although they were neither waters of "the main Sea" nor of "Hudson's River," nor to Staten-island, than the Duke had reserved in the profits of Sir George's tenement, the *Release* being equally silent on both subjects.

Nor was the omission of these premises from the terms of the Duke's *Release* to Sir George Carteret, ever remedied.

When the latter died, in 1679-80, his property descended to his grandson, unto whom, as the sub-tenant, subject, of course, to the terms of his Grandfather's will, the usual *Release* was made by the Duke, as the Mesne Lord of the country.—(*Blackstone's Commentaries*, Book II. Chap. V.—Edit. Oxford, 1766, ii. 66, 67; *The Duke's Warrant to Sir John Churchill to prepare the Release*, September 6, 1680; *Recital to the Duke's Release to the Earl of Perth*, March 14, 1682; etc.)—On the sixth of March, 1679-80, the Trustees of Sir George's estate conveyed it to Thomas Cremer and Thomas Pocock; on the second of February, 1692-3, these gentlemen, in connection with the Trustees and Executrix of Sir George Carteret, re-sold that portion of the estate of the latter which was in East-Jersey, to William Penn and others; by whom one moiety of the same was subsequently re-sold to the Earl of Perth and others—the aggregate numbering twenty-four persons.

Unto these, as sub-tenants, after the payment of the usual "fine," agreeably to the feudal law of that day, the Duke of York, as the Mesne Lord, re-leased the premises which had been conveyed to Sir George Carteret, together with "all Isles and Islands," * * * THEREUNTO "BELONGING," certain specified rights of Government "which were necessary," etc., and "the free Use of all Bays, Rivers and Waters, leading unto or lying between the said Premises, or any of them, in the said Parts of East New-Jersey, for Navigation, free Trade, Fishings, or otherwise;" reserving, of course,—because they are not included—all his property

* Nothing was said in this Deed, of any "Bays," among the Premises re-leased by the Duke, on that occasion, as some persons have gravely asserted was the case.

in the Islands which did not "belong to" East Jersey, and all his rights in every other part of the domain, subject only to the easement, "for "Navigation," etc., on the waters "leading "unto or lying between the said Premises" [*East New Jersey*] "or any of them."

For the reason, therefore, that Staten-land and the "waters" in question, were reserved, when the Duke conveyed East-Jersey to Sir George Carteret; and for the additional reason, that they were never subsequently conveyed, either to Sir George or to his Heirs or Assigns, they may be properly claimed, as they have been and are now, claimed, historically, as a portion of the ancient territory of New York, subject only to the easement referred to and to the provisions of the inter-State Treaty of 1834.

H. B. D.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

III.—THE PIONEERS OF CENTRAL NEW YORK.

REPORT OF THEIR SECOND ANNUAL MEETING.

COMMUNICATED BY HON. HENRY C. VAN SCHAACK.

This Association met at the City Hall, at Syracuse, on Tuesday, the sixth of September, at ten o'clock, the President of the Association, Hon. Oliver R. Strong, of Onondaga, in the Chair. After calling the meeting to order, he invited Rev. Eben L. North, of Onondaga, to offer prayer. The venerable Minister fervently invoked the blessing of Almighty God upon the gathered veterans of other days, and upon the deliberations of the occasion.

The Minutes of the last meeting were then read by the Secretary, and approved.

The Report of the Treasurer was read, showing the receipts of the past year to be \$51.60, and the expenses \$29.47, leaving a balance in the hands of the Treasurer of \$21.58. The Report was accepted.

The President, Judge Strong, announced that he had spent some time, since the last meeting, in preparing some reminiscences of Central New York, especially a history of the Supervisors of Onondaga-county and of the Courts of this part of the State, alluding, briefly, to very many of the actors in these days. He stated that he was unable to speak long at one time, but would present these papers to the public, through the press.

The following letters and communications were then read by the Secretary:—

Letter of Ira Hills.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE
PIONEER ASSOCIATION:

I think I gave a hint, at the meeting, last year,

that you might hear from me, as one of the pioneers of Onondaga-county. Since arriving home, the interest of that gathering of ancient worthies has, by no means, abated in my own mind, nor neither do I think the lapse of time is calculated to lessen the interest.

Out of that organization of old veterans, methinks, will grow something that will interest unborn generations. We can look upon it as a starting point of statistics and reminiscences, from which will yet be gathered a mammoth volume, for future generations, yet to be stored in the archives of coming ages.

Your correspondent was glad that communications were solicited from the pioneers of Central New York, from their various localities, to the Secretary of the Association, to be faithfully kept, for the future historian, however illiterate the penman might be. This has emboldened him to take his pen—not that he supposes that many cullings from his pen will be found of sufficient value to help swell the anticipated history—but we earnestly trust and hope there are many others who will. It is hopeful the "Press," as well as old pioneers, will encourage each other thus to do, that our Secretary may keep in store "material" for the future historian.

That meeting more than met the anticipations of this *old man*, which stood high, the moment his vision caught your "Circular"—it was all and more than imagination could picture—to see that "City Hall" thus filled with venerable heads. To use agricultural phrases, it might well be called *Floral Hall*—such an exhibition of grave blossoms, of various hues, are rarely seen or witnessed—and yet from these very blossoms have generated the seed which, by faithful propagation, has made Central New York what she now is and what she is to be.

As precious as those greetings were, there was one thing lacking in that antique gathering. Why did we not fill up intervals in singing the old Yankee style of fugue music, such as old *Bridgewater* and the like? It seems, as I look over that assembly, we might have got up a Concert that would emphatically have been styled an "Old Folks," which would have caught the attention of the workmen below, or drowned their vexatious hammering, at least.

Now I do hope, whoever of us live to witness another anniversary, singing will be made a part of the programme, in the Circular, and giving it more of a public notoriety and deeper interest by frequent allusions to it, in the "weeklies and "dailies," in Central New York. All this may be done by acting up to the request of the Association, in sending frequent reminiscences to the *Heralds* and *Journals*, in those Counties which comprise the Association.

That most excellent Address, should it be printed, would do much in waking up an interest in those who should read it. We hope and trust it will have a wide circulation.

Your correspondent is but little known out of his own neighborhood—bears no very honored title, save the one you are pleased to give him, derived from ecclesiastical authority, and that of Captain, made so by the round-hand signature of Daniel D. Tompkins; and under that Commission he and his Company were called upon for camp-service, in the War of 1812, at the Harbor. As humble as he is, his life's history is part and parcel of Central New York. So with all who entered this howling wilderness, when naught but savage foot-prints was seen, and the voice of wild beasts was heard. No matter if we haven't made a great mark in the world, we *did* in the wilderness. We have seen and experienced things the middle-aged know little about; and stand as honorable in ancestry as they; and are living upon a soil which we have converted from a dense forest to fruitful fields; and feel an assurance that we are not eating the bread of idleness; and are mostly venerated by the present generation; and if there are any who look down upon them with a captious eye, they only remind us of the words set to the tune of old *Russia*.

It seems to your correspondent that Central New York embraces too much territory for convenience, in our annual gatherings. Not one in fifty ever hear of it; and then many are unable to travel so far and bear the necessary expense. Why may not the Association mutually adopt some system, in meeting in Counties, and yet have a central point holding a sort of a controlling influence? To us, it would seem there would be no need of contention for State rights.

Some Counties have already, at least Oneida-county has, its history, gotten up by the Hon. Pomeroy Jones, entitled *Annals and Recollections of Oneida County*—nearly 900 pages, a very valuable work, which cost him much time and money. His reward will be the consciousness of having done what he could to perpetuate its history. Still there are a great many things which might be gathered, in this Association, especially, without impoverishing any one.

Enough for once, if not for all.

Most truly yours,
IRA HILLS.

Letter from Hon. John Loite.

HAMILTON, Sept. 3d, 1870.

DEAR SIR: Through a Committee of the "Pioneer Association of Central New York," I have been notified of the Annual Meeting of said Association, to be held on the 6th instant, at Syracuse (for which I thank them), and much regret my inability to attend, in person. And,

though I cannot promise anything interesting, I am inclined to evince my appreciation of that courtesy, by availing myself of the invitation to those who cannot attend personally, to present some "reminiscences," as old settlers; and, in order to enable the Association to judge whether I am entitled to be considered such "pioneer," I will give a brief sketch of my history. And, *imprimis*, I would say that I was born in 1786, in the north-western extremity of the Blue-Law State; and, at the age of six years, my father removed to what was then the town and County of Herkimer, N. Y., now Smyrna, in Chenango-county. At this time, there were only about fifteen or twenty houses between the Catsville* and where my father pitched his tent, in the form of a log-house, in the woods, at the time removing only such trees as, by falling, might crush the tent. At the age of ten years, I was sent by a physician, to Utica for medicine. At this time, the road was indicated by marked trees, chiefly. There were six houses on the way to Utica. *One* in what is now Lebanon; *two* at what was, for a long time, called "Payne's Settlement" (two families); *one* at the "Indian opening," so called; *one* occupied by Chas. Cassity, at Cassity Hollow, now Oriskany Falls; *one* at Paris Hill; *one* occupied by Judge Sanger, at New Hartford. And, at Utica, there was "Bagg's log tavern" and a small frame house, a little South, and a small shanty, about 10x12, placed on stilts, occupied by Wolcott and Guiteau, as a drug store, where I got the medicine. Although this was in the summer-time, the road from New Hartford to Utica was a quagmire. It was several years before wheeled carriages, of any description, were introduced. Travelers rode on horseback; and farming business was done with ox-teams and sleds, instead of wagons and horses. But so rapid was the settlement, in the vicinity of Utica, that, in about the year 1800, the Hamilton Oneida Academy was established, in Clinton Settlement, to which I was sent, in 1804, to commence an education, which I was obliged to give up, in consequence of the failure of my health and eyes; and, after a two years' vacation, spent a year in pursuing English studies, when I was *mis*-advised to enter upon the study of the law, and became a clerk in the office of Thomas H. Hubbard, in the Spring of 1809, reading as much as my eyes would admit, but spending most of my time in copying law-papers, until the January Term of 1813, when I had acquired sufficient law-knowledge to enable me to undergo and sustain the examination of Chief-justice Kent, in open Court; and commenced the practice of law, in this place, in 1831; and continued such practice fifty-five years, with-

* Probably intended for Catskill.—Ed.

out acquiring sufficient celebrity to enable me to acquire much more property than necessary to defray the expenses of a somewhat numerous family. But, lest I become tedious beyond endurance, I will conclude by saying that I am traveling on the confines of time, about ready to launch into the unseen world, from whose "bourne" no "pioneer" or traveler ever did, or will, return, to make known the mysteries of eternity. But, thanks to the Supreme Ruler of the universe, we have a chart which, if rightly improved, under the great Captain of Salvation, will lead to that so ardently wished-for port. And again, through you, Sir, thanking the Committee for their courtesy, I subscribe myself,

Yours and theirs, most respectfully,

JOHN LOITE.

J. G. K. TRUAIR, Secretary.

Letter of Mr O'Brien.

SALINA, September 2, 1870.

MR. H. C. VAN SCHAAK:—

DEAR SIR:—I have been absent for some days, attending camp-meeting near Fairmount, and on my return received your favor of 27th last month; and, as the day is so near, when you are to address the Pioneer Association, I hasten to answer your inquiries. My mother's name is Catharine O'Brien, daughter of Isaac and Bata Van Vleck, of Kinderhook. She was ninety years old, 26th day of May last. She has all her senses (*i. e.* 5,) good. Her memory is much impaired as to the present. The past is her great enjoyment. The Word of God is her strong tower. Her prayer is fervent; and, by Faith, she holds on to the promise of her God. If she were to attend your Convention, and the carriage break, she could walk to the farm, a distance of five miles.

Mother has a friend and neighbor who was married in my grandfather's house, and who is two years the senior of mother, and in the enjoyment of her faculties. I think her father opened the Indian trail from Fort Brewerton to Salina. She is the daughter of Mr. Stephens.

We must improve the time if we secure reminiscences of the past. I am, respectfully, yours,

O'BRIEN.

Letter of Luther Buell.

BUELLVILLE,
TOWN OF POMPEY, ONONDAGA CO., }
September 1, 1870.

J. G. K. TRUAIR, SEC. PIONEER ASSOCIATION:—

DEAR SIR:—I have been greatly interested in the published accounts of former meetings of the early settlers and old residents of this County; and it would be a source of great gratification to me to be present at the contemplated meeting of "Pioneers," on the 6th instant, but the infirmi-

ties of age prevent. I am in the eighty-fifth year of my age—am a cripple, and blind—yet, by the blessing of God, I enjoy good bodily health. Having been a resident of this town and County seventy-one years last February, I think I may be properly classed with the living "pioneers." I will give you such incidents in my experience as may be of interest to some, and correct, perhaps, a few mistakes that occur in Clark's *History* as to the founding of your present flourishing city.

I was born May 11th, 1786, in the State of Connecticut, County of Hartford, town of Killingworth (now Clinton). In 1794, my father moved his family to Herkimer county, in this State, purchasing a farm of wild land, in a dense wilderness, extending North and Northeast, one hundred miles, to the St. Lawrence. Tow-cloth, at that time, comprised our clothing for both Summer and Winter. In the year 1795, Captain Punderson Avery and Shubal Safford, (my brother-in-law,) moved from Herkimer-county to Pompey, locating one mile South of Oran. Ebenezer Wright and Captain Peck came to Pompey Hollow, one and a half miles Southeast of Oran, in 1793. They had to go, at that time, forty miles through the woods, to Whitesboro, to get their milling done. Soon after this, four Barnes brothers came in and settled near Oran. William Barnes and Joseph Hart lived South of Capt. Avery. Mr. Skinner was the next neighbor North of Safford; and was the grandfather of Dr. Skinner, of Amboy. Phineas Barnes settled between him and Oran. Joseph Bartholomew opened a tavern at Oran, in a log building, I believe. Thomas Lewis built a log house near where J. A. Scoville now lives. The first frame house in these parts was built by a Mr. Butler, and was kept for a tavern, nearly thirty years. The house is now standing and owned by my son. In 1797 and '98, Captain Avery and Safford built, for Butler, a grist-mill, with two run of stones, on Limestone-creek, near the falls, now owned by Samuel L. Edwards, Esq., which was a great accommodation to the inhabitants about here, and done a good business for a number of years. It afterwards went into the possession of Thaddeus M. Wood, who let it run down; and the place has since been called the "Old Mills." In February, 1799, when I was twelve years of age, I came to Pompey to live with Shubal Safford and learn the carpenter and millwright trades. In the Winter of 1818 and '14, I commenced the manufacture of carding-machines, for wool, in company with N. P. Stanton. The first machines built in Central New York, or rather in the State, of that kind, were built by us; we continued the manufacture, for several years. In 1814, we purchased the mill-site, at this place, built a dam, and put up a saw mill, and

woolen factory—frame 30x40—three stories above basement. In 1815, enclosed it, and commenced carding and cloth dressing. Put up dwellings and other buildings; and, soon after dissolving partnership, I built and put in all necessary machinery for the manufacture of broadcloth, cassimeres, and satinets. We made the first broadcloth made in this County, I think. In 1819, Messrs. Kellogg and Sabin, two eminent lawyers of this County, purchased several acres of land, on the South side of the canal, in your city, (then the village of Corinth), and had it laid out in village lots, by Judge Joshua Forman, who acted as their Agent. Shubael Safford and myself both entertained the idea that there would eventually be a city there; but were laughed at, by many persons, as visionary—the ground being low and swampy and climate unhealthy. At that time, there was the "Cossit House," North of the canal, where the Empire House now stands; the old school house, where Church-street now is; a grist mill and mill-house, on the creek; and several shanties, for laborers on the aqueduct, and Judge Forman's house and office comprised most of the buildings of the place. The Lodi Locks were in process of construction; and the ground broken for the canal through the place. Mr. Safford and myself called on Judge Forman for the purpose of purchasing the corner lot, where the Syracuse House now stands. We found the Judge's opinion and ours coincided as to the embryo city; and we purchased that lot and the adjoining one, on Genesee-street, for \$900—the first lots that were sold by Mr. Forman. He was anxious that we should put up the best hotel West of Albany, as he thought that would be an inducement to others to purchase lots and start a village. In April, 1820, we obtained a small house, about twenty-five rods South-east of the Syracuse House, in a clump of bushes and small trees, and employed Seth Spencer, of our place, to occupy it and keep boarders for us. We started a brick-yard near the Onondaga creek, employing Pliny Hale, Norton Marvin, and Spencer, as brick-makers. We kept our teams drawing stone from Onondaga Hill; employed several hands to cut bushes, grubbing roots, and clearing the ground where we wanted to dig our cellar for the house. We dug the cellar but two feet deep, as the ground was low. Then we struck hard earth on which to lay our stone and masonry. We employed a Mr. Berthrong, of Cazenovia, to superintend the stone masonry and lay up the walls, ten or eleven feet high. I think the building was forty-four feet front by thirty-five feet deep. We employed my brother, George Buell, and Mr. Wait, of Herkimer, to superintend the joiner-work. They also brought with them a journeyman by the name of Marvin. We built

a large barn and shed, also a boarding-house, the first year, in the early part of the season. The canal being finished to Montezuma, that year, Judge Forman and others planned for a large celebration on the fourth of July, it being the forty-fourth anniversary of our independence, the year of the completion of the canal through the place, and the birth-year, properly, of the city of Syracuse. The meeting was held in a grove, near the Syracuse House. Governor Clinton and other State officers came about ten o'clock, A. M., and thousands of persons, from this and adjoining Counties, came to hold jubilee on this memorable day for Syracuse. Several lots were sold, at that time, and buildings commenced soon after. We then employed Mr. Benjamin Horton, now of your city, to superintend the brick work; and our work went on rapidly for a month, when the typhus-fever began to rage. Mr. Spencer's family were first taken; then Mr. Wait, who died at my house, in Pompey, some ten days after he was taken down. The young man, Marvin, was also taken to my house, sick. Mr. Safford and wife were both prostrated. Mr. Pliny Hale sickened and died. My brother was sick at Herkimer. It was an awful time; no one could live in the place except those who had become acclimated. About the first of October, we began again with almost a new set of hands; and, for two months, pushed the work rapidly. We got three stories of brick-work up, ready for the plate; covered the walls, to keep off the snow; and all left for home, about the first of December. In the early part of May, following, we commenced operations again; and the first work was to lay the upper timber for the building. In doing this, Mr. Safford and his man, by the breaking of a board, fell thirty feet, to the cellar. Mr. Safford lived but a few hours. The young man recovered. I sent to Manlius, for Doctor Granger and for Mr. S's wife. Both arrived about an hour before his death. This was a great shock to us all! Work was suspended until after the funeral, at Oran; and I was then strongly urged by my friends to sell out and quit the place, but concluded to finish the buildings, which I did by the first of December following. We rented the hotel to a Mr. Jas. Mann, who occupied it for several years. Judge Forman expressed himself highly pleased with the building. The year 1821 was quite healthy. About two years after, Billy James Townsend & Co., purchased the unsold lots, and began rapidly to build the city, through their trusty agent, Major Burnet. By the digging of cellars and the filling up the streets, in the low ground, it raised the earth around our building, nearly to the top of the basement, and made the building appear too low. As the widow and minor heirs of my former

partner could not make any improvements, we concluded to sell the property, which I did to Townsend & Co. Mr. James told me, at the time of purchase, the house was to 'low; that he would take it down and put up the best house in the State. The present "Syracuse House" is the one built by that Company. Syracuse may then, Sir, be called a half century old; and, judging from the past and its naturally increasing advantages, who that may live to see its centennial anniversary, shall, in looking back to the present time, exclaim, It was but in its childhood, then. May it ever retain its character as the "Empire City;" and if it cannot be the "city set upon a hill," let it, at least, be the "salt of the earth."

Yours truly,

LUTHER BUELL.

Letter from James Elliott.

TO THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE PIONEER ASSOCIATION OF CENTRAL NEW YORK.

I would like to be present in your meeting, today; but my increasing infirmities and failing powers will not permit me. When I first heard of your organization, as the survivors of the pioneer band that entered and subdued the grand County of Central New York, I wished to be with you, and hear you tell your experience. But I cannot. You must take the will for the deed. May your lives be long, and your shadows never be less. I was born in Bedford, Westchester-county, about forty miles from New York city. My father had bid off, at Albany, some lots in the Onondaga Reservation, in connection with Mr. Gideon Seeley, who helped survey it. He brought his family here, in 1801. We came with a team of three horses. I walked and drove one horse before the other two. I was twenty-one years of age. We entered the town of Onondaga on the old Genesee-road. We had been nineteen days on the road. The Canasaraga-hills came near being too hard for our faithful and fatigued steeds; but an occasional pull from a pair of oxen helped us through. When we came to Onondaga Hill there was only one frame house, owned and kept, as a tavern, by Squire Lord. As we drove up to the hotel, Esq. Lewis, who then lived in the Valley below, came to the door and says, "Elliott, you have got along; how many children have you got?" Father says "Three." "Come in," says Lewis, "and take a glass of toddy;" and we did. We came some three miles West from the Hill, and put up at a log hotel, kept by Bildah Beach, the celebrated physician, who, in a few years, moved into Marcellus, where I suppose he doctored and cured a great many of the early settlers. He died only a few years ago, very aged and quite respected. The next day we went on to father's new home. We had rather

hard times, for some years. Our cattle had to run in the woods; and I have had to drive along my horses or oxen, through crooked paths, shown only by marked trees. We were much troubled for want of mills, bridges, and lumber.

Permit an old man to tell one story about wood-craft. I said our cattle pastured in the dark forest. One evening, my uncle, John Elliott, went, about sun-down, after the cows. He rambled, and called, and listened long for the sound of the bell, but in vain. The night came on, cloudy and moonless, till after midnight. He did not think of getting lost, for he knew that beech-trees had most moss on the North side. He continued his unsuccessful search till it got rather late. He finally heard some strange sound, and listened with some uncertainty. It soon seemed drawing near. It came so near that he supposed he heard the words, "Who's there." When the sound had been repeated several times, he thought it was a wandering, belated neighbor. At the next repetition, he responded, "John Elliott." Again the mysterious "Who's there" rang out on his puzzled ears. With a voice slightly trembling, he replied, "John Elliott." He was so bewildered that he stood under a big tree till the moon should arise, and enable him to find his cows, and his way home. When the queen of night came up, it revealed to his astonished vision the big head and body of a white owl, and as big as a basket.

I have lived on the same lot, for more than sixty-nine years. I worked seven years for my father, who gave me fifty acres; and he sold me forty-eight acres more for twelve dollars an acre. I know not now a living man who came to Onondaga when I did. Judge O. S. Strong comes nearest to it; but he lives in Syracuse. I have become a stranger among new generations. A race whom I know not inhabits the lands I traversed in the prime of manhood. I have never married, have never sought or held office; but I have voted at nearly every election and town-meeting since the days of Governor Clinton and Thomas Jefferson. Please put down, among the pioneer farmers of your venerable and worthy Association, the name of JAMES ELLIOTT, of Onondaga, aged ninety-one.

Letter from John Keeney.

FABIUS, Sept. 4th, 1870.

TO THE PIONEER ASSOCIATION:

In April, 1795, Josiah Moore moved from New Hartford, in the State of Connecticut, and settled in the town of Fabius, Onondaga-county, N. Y., on the Chenang-road. The same year, Timothy Jerome and William Clark moved, and settled on the same road, in Fabius. During this year, Simon Keeney, Benjamin Brown, Gorden Woodruff, and Samuel Fox purchased the

entire lot No. 46, in the town of Fabius, and the following year, 1796, they, with their families, moved from East Hartford, Connecticut, and settled on the lot purchased by them, the previous year, thus forming a settlement, which was called Keeney Settlement, a name which it continues to bear at the present time. At that time, the road laid out by the State, and running from Chenang Point (now called Binghampton) to Salt Point, was the only road in the town of Fabius. These four last-named pioneers, with their families, were eighteen days, with ox teams only, in performing the journey from the home of their nativity to the home of their adoption, in this then wilderness township. On arriving at their new home, these four families, which consisted of the four fathers and their wives, and twenty children, moved into one log-house, rolled up by two men and one pair of oxen. This small domicile continued to be the place of residence of these four families, (numbering twenty-eight persons,) until the following season, when log-houses were built for each family. Of the twenty children mentioned, eight are still living. These families came into this County on the old State-road, running from Morrisville, through Cazenovia, to Pompey East Hill, where they took the Chenango-road, which they followed to a point about one half mile Southwest from the present village of Fabius, where they diverged from the road, taking a southeasterly direction, along a path indicated by marked trees, for nearly three miles, where lay their new home. On the sixteenth of October, 1797, I, the undersigned, was born, being the second child born in Keeney Settlement, and the fourth in the town of Fabius; and am now the oldest living person that was born in Fabius. On the twenty-fifth of April, 1788, Joy, a colored servant of Simon Keeney, died, being the first death in Fabius. His death was occasioned by drinking maple-syrup.

I, John Keeney, reside on the same farm I was born on; and never absent from the farm but two months at one time. JOHN KEENEY.

Letter from Leonard Caton.

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MEETING OF PIONEERS OF THE COUNTY OF ONONDAGA.

I regret that my health will not permit my being present with you, at your Annual Meeting, to-day, in Syracuse, to contribute my mite to the reminiscences of the early settlers of the County. Although in my eighty-seventh year, it would give me great pleasure, once more, to see the few faces present, and to shake the hands that first opened the dense forest of Onondaga-county and cleared the way for the present multitude now holding commerce with the busy world. You will therefore accept this short note as from one that will

soon be with those whose voices cannot be heard, although their spirits may be present.

With my sympathies for your present, and all future meetings, I subscribe myself

LEONARD CATON.

GEDDES, Sept. 6, 1870.

To facilitate the election of officers, Messrs. Redfield, Clary, and Leavenworth were appointed a Committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

Subsequently, the Committee submitted the following Report which was unanimously adopted:—

President—Hon. Oliver R. Strong.

Vice-Presidents—Hon. Jedediah Barber, Cortland; Hon. Avery Skinner, Oswego-county; Hon. Abijah Fitch, Cayuga-county; Hon. L. H. Redfield, Onondaga-county; Rev. S. W. Brace, Oneida-county; Hon. Gerrit Smith, Madison-county.

Secretary and Treasurer—J. G. K. Truair.

Executive Committee—Dr. Lyman Clary, Hon. Thomas G. Alvord, Hon. E. W. Leavenworth, Hon. W. D. Stewart, Timothy C. Cheney, Esq.

The Committee also offered the following Resolution, which was adopted:—

Resolved, That the following gentlemen be invited to sit with the Executive Committee, during the ensuing year, as Honorary members:—

Hon. Alvin Bronson and Hon. Henry A. Foster, Oswego-county; Theodore S. Faxon and Ira Hille, Oneida-county; Gen. J. J. Ledyard and Gen. B. F. Bruce, Madison-county; Arthur Pattison and Zebulon Ostrom, Onondaga-county.

Hon. H. C. Van Shaack then delivered the following able and interesting address:—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THIS ASSOCIATION:

A residence of forty-three years in the County of Onondaga will scarcely entitle me to be ranked among the original pioneers of Central New York. That description would only apply to those early settlers who came here during the latter part of the last and the early part, or first and second decades, of the present century. If, however, I have a right to assert an ancestral claim in this matter, I could show a relationship with one of the very first permanent settlers of these regions, and a similar connection with several explorers and temporary inhabitants of the Onondaga country, long before the designation of Onondaga-county or of any of the adjoining Counties was known. This last connection dates back one hundred and fifteen years. Original documents to establish these facts are still in existence. They consist of letters, receipts, account-books, and various other papers written more than one hundred years ago, and bearing date at Oswego, at Fort Brewerton, at

Fort Stanwix, at the Oneida Carrying place, and at Fort Ontario, which was at Oswego, the oldest running back as far as 1754. To prove the genuineness of these documents, it will only be necessary for me to state that one of them, dated in 1768, says that, in driving some black cattle to the garrison at Oswego, one cow died on the way by the bite of a rattlesnake.

Henry Van Schaack, who was my uncle, was an officer in the old French and Indian War of 1755, and frequently traversed these regions, at that time. For about fifteen years after the close of that War, he was engaged in the fur and peltry trade, and had trading establishments at Oswego and Niagara. He lived to the age of ninety years and six months, dying at Kinderhook, in 1823.

Isaac Van Vleck, who married my father's sister, came to Onondaga, from Kinderhook, in 1792, and was among the first to engage in the manufacture of salt. He built one of the first frame houses erected at Salina. Mr. Van Vleck was a member of the first Grand Jury summoned for Onondaga county, after its organization, in 1794. He was also one of the first Assessors of the original township of Manlius, when that town embraced the present towns of Manlius, DeWitt, and parts of Onondaga and Salina. He was one of the first School Commissioners in Manlius; and he was made a member of the Committee of Safety, chosen in 1794, on occasion of the panic among the settlers caused by the belligerent spirit exhibited by the Indians in the northern and western parts of this State and in Ohio.

The first male child born in what is now Onondaga county was Abraham Van Vleck, a son of Isaac Van Vleck, born in 1792. Our late worthy and highly-esteemed fellow-citizen, Matthew Van Vleck was also his son. The late Mrs. Margaret McMechan, who died in 1859, at the advanced age of ninety years, at New Bridge, in this County, after a residence there of twenty-eight years, was his daughter; as is also that venerable lady, Catharine O' Blenis, of Salina, who is still living at the age of ninety. Mr. Van Vleck's descendants, in the first, second, third, and fourth generations, are still residing among us, and are eminently entitled to a place in this Association as descendants of one of our very oldest settlers.

Excuse, Gentlemen, the egotism and, perhaps, garrulity, which has led me to mention these facts. But, if I mistake not, such personal details come within the purview of the objects of this Association; and I am happy to have it in my power to connect myself, however slight or remote, with our early local history; with the original pioneers of Central New York; and with the aged men by whom I am surrounded. I am happy also to be able to show you that our

early explorers and settlers were not confined to New Englanders, but they also included sturdily individuals of Dutch ancestry.

You have seen that the first male child born in this region was of Holland descent. We know also that the early emigrants to this country, from Holland, had very friendly relations with our Indians, and often visited this part of the country to trade with them. The Dutch, as we all know, had "taken Holland," a long time before they established themselves in North America. They were deprived of their possessions, here, including the territory which we now inhabit, by some English Yankees, who came over from Old England, in 1664, and assumed dominion here, by superior force. To that dominion they yielded with a better grace than could have been expected; and we are assured by Chancellor Kent, that "the Dutch race, in this Colony, kept "at least equal pace with their English brethren, "in every estimable qualification of good citizens." That distinguished jurist further says that, at the time of the delivery of his discourse before the New York Historical Society, in 1828, there were "living in this State, in advanced "life, three lawyers of Dutch descent, who are "not surpassed, any where, in acuteness of mind, "in sound law-learning, or in moral worth."

One of the great lawyers here referred to was Judge Egbert Benson, who presided in the first Court of Oyer and Terminer held in the County of Onondaga; and our local historian informs us that the Judge's Charge to the Grand Jury, on that occasion, was a very eloquent one. I knew Judge Benson well, he being one of my father's most intimate friends. He was a wise, able, learned, and upright Judge; and he, no doubt, in that Charge, gave a great deal of good advice and wise instructions as to how we ought to behave ourselves; and the observance of the advice of that good old Dutch Judge is, probably, one reason why we are now such a peaceable and orderly people.

And here allow me to repeat what has been stated, with great positiveness, by Hans Breittman, in one of his ballads, that

"Dere's a liddle fact in hisdory vich few hafe conderstand,
"Dat de Deutschers are, *de jure*, de owners of dis land."

You perceive, Gentlemen, that I am fully determined that the foothold which my Dutch friends gained in this part of the country, two hundred years ago, and so down to this day, and the example they have set us, shall not be entirely lost. We of Holland descent are resolutely determined not to be crowded out by the descendants of the Yankees of Old England or of New England, nor by anybody else.

In view, also, of recent occurrences in Europe, those of us who have German as well as Holland

blood in our veins are not disposed to relinquish any of our rights nor to cast aside any of our dignity.

And now, Gentlemen, although a residence here of forty-three years, running back to 1827, does not entitle me to be ranked among the early pioneers of this region of country, yet, such a residence, in connection with an age bordering on three-score years and ten, will, perhaps, give me some claim to a place in the outer circle of these old men. But I appear before you, at this time, not only as a member of this Association, but upon the invitation and by the appointment of its officers, to address you, on this occasion. You will allow me to say that I esteem it an honor to be called upon to discharge this duty, and it is to me a privilege and a high gratification to meet, in this place, on this interesting occasion, so many aged men who are intimately connected with our early history, embracing in the number some of those very individuals whose keen sagacity, high hopes, and indomitable purpose and industry propelled them, at an early day, to penetrate the extended wilderness of what was then known as "the West," and is now Central New York—men whom no discouragements, however great, and no obstacles, however formidable, and no privations, however severe, could arrest, in their manly labor and purposes, and who can now look with higher pride and satisfaction, upon the glorious results which have followed upon their early labors and untold hardships and sacrifices, as now exhibited, in this, one of the most lovely, the most productive, and highly cultivated and healthful regions, of any portion of the United States.

In the adoption of our Constitution, it became necessary to fix upon some date prior to which applicants for membership should have come to reside in Central New York. Although you fixed upon the year 1845, I doubt not that all of those now present who have come to this region within the last forty or fifty years, will freely concede, that to but very few, if any, of us is due that high credit for enterprise, resolution, and fortitude which so justly belongs to those who were the first civilized settlers of these regions, and to whom truly belong the honor and the name of *Pioneers of a Wilderness*. They, by their labors and sacrifices, paved the way for their successors. Their adventures and deeds presented to us an encouraging invitation to follow in their footsteps. They demonstrated the feasibility and practical usefulness of their explorations and the capabilities of the territory they had so resolutely invaded, and large portions of which they had actually opened to the genial rays of the sun, and subdued and cultivated, before they were followed by the second

class of emigrants. To this second class most of us here belonged; and, although we found much of this region new and even wild, yet thousands of acres were more or less improved, and a considerable portion of it was in an advanced state of cultivation. The principal highways and turnpikes now running through our towns and cities had already been laid out and traveled; and daily lines of stages had been established, running to the extreme western end of the State. The Erie Canal had also been nearly or quite completed, making our removal here comparatively easy. Flouring-mills were common and of easy access; and the stump-mill had almost entirely gone out of use, except among the few remaining Indians. Of very few, if any of us, later settlers could it be truly said, as is recorded of our early pioneers, that we emigrated here on pack-horses before any roads were constructed, following the Indian trails running through a wilderness, or guided solely by blazed trees; or that we came, at a later period, in sleds, or in cumbrous wagons drawn by oxen.

Most of us, Gentlemen, have but slight conception, from actual experience, of the numerous privations, anxieties, and hardships endured by the first settlers of this region of country. To those original and veritable pioneers of Central New York, we and our successors will ever be ready to accord our veneration and gratitude; and those few of them who still survive, we look upon and regard with feelings of the deepest interest and the highest respect.

When I look back upon the state of things, as they existed here, when I first passed through the country, in 1823, or at the time of my coming here to reside, in 1827, I can scarcely realize the wonderful extent of the changes which have since taken place, and the vastness of the advances and improvements which have been made since those dates, whether in population, in wealth, in the various departments of agriculture, commerce, manufactures and architecture; and in all those contrivances whereby the powers and productions of nature are subjected to human convenience or employed in the various activities of man.

But, when we contrast the situation of things, here, at the close of the last century, with that which now surrounds us, the charges are almost beyond the marvelous. Instead of dense and almost uninterrupted forests, with here and there a scattered cabin, our woodlands have mostly given way to thoroughly subdued and highly cultivated fields and gardens. Most of the swamps and morasses of 1799 have now become beautiful meadows, and many of them fruitful uplands suitable for growing grain. In place of log-houses and shanties, we have substantial

frame, and brick, and stone dwellings; and many of our people are erecting palatial mansions for private residences. The cold and forbidding buildings of that period, for public worship, are giving way to structures of gothic magnificence and taste; and high-schools, academies, and colleges adorn our villages and cities. The scythe and the cradle have, for the most part, given way to the sweeping mower and reaper. Instead of the slow operations of the flail, we have the driving threshing-machine. Instead of the ox-team and Pennsylvania cumbrous six-horse wagon, for transportation of goods and travel, we have the grand canal and the lightning railroad.

Time and language would fail me to mention, and much less to describe, all the advances, in civilization and in the conveniences and luxuries of life, which have been made, in this region, during the interval of time which I have mentioned; and I shall not, therefore, attempt it.

In nothing have these changes been so great as in the facilities for locomotion. When this part of the country began to be settled, it took about a fortnight for a Yankee to remove here from Connecticut or Massachusetts. Now, the same man could travel, on the rail, from the easternmost extremity of the State of Maine to San Francisco, on the Pacific coast, a distance of about four thousand miles, in seven or eight days. Could the earliest pioneers of Central New York rise, this day, from their graves, what would be their astonishment to witness such changes! How great would be their amazement to find that, through the medium of the submarine telegraph, from Europe to America, in connection with the overland telegraph, to San Francisco, intelligence can now be conveyed from Europe, under the ocean, to America, and thence across the continent, to the Pacific coast, a distance of six thousand miles, in a few moments of time. We can scarcely realize these grand results, ourselves. How much less could those from whom has been hidden those progressive advances in civilization and in human invention, which have been made by our countrymen in the last fifty years.

Marvelous as are the events and accomplishments of the last fifty years, there is reason to anticipate that they will be equalled, if not surpassed, by those of the next half century in our history. Problems of the gravest character remain yet to be solved; and time alone can disclose the manner and measure of that solution. As for ourselves, Gentlemen, we have reached a time of life which naturally leads us to look back, and to dwell, more particularly and with a fixed interest, upon the events of past days. We find a satisfaction in retrospection which others find in passing events. While the young are looking forward, with high and unbounded hopes and calculations, to the future, for the ac-

complishment and enjoyment of their cherished purposes and the consummation of their happiness, our minds are constantly recurring to past days; to the events and scenes of our early lives; to our early associations, trials, and deliverances; and to those occasions and events, identified with our past history and in which we were actors, which have left abiding impressions on our minds.

It is in the spirit of such feelings as these that we have come together, at this our annual meeting of old settlers, to "rekindle the Council-fire" and to strengthen the covenant-chain." It is in this spirit that we are all glad of an opportunity to take each other by the hand; to express the interest we take in each other's welfare; to renew old acquaintances; to drop the tear of sympathy; and to talk over the joys and trials of the olden time.

While we heartily rejoice, with all classes of our fellow-citizens, in the prosperity of our country and in the success of its institutions, as well as in the progress of civilization and the extension of Christianity, throughout the world, we claim the privilege of fixing our partial love and veneration upon what is, to us, the eloquent past.

"O! the world will never be again
 "What it was when we were young,
 "And shattered are the idols now;
 "To which our boyhood clung;
 "Gone are the giants of those days;
 "For whom our boys we twined,
 "And pigmies now kick up a dust
 "To show the march of mind."

When you first came here, Gentlemen, you came to what was called "*the West*." But the West has been constantly receding, until there is not now any West left to be explored. Ohio and Indiana followed, and almost kept pace with western New York in becoming a peopled West; and then Michigan, and Illinois, and Wisconsin rapidly followed, and so on, successively, to the other States on this side of the Rocky Mountains. The discovery of gold, in California, then led our citizens to cross the Isthmus of Panama, or to double Cape Horn, or to take the overland route and cross the mountains, wending their way to the Pacific coast, where we have now a great and prosperous Commonwealth, whose rapid settlement has led to the further occupancy of the intermediate regions, between it and the old States. So that there is now no longer any West to go to. "The earth has been girdled by the moving "caravans, and the original seats of the human "race have been reached at last. East and West "have met together; and the tide of movement "has been turned. Across the long swells of "the Pacific, the Caucasian and the Mongolian "look each other in the face." China, with her surplus millions of population, is now invading our land; and the West has become the East.

Since our last meeting, the public of Central New York have been favored by the appearance in our midst of the Cardiff Giant. It is claimed, by some, that he is one of the very oldest settlers of these regions. I had the honor of an introduction to him, on his visit to this city, in the month of November last. I had no conversation with him, however, as he was lying down, at the time, with his eyes closed, and thus gave me the cold shoulder. I was the less disappointed by his profound silence, as I fully made up my mind, at the time, that he was either much too old, or else much too young, to be able to give me any interesting or reliable information in regard to that class of our "old settlers" with whom we are connected. But I have taken the pains to collect all that has been published in regard to his lordship, whether in poetry or prose, and have placed it in an octavo volume, which I shall preserve in my library, at Manlius, for future reference. I understand that his Honor, after receiving many marked attentions at "The Hub," has been spending the residue of the Summer, with our other great folks, at Saratoga Springs.

I have been in some doubt, Gentlemen, in regard to what is expected of the speakers who are appointed to deliver the address, at our annual meetings. If it is in the line of their duty to follow the course of Presidents and Governors in making recommendations of new laws and constitutional amendments for your consideration and action, I would mention that the idea has occurred to me whether there is not a defect in the Constitution of this Association. Ought we not to have introduced into it a provision for having, at our Annual Meetings, some practices of the old rough games of agility and strength, or some other gymnastic exercises. This is an age of great bodily activity and accomplishment, as well as of mental demonstration and elegant leisure. I have no doubt that some of us could, even at this late day in our lives, show to the world, probably to their great astonishment and admiration, that "some things could be done as well as others," by the old men of Central New York. I think that some of us, at least, could furnish proofs that we are not unworthy descendants of a tough and wiry ancestry.

Perhaps it would not be necessary to amend our Constitution, in order to provide for these exercises. An outside By-law would, probably, be sufficient to secure the desired object.

As to the character and shape which these demonstrations should assume, you can better judge than myself. Probably some such exercises as these would answer:—Lifting heavy articles, such as a barrel of salt; raising a barrel of cider from the ground, holding it out at arm's

length, then bringing it up to the body and taking a drink out of the bung-hole; or the exercise of "hop, skip and jump;" or a game at base ball; a trial at wrestling, or, perhaps, a rival walk, on foot, or a foot race.

These exercises would, no doubt, give us a good appetite for our dinners, and enable us to get the worth of our money.

In case you shall see fit to adopt this plan, I would suggest that, in deference to the officers of this Association, the first experiment and show-off should be made by them. I submit, however, that it will not be advisable to say much about it, in the papers, at present, for fear that some of our officers may resign before the day for trial shall come. I would venture also to make one more suggestion. As Father Strong, our worthy President, has got to be a pretty old man, and our Brother Cheney, one of our most efficient Committeemen, is rather a physically frail sort of man, I would recommend that those two gentlemen be excused from lifting the barrel of cider; but that, in consequence of their faithful services, as officers of the Society, during the past year, each of them be allowed to take one good drink of the cider, after it has been well watered. If Brother Stewart, of Chittenango Springs, was here, I would name him to water the cider by putting a trifle of brandy in it—only a trifle.

Among the "unfinished business" left at our last meeting, was the case of the Pompey bear. Perhaps I err in calling it unfinished business, for I believe it was admitted, on all hands, that the bear was really killed, and had thus *finished* his course and his barbarous proceedings. The real point in controversy, seemed to be whether that bear was killed in 1796 or in 1816. The gentleman who first called our attention to the history of this Pompey bear was, I believe, a clergyman, and he *ought* to be right; nevertheless, as we all know, clergymen are frail and dying creatures like ourselves. This gentleman confidently insisted that the bear in question was killed in 1796. On the other hand, two or three gentlemen as resolutely maintained that a final stop was not put to his career until 1816. Now here is a difference of twenty years in the time; and it must be admitted to be a matter of the greatest importance to the character of our ancestors, to us, and to the annals of correct history, to know, for a certainty, whether that bear was really allowed to destroy men, women and children, cattle and crops, and to do other mischief, for twenty years longer. Why, Gentlemen, if this was so, where was the heroism of the old settlers, all this time?

Now it is agreed, on all hands, that it was an extraordinary big bear—a mighty big bear—and we know that he has given rise to a great many

big stories. Both parties also agree upon the precise place of his being killed; being at or near Pompey Hill, in the County of Onondaga. These two circumstances strongly indicate that all the parties refer to the same bear. But there stands the obstacle of twenty years difference in the length of his life.

It must be admitted, that it was an act of humanity, in the clergyman referred to, in killing such a ravenous beast, in 1796, instead of letting him have a mischievous run for twenty years longer. He did a good thing; and I think it would be an unfortunate thing to spoil his story. Now, in order to reconcile, if possible, these conflicting statements, and, at the same time, to save the credit of our brave old settlers, as well as to put the whole matter right on the page of history, I think we shall have to come to the conclusion that there were, in point of fact, *two* big black bears, one killed at Pompey Hill, in 1796, and the other killed at the same place, in 1816; and that this last bear was a son of the other old bear, and looked so much like his father that the old settlers in Pompey, when they killed him, thought, at first, that he really was the old man himself come to life again; but when they considered, upon "sober second thought," that they had actually eaten up the old bear, twenty years before, and could not, very well, eat him up a second time, at least not in the same shape, they finally came to the conclusion that there were two different bears, and, probably, father and son.

This is the way, Gentlemen, that, after very deep study and consideration, I have cyphered out this matter. If any of you can do it better, I shall be perfectly willing to have you try it. I have brought to the investigation of the subject all the powers of my mind; and called into exercise my very best faculties. Still I may be in error; for I feel I am growing old like the rest of you; and my good wife has admonished me, several times, of my senility, by reminding me that I was repeating things I had mentioned to her a number of times before. But, after all, Gentlemen, I believe I am about right. If you shall agree with me in this opinion, I shall expect that my friend General Leavenworth, or Lieutenant-governor Alvord, will offer a resolution, during our present meeting, recognizing my version of this matter as the true one, and requiring that, henceforward, it shall be treated and regarded, through all future time, as the veritable history of the two big Pompey bears.

And now having disposed of the bears, I propose to say a few words about the lions.

You have all heard about "the Young Lion of the West," of whom it has often been said, that, when aroused from his lair, he was apt "to show his head instead of his tail." That was

a political lion; and we old settlers have nothing now here to do with politics. Neither do I now refer to lions who run upon all fours. Those lords of the forest never grew here. But I refer to those biped lions, who were the first to penetrate this then wilderness, for settlement. There was that gallant old lion, Asa Danforth, our great pioneer leader, who, as early as 1788, commenced felling our forests, and tilling our soil, and building log-houses, and, soon after, saw-mills and grist-mills, and driving away and killing the wolves and bears; all except that one big Pompey bear who kept out of the way until 1816, when some of General Danforth's men tracked him up into Pompey, and made short work of him.

Danforth had no sooner arrived here, than he called to his aid some hardy young lions, prominent among whom was that staunch, go-ahead pioneer, Comfort Tyler; and, soon after, those original pioneers of Central New York, were followed and sustained by such giants as James Geddes, Joshua Forman, Daniel Kellogg, Azariah Smith, and a long list of other remarkable men, of the same stamp, too numerous here to be named. Why, Gentlemen, I have never read any account, in all history, ancient or modern, sacred or profane, of young lions growing so fast and so big as they did, in those days, in these regions.

And was there ever an instance, in all prior history, of such a miraculous reduction of a wilderness into a garden, with such a rapidity of population, by a brave, generous, intelligent, and enterprising people, as that which has marked the progress of Central New York!

Why is it, Gentlemen, that, in a region which has been the theater of such extraordinary scenes, no commemorative monuments have been erected? Why is it that local pride has never placed in any of the parks of this thriving city, statues or monuments to such men as Asa Danforth, James Geddes, or Joshua Forman? Surely it is not because the labors of these remarkable men have not, heretofore, been appreciated. In the midst of the whirl of construction and progress, and of driving commercial pursuits, these things have probably been lost sight of. But the period has arrived when action in this matter is demanded, by a sense of gratitude, by just appreciation, by good taste, and by simple justice to the memory of our departed worthies and founders.

Let a durable monument then be erected to at least one of these worthies—to our great first pioneer, Major-general Asa Danforth. Let it be composed of native granite, taken from those hills which he was the first to reclaim and subdue. Let there be placed on it a just inscription, recognizing the enterprise, the fortitude, and the

many other virtues of the first permanent civilized settlers of these regions; with a prominent notice of our great leading pioneer. Let this monument be constructed under the auspices and direction of this Association, but with the aid and countenance of this entire community. Let it not be placed in any retired rural cemetery; but let its position be in a central and conspicuous place, in one of the parks or public squares of this rising city, where it will be in the constant view of citizen and traveler. Let the monument thus erected be dedicated with imposing ceremonies; with ceremonies worthy of the occasion, and worthy of the great County of Onondaga and of the extended fame of Central New York.

A citizen of the town of Manlius, in his history of Onondaga, has erected interesting biographical monuments to many of our early pioneers. The writer to whom we are indebted for these invaluable contributions to our local history, was my friend; but he is now no more. Death removed him from our midst, shortly previous to our last meeting. Another citizen of the town to which I have referred, will stand ready, if life shall be preserved, and no one more worthy shall be called to the task, to assist at the dedication of the *granite monument*.

It has been our good fortune, fellow citizens, to live in an extraordinary age. It is a remark, long since made, that "we are born too late to see the beginning, and we die too soon to see the end of many things." But, in our day and generation, we have witnessed as well the commencement as the completion of many very extraordinary works and marvellous projects. There are our grand canals, begun and completed in ten years. Railroads now traverse not only our own State but every other State and territory in the Union. Telegraph-wires convey intelligence, with lightning speed, throughout the land and under the sea. The Pacific railroad spans a continent, and completes a steam-belt around the world. A facile communication between the extremes of our republic is now fully established; and forests, mountains, and canons no longer interpose barriers to our intercourse. Our country is bounded on two sides, for many thousand miles, by oceans; and the ocean telegraph binds the Old World to the New.

Coincident with the completion, in our own country, of that grand achievement, the Pacific railroad, there has occurred, in a foreign land, an event scarcely less marvellous. The waters of the Mediterranean have been connected, during the past year, with the waters of the Red Sea, by that stupendous work, the Suez Canal, which has saved to commerce the circumnavigation of a continent. "Deep has thus been made to

"answer unto deep of the two seas earliest known to human history."

The projected inter-oceanic canal, to connect the Atlantic with the Pacific, if carried into effect, will supercede the circumnavigation of still another continent.

In view of the many astounding events and accomplishments, in the recent past, we may well hesitate to set bounds to our future progress. Our country has evidently entered upon a new career of development; and the desire for a long life to witness these new scenes naturally arises in the mind. But this knowledge will be denied to most of us; and this brings me, Gentlemen, to a subject which cannot fail deeply to impress us all. I allude to our necrology. It is obvious to us all that the number of our old settlers is rapidly diminishing. Of those who came into this part of the country previous to 1800, the number must necessarily be very small, and consists of those who were then very young in life. Of the two hundred and twelve reported as having attended the meeting of old settlers held here, in January, 1869, only twenty-one came to this country before 1800; seventy-one came in the first decade, and fifty in the second decade of the present century. This, of course, was not a perfect list, as numbers of our old early settlers were too old or infirm to be present at that hyemal meeting, and others were residing in distant places. Besides, that was a meeting for the County of Onondaga; and our present organization extends to Central New York, and includes, in its line of membership, all who came here to reside previous to 1845. But the impressive fact stares us in the face and cannot be avoided, that death is making rapid inroads into our ranks.

I cannot here avoid making special reference to the death, during the past year, of a remarkable lady who was most interestingly connected with our early pioneers—Mrs. Harriet Danforth Lee died, in this city, on the eighteenth of October last, in the seventy-fifth year of her age; having been born in the First Ward of this city, then Salina, on the twentieth of May, 1795. Mrs. Lee was a daughter of Major Asa Danforth, and the granddaughter of Major-general Danforth, our very first pioneer.

A still older native of our County died at Lockport, in this State, on the twenty-seventh of December last, in the person of Miss Sarah Morehouse, in the eightieth year of her age. She was born in the original township of Manlius, on the sixteenth of February, 1790, and was the second white female child born in the County of Onondaga.

In conclusion, Gentlemen, let those of us who may be spared make it a point to get together, at least once a year, to smoke the pipe of peace and brighten the chain of friendship. What-

ever, under Providence, our situations may be, let us endeavor to look on the bright side of life, and nourish and preserve, as much as we can, our once youthful feelings.

"Thank God, there are some who can play the child's part,
"Who bear age in the body, and youth in the heart."

This, it must be admitted, is a happy constitution of mind. It is an old saying, that "every time a man laughs, he draws a nail out of his coffin." The idea here intended to be conveyed, no doubt, is that cheerfulness is calculated to prolong one's life. Let us then improve the blessings we have. Although we cannot recall our former energy and youthful vigor, yet it may be in our power to do something towards securing a fresh and green old age. The maladies and infirmities of age are already upon many of us, and impending over all. Of not a few of us it can truly be said, the eye is growing dim and the step feeble. We are all in the autumn of life; and, like everything terrestrial, we too must pass away.

"The leaves of the oak and the willow shall fade,
"Be scattered around, and together be laid;
"And the young and the old, and the low and the high
"Shall moulder to dust, and together shall lie.

"So the multitude goes, like the flower and the weed,
"That wither away to let others succeed;
"So the multitude comes, even those we behold,
"To repeat every tale that has often been told.

"Yes, hope and despondence, and pleasure and pain,
"Are mingled together in sunshine and rain;
"And the smile and the tear, and the song and the dirge,
"Shall follow each other, like surge upon surge.

"'Tis the wink of an eye; 'tis the draught of a breath,
"From the blossom of health to the paleness of death,
"From the gilded saloon to the bier and the shroud,
"Oh! why should the spirit of mortal be proud."

Dr. Lyman Clary moved that the thanks of the Association be tendered to Hon. H. C. Van Schaack, for his instructive and valuable address; and that a copy be solicited for publication with the proceedings of the Association. Carried.

The dinner-hour having arrived, a recess was taken until two o'clock P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Committee designated to prepare a Necrological List for the past year, submitted the following Report, which is as complete as they were able to make it:—

CAMILLUS.

In Detroit, Mich., Col. Alexander H. Redfield, formerly of this County, died Nov. 20, 1869, aged 64 years.

Asa Bingham, died January, 1870, aged 91 years.

CICERO.

Asa Eastwood, died February 25, 1870, aged 89 years. He was a resident of the County fifty-four years.

Mrs. Hannah Broughton, died July 28, 1870, aged 78 years.

Enchil Dennis, died August, 1870, aged 79 years.

CLAY.

John Phillips, died September 22, 1869, aged 72 years.

DEWITT.

Mrs. Sarah Morehouse, died in Lockport, Dec. 27, 1869, aged eighty years. She was the second female white child born in this County.

Mrs. Nancy Sherwood, died Feb. 21, 1870, aged seventy-four years.

Mrs. Thomas Seeley, died June, 1870, aged seventy-seven years.

Mrs. Theodosia Wilcox, died 27th July, 1870, aged sixty-nine years.

ELBRIDGE.

Caleb Brown, died 30th July, 1870, aged sixty years.

GEDDES.

Mrs. Frances Clark, died 7th Sept., 1869, aged eighty-three years.

LAFAYETTE.

Morris Clapp, died Oct. 16, 1869, aged 69 years. He was a resident of the County fifty-five years.

Ichabod Smith, died Dec. 22, 1869, aged 100 years, 9 months and 12 days. He was in the County sixty-nine years. He felled the first tree and helped build the first log-house in the town. He was present at the meeting of this Association one year ago.

MARCELLUS.

Reuben Lothridge, died Aug. 2, 1870, aged 69 years.

ONONDAGA.

Samuel G. Clark, died September 21, 1869, aged 70 years.

In Little Falls, Miss Sarah Alexander died September 25, 1869, aged 78 years. She was a former resident of this County.

Miss Rebecca Adams died October 16, 1869, aged 79 years. Miss Adams was the daughter of John Adams, who formerly kept the Stage-House Tavern at the Valley, and was one of the oldest citizens of that village. She was the sister of Richard Adams, of this city.

Miss Rebecca Higbee, died November 26, 1869, aged 87 years.

Samuel G. Woodruff, died Dec. 15, 1869, aged 95 years. He was in the County 82 years.

Sterling Lansing, died Dec. 18, 1869, aged 77 years.

Horace Hitchings, died Jan. 8, 1870, aged 69 years.

At Onondaga Castle, Feb. 1, 1870, Jacob Farmer, better known as Jake, one of the principal Chiefs of the Onondaga Indians.

Mrs. Minerva Goodwin, died March 7, 1870, aged 66 years.

Olive Sampson, died March 15, 1870, aged 78 years.

Cicero Barker, died June 22, 1870, aged 76 years.

Giles Cornish, aged 82 years; in County 68 years.

George Loomis, aged 82 years; in County 65 years.

POMPEY.

Gerared Smith, died August 18, 1870, aged 90 years. He came from Connecticut, and lived 75 years on the farm on which he died.

SALINA.

Miss Barbara Phillips, died Oct. 11, 1869, aged 73 years.

Houkiat Goodrich, died March 31, 1870, aged 79 years.

SKANEATELES.

Mrs. Lucy Hatch, died the 28th of June, 1870, aged 78 years.

TULLY.

Samuel Wilson, died July 30, 1870, aged 69 years.

Isaac Van Wormer, died June 18, 1870, aged 88 years.

Mrs. Van Wormer, died June 22, aged 78 years.

Daniel Vail, died July, 1870, aged 76 years.

William C. Gardner, died Aug., 1870, aged 69 years.

VAN BUREN.

D. D. Norton, died Aug. 2, 1870, aged 72 years.

H. N. Howe, died Aug. 26, 1870, aged 72 years; resided in the County all his life.

SYRACUSE.

Mrs. McCarthy, widow of Hon. Thomas McCarthy, died the 12th of September, 1869, aged 72 years.

Gad. M. Lawrence, died the 12th of September, 1869, aged 72 years.

Mary Hodges, died October 13th, 1869, aged 78 years.

Roger Billings, died October 21st, 1869, aged 74 years, resident of County 30 or 40 years.

Jane McDougall, died October 21st, 1869, aged 84 years.

Mrs. Harriet Lee, died October 27th, 1869, aged 75 years. She was a daughter of Maj. Asa Danforth, and grand-daughter of Gen. Asa Danforth, one of the first white settlers in this County.

Mrs. Tacy Fargo, died November 9th, 1869, aged 70 years.

George B. Parker, died November 18th, 1869, aged 58 years.

Mrs. Amy Porter, died December 17th, 1869, aged 67 years.

Mrs. Paschal D. Thurber, died January 19, 1870, aged 62 years.

A. B. F. Ormsbee, died January 20, 1870, aged 65 years.

Dr. James C. Stuart, died March 25, 1870, aged 65 years.

Gen. Wm. H. Moseley, died April 3, 1870, aged 74 years. He was a resident of the County fifty-two years.

Willitt Hinman, died April 10, 1870, aged 66 years.

Adonijah Root, died April 14, 1870, aged 69 years.

In Burr Oak, Mich., Willett Raynor, died May 23, 1870, aged 71 years.

Mrs. Miles W. Bennett, died June 30, 1870, aged 66 years.

E. F. Wallace, died August 15, 1870, aged 78 years; in County forty-five years.

Mrs. Frances Bottom, died August 17th, 1870, aged 90 years.

REMINISCENCES.

A memorial of the late Samuel G. Woodruff, of Onondaga, who died December 15, 1869, was read by Norman Green.

"Samuel G. Woodruff, late of Onondaga, was born in Hartford, Ct., Dec. 3, 1778. In 1796, he married Miss Nancy Case; and, in 1798, he removed to Onondaga, then recently organized. His farm was covered by a dense and heavy growth of timber. Like his neighbors, he went into a log-house, and commenced clearing his land. It is believed, by his early neighbors, that he has actually chopped and cleared more land, with his own hands, than any other settler in Onondaga. A man of untiring perseverance and unity of purpose, he took an active part in building the houses, barns, and roads in this vicinity. The old Genesee-road crossed his land. When the Seneca Turnpike was incorporated, he freely gave the land necessary for the road, across his premises. He built, under contract, three miles of the road, between Onondaga Hill and Marcellus. He boarded several of the hands employed thereon. For many years, this turnpike was the main avenue and best road from Utica to Canandaigua,—nay, even from Albany and Buffalo. He had a realizing sense of the value of good roads, for he walked by the side of two yokes of oxen, from Connecticut to Onondaga. He never sought or held office above District Trustee, and Overseer of Highways.

"These trusts he fulfilled with fidelity and success.

"He truly was an honest man. He was a good father, a kind husband, a generous neighbor, a patriotic citizen. During his residence in town, for more than seventy years, he only failed to vote at town-meetings or elections five times. He was the most busy man we ever knew. He was ever unwilling to be idle. When he was no longer able to labor on the farm or in the woods, he would seek and find something to do in the wood-house, shop, or barn. In his ninetyeth year, he husked thirty bushels of corn in the ear, during a single day. A native of the wooden nutmeg State, he hailed, with gladness and hospitality, the visitant and emigrant that came from the home of his childhood. His last years were cheered by the filial ministrations of his son's family; and he sunk to sleep, calmly as an infant, December 15, 1869, aged 95 years and 12 days.

"Oft did his harvest to the sickle yield,
 "His furrow, oft, the stubborn soil has broke;
 "How jocund did he drive his team a-field,
 "How bowed the woods beneath his sturdy stroke.
 "Let not ambition mock his useful toil,
 "His homely lot, and destiny obscure;
 "Nor grandeur hear, with a disdainful smile,
 "The short and simple annals of the poor."

General reminiscences being the next thing in order, General Knox, of Oneida-county, said he came from Albany to the County, where he now resides, in 1811, and opened a store. At that time, it cost fifty cents a bushel to send wheat from that point to Albany; now it could be sent from St. Paul, Minn., for that price. He remembered stopping in Syracuse when the canal was being dug. He had been honored by his fellow-citizens by the conferring of positions of trust upon him. He had been a Trustee of Hamilton College, since 1828; held the commission of Brigadier-general, under General Van Rensselaer; was on the Republican electoral ticket, in 1864; had been President of the Oneida county Bible Society; and had been a tee-totaler for many years. He would be eighty years old next May; and had not been absent from Church sixty times during all that period.

Mr. Younglove, of Trenton, remarked that he could remember when Indians and wild beasts were plenty in Oneida-county, and when the settlers suffered many hardships and deprivations. He said he was over seventy years old.

John Stevens, of Cicero, related an amusing incident concerning DeWitt Clinton, which he himself witnessed, and which showed that the great men of those days were as "full of fun," as those of the present.

Rev. Mr. Brace remembered the log-house which once stood on Onondaga Hill, to which allusion had been made as being a *frame* house.

He was confident it was built of logs, because he remembered it very well, having been there when a man who had hung himself, was cut down.

Dr. Preston, of Syracuse, witnessed a bear-hunt, many years ago, near Oneida Lake. He thought that valuable lessons could be learned from the venerable men assembled at the present meeting of the Association. He spoke of the equanimity of temperament possessed by the late Luther Buell; and expressed a belief that the longevity of that gentleman was attributable to his calmness of temper.

General Lawrence, of Syracuse, thought that it behooved all to grow old gracefully, and thus lengthen their days. He knew it was frequently hard for old age to bear the ills of life; but the exercise of a patient spirit was commendable and essential to long life.

Mr. White, of Camillus, said his father was one of those men who had great equanimity of mind.

General Leavenworth, of Syracuse, called the attention of the Association to the custom for each member to annually pay the sum of one dollar into the treasury, for contingent expenses. He said a valuable lot had been set aside in Oak-wood Cemetery, for the burial of members of the Pioneer Association. He alluded to the fact that no headstones marked the graves of General Danforth and wife. The officers of the Association intended to remove the remains to Oak-wood, at no distant day; and funds would be needed for that purpose. He offered a resolution, which was adopted, that the Executive Committee be requested to obtain photographs or engravings of the early settlers of Central New York, to be preserved in the rooms of the Association.

Rev. Dr. Eddy, of Syracuse, offered a resolution that the Executive Committee be empowered to provide rooms for the Association. The resolution was adopted.

General Lawrence offered the following resolution which was adopted:—

"Resolved, That the President, Vice-Presidents, Secretary, and Treasurer of this Society, be, and are hereby directed, to have a consultation, as soon as practicable, whether the bounds of this organization be continued to embrace Central New York, or whether it would not be better for all concerned to confine each Society to their respective Counties. And in case the latter course should be adopted, said Committee take the proper measures for such separate organizations, and for the amendment of the Constitution, in this respect, to correspond with such new organizations."

There being no further business before the Association, it adjourned *sine die*.

III.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—*Ed. His. Mag.*]

A FOSSIL TOOTH OF AN EXTINCT HORSE IN IREDELL-COUNTY, N. C.

About twenty years ago, a little boy, by the name of Alexander Steele, now living, the son of Richard Steele, ten miles East of Statesville, N. C., while crossing a little branch, on the way to school, discovered a fossil bone, about twenty inches long, one half of the lower jaw of a horse, with the teeth still in it. This was taken home and carelessly thrown down: no one thought it of any value or much of a curiosity.

The bone has, therefore, disappeared, and all the teeth, except one of the grinders, from about the middle of the jaw, and, perhaps, one of the incisor teeth, which we have not seen.

The one we have preserved weighs three-ounces; is slightly curved; is three and three-eighths inches long, on the convex side, and three inches on the other. On the outside, there are two deep grooves, a quarter of an inch deep, and four or five small ones, on the inner side. The grinding surface of the upper and larger end is about one inch square; and it gradually tapers down to three-fourths of an inch, at the lower extremity, without any fork or prong. At the base, are four orifices for the entrance of the nerves.

The enamel is entire; and it is in as good state of preservation, as if the animal had died last year. The deposit from the food and saliva of the owner is still adhering around the upper part.

When did such a horse roam over this country? The Indians who preceded us here had none. "Historical records show that, up to 1632, there were no horses in New England; and their introduction into New Netherland, now New York, occurred during the administration of Governor Van Twiller, in 1633-38. Trumbull's *History of Connecticut* mentions the horse as accompanying emigrants from Massachusetts to that State, October 15, 1636. The first horse seen in Canada was brought to that country, from France, in a ship that arrived at Tadoussac, June 20, 1647."

A similar tooth of an extinct race of horses, but not in as good state of preservation, is figured in Emmons's *Manual of Geology*, found in Granville-county, North Carolina, more than one hundred and fifty miles North-east of where this was found.

According to Dana—*Text Book of Geology*, 215-216—the bones of the horse are found in the upper Mission region, in the Miocene, and in the Pliocene beds.

They are found in the Post Pliocene fossils of South Carolina, and figured by Holmes, from Leidy, in Plate xv., as *Egnus Fraternus*.

These horses were probably contemporary with the Mammoth, Mastodon, etc., whose bones are found buried in the mud of marshes, in some parts of the country. There seems to be some quality in the water to preserve animal substances, in places of this kind, like peat bogs.

It is a singular fact that this tooth was found near the spot where an old Spanish coin, a half doubloon, of the reign of Philip IV., 1621-1665, was picked up, in a cornfield, by a negro woman, hoeing corn, a few years ago. There are many mysteries connected with the past history of this country that we cannot explain.

The mica that is now quarried out so extensively in our mountains, was also obtained from the same places, by the mound-builders of the West, before the days of the Indians—before the knowledge of gunpowder, before glass was known, *here*—which is found abundantly in the most ancient ruins of Babylon—by a people who, so far as we know, had no iron tools. E. F. R.

GENERAL JOHN B. MAGRUDER.—This old warrior sleeps the sleep of a soldier, in a rude Texas grave, over which there is no monument. The grass was growing about it, in the early Summer; and there were some flowers there, withered and faded, scattered by a woman's hand. A votary at the shrine of nature and a finished diplomat at the Court of Venus, it was fitting that there should be *largesse* of green-growing grasses and love-flowers. If roses are the tear-drops of angels, as the beautiful Arab belief puts forth, in poetry, then is the lowly mound a hallowed spot, and needs not the sculptured stone, the fretted column, the ivy, and the obelisk.

Magruder was a wonderful man. He stood six feet four inches in height, and had a form men envied and women adored. His nerves were all iron. Foreign travel and comprehensive culture had given to his wit a zest that was always crisp and sparkling. He never lacerated. To the sting of a repartee he added honey of the clover. He could fight all day and dance all night. In the morning, a glass of brandy and a strong cigar renewed his strength, and caused the cup of his youth to run over with the precious wine of health and high-spirits. He loved magnificent uniforms, and magnificent horses, and magnificent women. Gifted and graceful,

in conversation, he was a poet in the boudoir, and a logician in the barracks. He had studied French, in Paris, Italian in Rome, and Spanish in the halls of the Montezumas. The sabre exercise he learned from a Turk. His horsemanship was of the English kind, that is to say, not graceful, but impossible to be surpassed for firm riding and endurance. He wrote little love-songs that were set to music—one of them, "Imogene," had in it the plaintive melody of a lover, and the sad rhythm of buried bugles.

In the Crimea, he astonished the French officers by sleeping at the front, with Chasseurs, under fire. In Mexico, he sent back to the Archbishop, a lady's perfumed glove he had found in his palace, when the city was won, and with it a note which read: "It is pretty enough to have belonged to a Queen. Would she have pardoned me if I had appropriated it?" As the Archbishop sent him, the next day, a basket of delicious wine, it is supposed that the fair owner of the glove must have looked leniently upon the handsome American soldier. Later, he was riding with General Scott down the long street of Iturbide. General Garnett joined them; and Magruder drew a little back for his superiors to confer together. A white puff of smoke curled out from an open window; a sudden report followed, speedily; and Garnett and horse fell hard and bloody. An ounce ball, intended for Scott, had broken Garnett's thigh and killed his charger. Fearing another fire, Magruder galloped to the side of his chief and covered his body with his own. The old man's eyes never drooped, nor his voice changed an intonation. "How long will it take you to batter down that 'house?' he spoke, curtly, to Lieutenant Magruder, pointing with a sweep of his finger to the one nearest, and from which the bullet came. "An hour, by the watch, General." "Then open fire, at point-blank range; and leave not one stone upon another!" It was done, and those who saw Magruder soonest afterwards noticed that he had another bar on his epaulets—he had been made a Captain. War was his element, the bivouac his delight, and the battle his perfect happiness. Reckless, prodigal, fashionable, foolishly brave, sometimes, a spendthrift, generous, true friend, and staunch comrade, the surrender of Appomattox made him an aged man in his prime, and wrinkled the features which had before resisted all the attacks of time.

One who wandered far and long with him, in other lands, in sweet and sunshiny weather, relates how, from Vera Cruz to Chepultepec, he went with Magruder all over the battle-fields of the Mexican War. The light came back to his eyes and the fire to his face when telling of Contreras and Cherubusco, and Perote, and Molino del Rey, and the Belen Gate, and Che-

pultepec, and the City of Mexico. His talk never ended of Scott and Twiggs, Wool and Worth, Smith and Pillow, Taylor and Quitman, and all the young subordinates who afterwards played such bloody parts in the greatest of American dramas. Of McClellan, he told this incident among a thousand: "The fire from the 'hill of Chepultepec was terrible. Fifty pieces of heavy artillery were massed against my 'fourteen battery at a point-blank range; and, in the valley, below, a Regiment of Lancers were forming for a charge. Our fire had been slackened, and the men were lying down. A young man sat beside one of the guns, amusing himself with picking up pebbles and shooting them out from his hand. The Lancers came nearer. I called to the young officer, whom I had noticed, and he sprang up, saluting: 'Your name?' 'Lieutenant George B. McClellan.' 'Very well, Lieutenant. Take command of one of these guns and disperse those Lancers.' The gunners rushed to their pieces. All the great cannon around Chepultepec went to roaring. The battle began anew. Worth was sweeping up the activity, the Lancers were routed, and the next I saw of McClellan, he was smoking a cigarito in the palace of Santa Anna, his face as black as a powder-keg, and an ugly wound in his arm."

What a book his life would make in the hands of some men. He once intended to write an autobiography. Whether it was begun or not, we do not know—most certainly it was never finished. The brave, fond heart is pulseless now. The form of the stalwart soldier is dust in its far-away grave. The laurels that he gathered and wore so well are faded and gone. Back from the unknown land no voice will come to tell of what rank he takes in the spectral columns, closed up and silent, waiting the resurrection-day. Yet God deals gently with a soldier. When he is brave, and noble, and courteous, and merciful, he has those attributes which assimilate heaven, and, therefore, is he fore-ordained to happiness after death. It may be late in coming; the bivouacs are right cold and dreary, we know, for some; but, after the night the morning; and after the Judgment-day the New Jerusalem.

THE OLDEST SUNDAY SCHOOL.—I find the following paragraph in a newspaper, which I send you for correction:

"THE FIRST SABBATH-SCHOOL IN AMERICA.—There has been a discussion in the religious papers of the United States as to the time and place of the establishment of the first Sabbath-school on this Continent. The result of the discussion is indicated by *The New York Times*, 'gelist': 'Doubtless the honor belongs to the

"Rev. Burr Baldwin of Montrose, Penn. He commenced his school on the first Sabbath in May, 1815, in the old Newark Academy, New Jersey. Mr. Baldwin, it appears, is still living, and in the eightieth year of his age."

Six years before the time above stated, as early as the Summer of the year 1809, there was instituted a Sabbath-school in what is now the city of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, originating among the members of the Presbyterian Church, there, then under the pastorate of a Rev. Mr. Steele, an Irish Clergyman, who had emigrated to the United States, and settled in that town. Among the active co-operators in that school, was my father, the late Samuel Allen of your city, then, with his young family, of which myself was the eldest, a resident there as a merchant. The first school was opened in the Court-house, situated in Market-square; and myself, a small boy of nine years old, was one of the A B C teachers, on the day of its opening; and I so continued in that humble capacity during the Summer and into the early Autumn. I recollect the time and circumstances as distinctly as any event of yesterday. The school was got up with decided zeal and enthusiasm, on the part of those ladies and gentlemen who took a share in it; and it engaged as teachers some of the sons and daughters of several of the most influential citizens of the town. The school was a motley collection of ignorant, uneducated young men and women, besides many children who did not know the alphabet; and, in my own class, I remember a full grown man who, some time before, had a piece of his nose bitten off in a street-fight with his antagonist. The poor fellow had probably come to the conclusion that getting the rudiments of education was better than to continue the rough-and-tumble life he had before pursued. There was no distinction of color made among the scholars, both black and white being admitted on equal terms.

Leaving the town, soon afterward, for the East, I know nothing of the progress of the school from that time, forward, but have supposed it to be continued under the auspices of Mr. Steele's congregation, and so, perhaps, to the present time, together with the various other Sunday-schools which have been instituted by the churches at large. I only mention the above facts that the origin of Sunday-schools may be properly recorded, in their history, in the United States. I do not know that the Pittsburgh Sunday-school was the *first* of the kind in this country; but what I have stated is the fact, and there may be some among the still living people of that city who may also recollect it.

Truly yours, LEWIS F. ALLEN.

WHAT MR. LINCOLN ACTUALLY WROTE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE:

SIR: In the New York *Times* of this date, in an article entitled "The Peace Conference," there is a statement as follows:

"Mr. Lincoln, weary and disgusted with the whole affair, sent on Major Hay with an open letter to deliver to the Rebels, in Mr. Greeley's presence, repeating exactly the conditions contained in the President's letter of the 9th."

The letter thus delivered by Major Hay, in Mr. Greeley's presence, was subsequently given to Mr. William H. Appleton by Mr. Holcombe, who received it from Major Hay. It is now in a frame, in Mr. Appleton's office. It says much more than to repeat "exactly the conditions contained in the President's letter of the 9th," and is as follows:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, July 18, 1864.

"To whom it may concern:—Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of Slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the Executive Government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on other substantial and collateral points; and the bearer or bearers thereof shall have safe conduct both ways.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

The whole correspondence on the occasion may be found in the *Annual Cyclopædia of 1864*, and should be read by all who desire to comprehend the noble and disinterested position occupied by Mr. Greeley in the affair.

A FRIEND OF PEACE.

HOW BISHOP POLK WAS KILLED.—An ex-Confederate, writing for the *Westminster Review*, gives the following account of the death of the Bishop-General: "The death of the distinguished man occurred while our army lay in front of Kenesaw. Johnston, with a group of officers, among whom was Polk, making a reconnaissance of the enemy's lines from the summit of the Pike-mountain, a lofty, solitary mount, which jutted out from the range and formed the apex of an acute on which our line was arranged. The situation was a very hazardous one, being commanded, or rather reached, by guns from any portion of the enemy's lines. The unusual assemblage, in such a conspicuous place, soon attracted the vigilant enemy. A battery in front immediately fired one shot, which we afterwards found out was but the prelude to one of the most fearful shellings I ever witnessed. The group was

"standing between young Beauregard's Battery and the fifth Company of Washington Artillery, Johnston being on the works, looking through a field-glass. The first shot could not have missed him two feet, but the only attention he paid to it was to turn his glasses to the battery that fired it. Polk had, in the meantime, separated from the group and was walking thoughtfully away, with his left side to the enemy, his head down, and his hands clasped behind him. The second shell fired at the crowd struck him in the arm and passed through the body, tearing out his heart and then crushing his right arm above the elbow. He dropped on one knee, wavered, then fell on one side. I had hardly turned my back when I heard the murmur of horror run through the line, 'General Polk is killed.' Johnston said not a word; but ran to him and lifted him in his arms. Hardee uttered a cry; and also rushed forward. He was past all human help. The members of his Staff tenderly lifted and bore him from the field."

THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.—In the years 1831 to 1834, the United States frigate *Potomac*, which was built at the Washington Navy-yard, circumnavigated the globe. The staunch ship was commanded by Commodore Downs, whose Secretary was the accomplished Reynolds. The latter wrote a very interesting volume, containing an account of the cruise. From its opening pages, I extract the following interesting historical facts and traditions, which are of local interest:

"It may be mentioned as a curious coincidence, and a fact not generally known, that the present permanent seat of our National Legislature is contiguous to the very spot where, formerly, were lighted the council-fires of the Powhatans, the most prominent, numerous, and powerful nation of red-men in Virginia, and on the banks of the Potomac extending from the shores of the Chesapeake to the Patuxent. This people lived under a royal Government, their despotic monarch being the father of the celebrated Pocahontas. The valley at the foot of Capitol-hill, washed by the Tiber-creek, the Potomac, and the Eastern Branch, was, as we are informed by tradition, periodically visited by the Indians, who named it their fishing-ground, in contradistinction to their hunting-ground. Here, the tradition adds, the aborigines assembled, in great numbers, in the vernal season, for the double purpose of preserving fish and consulting on the affairs of the nation. Greenleaf's Point was their principal camp and the residence of the Chiefs, where Councils were held

"among the various tribes thus gathered together. This tradition was doubtless familiar to Washington."

SCRAPS.—While the Rev. Dr. Wilkins, Rector of the Episcopal Church, in West Chester, N. Y., was at breakfast, on Christmas morning of his eightieth year, a parcel was brought to him accompanied by a short poetical note, in a female handwriting, as follows:

"Affection's gifts are rare;
"May this one not intrude;
"It shows for all your pastoral care
"The fair ones' gratitude."

On being opened, the parcel was found to contain a new suit of clerical robes, sent to him as a present of the season, by the ladies of his Congregation. He pushed aside his cup of coffee; called for pen, ink, and paper; and, at once, wrote on the breakfast table the following rhymed reply:

"In all your trials and your cares,
"Expect your faithful Pastor's prayers,
"And, for these comely robes to dress in,
"Accept your Pastor's thanks and blessing."

—The original manuscripts of the Declaration of Independence and of Washington's Commission, now in the United States Patent Office, at Washington, D. C., are said to be rapidly fading out, so that, in a few years, only the naked parchments will remain. Already, nearly all the signatures attached to the Declaration of Independence are entirely effaced. Surprise has been expressed that no effort has been made by the United States Government to save those documents, as it is understood that the British Museum is constantly restoring old manuscripts to their original condition.

—A correspondent of the Indianapolis *Evening Journal* contends that the first school ever taught in Kentucky was opened in 1779, at Boonsborough, by Joseph Doniphan, father of General A. W. Doniphan of Missouri. Joseph Doniphan was a Justice of the Peace in 1786 and 1787, and his docket for those years is now in possession of his grandson, W. Doniphan Frazee, of Indianapolis. In it are ten or a dozen suits in which George Washington is Plaintiff.

—It is said that Davy Crockett's marriage-bond has been deposited in the State Library of Tennessee. Of his signature, which is attached to it, we give herewith what we suppose to be a *fac simile*: X.

IV.—BOOKS.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient to them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*A description of the Dedication of the Monument erected at Guilford, Connecticut, in honor of Fitz-greene Halleck.* Privately Printed for the Committee, by D. Appleton and Company, of New York. 1869. Octavo, pp. 59.

Halleck died and was buried; and, in this neatly-printed pamphlet, we find the record of the public dedication of an obelisk which was erected to his memory, two years ago.

The pamphlet opens with a description of the monument and a list of the names of those by whose liberality the monument was erected; and these are followed by the notes of apology from those who were invited and could not assist in the dedicatory services. Then follows a report of the proceedings—including Mr. Chittenden's introductory remarks; the opening sonnet, by Mr. George Hill; the reading of Halleck's *Connecticut* and Doctor Oliver Wendell Holmes's Elegiac lines; and the dedicatory Address, by Bay rd Taylor—and, what will surprise many, a series of well-written and appropriate verses, written on the occasion, by Mr. Benjamin H. Field, the widely-known and as widely-respected merchant of Water-street, New York, follows.

To every one who is interested in the history of American literature, this neatly-printed pamphlet will be very welcome; collectors of Connecticut "locals" will desire to add it to their collections; to others, the evidence which it affords of the taste and skill, as a writer of verses, of our friend, Mr. Field, will not be its least recommendation to favor.

It is very neatly printed; and a wood-cut of the monument faces the title.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

2.—*A Paper on the Number, Locality, and Times of Removal of the Indians of Wisconsin;* with an Appendix containing a Chronology of Wisconsin, from the earliest times down to the Adoption of the State Constitution, in 1848. By L. A. Lapham, Levi Blossom, and Geo. G. Doussan, a Committee of the Old Settlers' Club of Milwaukee County, Milwaukee: 1870. Octavo, pp. 27.

We have no information concerning the occasion which called this paper into existence; but we are a willing witness of the thoroughness and good judgment with which the Committee has executed its designated duty.

The paper opens with a description of the Indians who have inhabited Wisconsin, as far as that subject is known to modern writers;

and, following, are carefully-collected details of the history of the several tribes, their migrations, and what has become of them; the whole concluded with an earnest protest against the policy of treating the tribes as so many independent nations and as earnest a demand that there shall be equality before the law, for Indians as well as negroes.

The Appendix contains, *First*, a list of the different names by which the Indian tribes of Wisconsin have been known; *Second*, a list of Treaties affecting the residents of the region now known as Wisconsin; *Third*, a Chronology of Wisconsin, from the beginning to 1848.

It is one of the most important of Western locals; and its value, as an authority, seems to be unquestionable.

3.—*A Historical Discourse delivered at the Fiftieth Anniversary of Colby University, August 2d, 1870.* By J. T. Champlin, President. Waterville: Published by vote of Trustees. 1870. Octavo, pp. 80.

Colby University dates back to February, 1813, when, by an Act of the General Court of Massachusetts, it was called into legal existence as "The Maine Literary and Theological Institution;" endowed with a township of land; and ordered to locate within the township thus donated to it. This township is now known as the towns of Alton and Argyle, on the West side of the Penobscot, fifteen miles above Bangor. In 1816, it was authorized to settle elsewhere than within its own wilderness; was located, in view of a promised five thousand dollars, of which three thousand have not been paid, in the town of Waterville; and, in May, 1818, it commenced its honorable career of usefulness. In 1820, its name was changed to "Waterville College;" subsequently—we do not know the date—its name was again changed to "Colby University," which it still retains. It is what may be called a Baptist institution—its management being in the hands of Baptists—and it has pursued the even tenor of its way, these fifty or more years, with fidelity and honor. It has resorted to no clap-trap to secure popularity; and a solid education of its students rather than a flashy superficiality has been its aim, from the beginning.

The record of its career of usefulness is in the tract before us, in which the President of the institution has briefly narrated the struggle through which it has attained its present distinction; and he has also presented, therein, the personal virtues and official usefulness of those who have served it, as officers, during the first fifty years of its existence. It is a fit memorial of the past, and will serve, in the future, to those who shall read it, as an incentive to renewed labors and greater results.

4.—*Minutes of the Sixty-first Meeting of the General Association of New Hampshire, held at Milford, August 23-26, 1870, with the Sixty-ninth Annual Report of the New Hampshire Missionary Society.* Concord: McFarland & Jenks. 1870. Octavo, pp. 126.

The annual meeting of the General Association of orthodox Congregational Churches in New Hampshire is duly recorded, as are the various Reports presented at that meeting, in this volume; and we have, therefore, in it, all that is known of the history of that denomination, during the preceding year. As the record of the leading denomination of Christians, in New Hampshire, therefore, it is a volume which possesses considerable interest, both within and without the membership of that denomination.

5.—*Third Annual Report of the Wilmington Board of Trade, for the year ending October 3d, 1870.* By George W. Stone, Secretary. Wilmington: 1870. Octavo, pp. 64.

This tract is devoted to a description of the capacity, for business purposes, of the little town of Wilmington and to a discussion of measures and improvements which are considered necessary to enable the residents of that town to draw thither the business which, they say, ought to be done there. It is entirely unlike the greater number of such Reports, in this, that it presents but few statistics and claims no particular accomplished results; it looks rather to the future than to the past; and it hopes rather than brags.

6.—*Twenty-second Annual Report of the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce and Merchants' Exchange, for the fiscal year ending August 31, 1870.* Same loco. [*Cincinnati*] sine anno [1870?] Octavo, pp. 182.

A most elaborate record of the manufactures, the trade, and the wealth of Cincinnati, during 1869-70, contrasted, very often, with the records of the same matters, in former years.

It is a most important local; and the labor expended in its preparation for the press has been immense.

7.—*Essex Institute Historical Collections.* Volume X. Part II. Salem: Essex Institute Press. 1869. Octavo, pp. 107.

Essex Institute Historical Collections. Volume X. Part III. Salem: Essex Institute Press. 1870. Octavo, pp. 106.

These two parts, stitched in the same cover, complete the tenth volume of this excellent work; and we have pleasure in receiving them.

The first-named is occupied, entirely, with a genealogy of the Hutchinson family, and the last-named with Captain Preble's history of the frigate *Essex*, including the Journal of Captain Edward Preble and other papers of great value, as materials for history.

There are few works which are as deserving as this; and, although it is in arrears, in its publication, as the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is, it is always full of good things and, therefore, whether early or late, always welcome.

8.—*Historical Discourse delivered on the occasion of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Upper Octorara Presbyterian Church, Chester County, Pennsylvania, September 14, 1870.* by J. Smith Futhey, Esq. With an account of the Celebration and an Appendix. Philadelphia: Henry B. Ashmead. 1870. Octavo, pp. 184.

The Scotch-Irish element of the population of Pennsylvania has become noted in history; and this beautiful volume, from the pen of our honored friend, J. S. Futhey, Esq., of West Chester, is an addition to the literature of that notable subject.

The Upper Octorara Presbyterian Church is supposed to have been organized in the Fall of 1720, by a portion of the current of emigration which, at that time, flowed into Pennsylvania from the northern part of Ireland; and, in the Fall of 1870, the close of the first one hundred and fifty years of its existence was appropriately recognized, in a public celebration of the event. The Address was prepared by Mr. Futhey, "a son of the Church;" and so well did he perform his designated duties—so thorough was he in his research, and in such good taste did he present the result of his enquiries—that the Session and the Board of Trustees united in the commendable work of preserving it, for the instruction of those, now and hereafter, who had not the pleasure of hearing it. The volume before us is the result of that united action.

Mr. Futhey commences with a brief sketch of the remarkable people from whom this Church was originally organized; and then presents its history, in detail, through the succeeding one hundred and fifty years, until now. An Appendix presents, successively, the present organization of the Church; the surnames of the families who founded it and were its earlier members; the Patent for its lands; a list of its Pewholders, during the last century; a list of subscribers for re-building the grave-yard wall, in 1790; the "Call" first given to Rev. James Latta, in 1810; Charter of the Church, 1812; list of Trustees, 1812 to 1870; interments in the old "New-side" grave-yard; interments in the Upper Octorara grave-yard; and surnames of families now connected with the Church.

It will be seen that, whether considered from the historical or the genealogical stand-point; this volume is an important one in relation to the past of Chester-county and Pennsylvania.

It is a very handsome book, too, considered typographically.

C.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

9.—*The Question of the Hour: the Bible and the School Fund.* By Rufus W. Clark, D.D. Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1870. 16mo. pp. 137. Price 40 cents.

This is a *Boston* book, written by a *Boston* man who lives in Albany, published by a *Boston* house, mainly, we suspect, for a *Boston* audience. It has the odor of Boston, from beginning to end.

To begin with its beginning, its author insists that the *State* has, necessarily, something to do with *religion*, as John Winthrop insisted, in the days of Anne Hutchinson; that the *State*, "*must* have some religious character," either good or bad; that the Puritans made it so, and it must be so,—"and that's the end on't." He does not tell us, however, what kind of religion he thinks the *State* "*must*" possess, Congregational or Dutch Reformed; nor does he tell us whether it is to be *his Church* and the Heidelberg Catechism, or *some other Church* and some other Catechism, which he would have Massachusetts recognize and support by Law.

We should like to know whether or not Doctor Clark really believes the peculiar polity, and creed, and ritual of the Reformed Dutch Church in America, of which he is a professed Minister, are scriptural and agreeable to the Divine law. If he is consistent or worthy of the least respect, he must assent to this query; and he must, in that case, also, admit that he necessarily considers the polity, Articles of Faith, and forms of worship practised in Massachusetts, by the majority of her citizens, as altogether unscriptural, unauthorized, and blasphemous, notwithstanding the Puritans made them as they are. What, then, would Doctor Clark do with Massachusetts? Would he compel her to become Dutch Reformed, such as he professes to be, or allow her to wallow in what he considers to be an error, as the Puritans, in such a case, must have wallowed, and in the same dirty *anti-Dutch* pool, two centuries ago?

In short, if the *State* cannot get along without mixing with the Church, if Religion cannot be religious nor Politics political without the two being mixed, pray, Doctor Clark, tell us from which cannister would you have us take our Religion and from which our Politics, in order to produce what you conceive to be an orthodox Church and a "*Christian* nation." Shall our Religion come from Heidelberg or Cambridge? Shall it be labelled by the "*Society*" or the "*Synod*"? Shall its professors be controlled by the teachings of the Bible, faithfully translated, or the ring of the Dollar? So, too, as to the Politics—shall they come from Massachusetts or New York? Shall they be "*Know-nothing*," or "*Pipe-laying*," or "*Hunker*," or "*Barn-burner*," "*Hard*" or "*Soft*"? Shall they label-

led "*Manhood Suffrage*" or "*Property qualification*"?

In view of this strange discord in his premises, Doctor Clark strangely overlooks his self-imposed duty, when he fails to define just *what* religion he would have the *State* allied to; and he as strangely leaves it open to others, equally as honest and equally as respectable as he, to grant his premises and insist that *their* particular religion, which teaches that *State* Establishments are not of Christ but of anti-Christ, shall prevail. Indeed, we are free to say, for ourself, that this proposed union of Church and State, whether through the Meeting-house or the Public School, is, in our own well-settled opinion, only the old serpent disguised—the devil painted sky-blue, in order that he may appear as heavenly as his lecherous words appear to be. Our Savior never taught his Disciples to *enforce* religion, either from the pulpit or the schoolmaster's desk; on the contrary, he told them, "*My Kingdom is not of this world*"—and our observation has taught us that it is falsehood, alone, which requires and which generally demands the support of Governmental interference. Truth needs no legal enactment, no levy on the tax-payers, no violation of individual rights; and it was well said, by one of America's wisest sons, that coercion of opinion will make fools of one-half of the world and hypocrites of the other half.

Now, Doctor Clark, be pleased to tell us, in view of the ceaseless demands by the Clergy, for a controlling voice in politics, and of your own claim to what is, practically, the infallibility of the Church, wherein Heidelberg and Boston differ from Rome—wherein *you* differ from Pío Nono—in these matters. The same arrogant assumption of authority, in temporal affairs, and the same self-satisfied love of infallibility of which we hear so much *said* as existing in Rome, thrust their ugly features into our face, from every line of your tract, and stamp its author with the mark of "*the beast*"; and as we do not find, in *our* copy of the Bible, any warrant in the divine law, nor any in the recorded Commission of the Gospel-preachers, for any such interference, as you demand, either by Rome or Albany, by Archbishop Hughes or Rufus W. Clark, D.D., by the Churches of the unreformed Puritans or those of the Reformed Dutch, we are constrained to consider your pretensions as a mask, invented to cover the purposes of your party, of re-saddling the *State* with a Church Establishment, under the specious pretence that "*the general welfare*" demands it.

The truth is, the education of our children is *our own* affair, and not that of either the *State* or the Church; and when the *State* or the Church so far encroaches on the domestic circle and the parental prerogative as to interfere with the

parental control of the matter, it invades a castle and violates a right which, by the law of God, have always been treated as sacred, and which have been respected, everywhere, among men, except wherein the Puritanic element has exercised its *super-divine* authority. A State School is, in fact, nothing more nor less than a result of the practical union of the State and the Church, for undue purposes, under the plea of morality, by those whose own morality may be too often and too justly questioned; and that, too, without any existing necessity for it. Indeed, there is not nearly as much foundation for the claim of the State to educate our children, as a State right, on the ground of morality, as there would be for a general confiscation Act, since the inequality of estates and the desire of gain produce far more crime than a lack of learning; and a hungry belly and a shivering back appeal more powerfully for community of goods and a common table, and prompt more distinctly to crime, than any mere ignorance of the rudiments of Algebra and Natural Philosophy can possibly do.

But this is not all. Having gained the control of the education of our children, as a State duty, these Puritans tell us the Bible must be used as a school-book, because, First, the State *has* something to do with Religion; because, Second, the Bible is not a *sectarian* volume; because, Third, it is "the vital force of the Republic"; and, Fourth, because Rome will otherwise conquer America.

We deny that the State, as such, has, properly, any jurisdiction, concerning the education of our children, either within our family circle or elsewhere. We deny that the State, as such, has, properly, any jurisdiction on matters of Faith, either within or without the Churches. We deny that the Bible, in its ordinary form, is not sectarian; and we assert, and hold ourselves ready to prove, that it was *translated to order, for the establishment of a sect, under the direction of a bigoted sectarian, after a fashion of his own; and that it was established, by Law, at the expense of a more faithful translation, and is nothing if it is not Prelatical.* We deny that, if we understand the Bible correctly, it has anything to do with the working of the Republic, much less is it "the vital force" of that concern whose only visible "force," now-a-days, seems to be the gases which are thrown off from the masses of corruption which are heaped up, around every Capitol, and every Court Room, and every Executive Chamber, from Augusta to Sacramento, and from Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico. We deny that there is any danger of "Rome" conquering America; and if there is any such danger, we need only refer to the recent conquest of

Saarbruck by the French and of the way in which it did not remain conquered, as an example of how America would not long remain "conquered" by the good old man who has not strength enough, in himself, to hold his own seat of empire in the Eternal City.

In fact, the tract is a re-hash of the stale arguments, worn out, long ago, in the service of every usurper and of every genteel robber of other people's rights and properties. It is a repetition of New England's excuse for killing heathen Indians, of her apology for stealing heathen Negroes, of her "patriotism" in overthrowing or disregarding her Constitutional obligations, of her excuses for defying alike the laws of God and of man, whenever they become *unprofitable*. It is a photograph of New England's arrogance because of her Puritanic origin; of her assumed superiority, by necessity; of her supposed supremacy, by the gift of God. The Puritan fathers did so, they tell us: the Puritan fathers were so and so: all that is good, in the Government or among the individual residents of the United States, has proceeded from them. They are the children and successors of these Saints, *therefore*, they are the proper lawgivers, the proper Priests, the Brahmins of America, unto whom all men must yield obedience—"for the general welfare."

We wonder if New-England-men will ever become sensible of their inborn folly, in the matter of their Puritanic ancestors and their own supposed superiority, as a consequence of their descent; and if they will ever talk and act, on these subjects, like other men. If the Almighty would graciously take them down to Damascus, as he took Paul, and as graciously remove the scales from their eyes, as he removed the scales from the eyes of that ancient Israelitish Puritan, they would discover, as he discovered, how ridiculously they have been acting before the world, and how nearly like fools, notwithstanding, in their own conceit, they are, like Paul, the Hebrews of the Hebrews. Even Doctor Clark might learn, in such a case, that the Ritualistic, Consistory-governed Dutch Church requires a different Bible, as "the sole rule of its faith and practice," from that which forms the "rule" for the Old South; and he might also take to himself, as a wanderer from the Puritanic fold, a little of that advice, which says, "Physician! heal thyself."

**Trial of the Officers and Crew of the Privateer
Savannah, on a charge of Piracy, in the
United States Circuit Court, for
the Southern District
of New York.**

Hon. Judges NELSON and SHIPMAN, Presiding,

Reported by A. F. WARBURTON, Stenographer,

And corrected by the Counsel.

OCTAVO pp. cvii, 335. NEW YORK, 1862.

This very celebrated trial involved the principles which control the rights of those who are in insurrection and resort to the seas, in the prosecution of their purposes; and it is probable that in no other work have those principles been so thoroughly or so ably discussed.

The arguments of Counsel, both those for the United States and those for the prisoners, and the Charges of the Court, were corrected by their respective authors; and this volume was published at the joint expense of the United States and the friends of the prisoners.

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Number V.

THE

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AND

NOTES AND QUERIES

CONCERNING

The Antiquities, History, and Biography

OF

AMERICA.

November, 1870.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.:

HENRY B. DAWSON.

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TO OUR READERS.

I.—We have pleasure in sending out another of our delinquent Numbers; and, unless something now unforeseen shall prevent, the December will reach you in about a fortnight. The latter will complete the Eighth Volume of the Series; and as the Ninth is already completed and the Tenth commenced—the first number of it being already in your hands—we may reasonably hope, as we do, to complete the entire Series before the first of April next. The completion of that Series will receive our attention before anything else: the current Series will then be attended to, and the publication brought into line.

II.—The number for March, 1872, containing a continuation of *The Story of Fort Sumter*, of *The Early Records of Trinity Church, 1697-1715*, of *The Minutes of the Conventions of the Green Mountain-boys*, etc., will be sent out during the present month.

THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. VIII. SECOND SERIES.]

NOVEMBER, 1870.

[No. 5.]

I.—A NAVAL HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 182.

By HON. J. RUSSELL BARTLETT.

XX.

CONVENTION OF THE NORTHERN COLONIES, AT HARTFORD. ABLE-BODIED MEN IN RHODE ISLAND. FIFTEEN HUNDRED MEN IN PRIVATEERS. ONE THOUSAND MEN ORDERED FOR A NEW CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE FRENCH. ADMIRAL COLVILLE CALLS FOR MORE SEAMEN. GENERAL ABERCROMBIE APPOINTED COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF. ABERCROMBIE RECALLED, AND LORD AMHERST APPOINTED IN HIS PLACE.

With the commencement of the year (1758,) the Earl of Loudoun called for a Convention of the Governors of the Northern Colonies, to be held at Hartford. Rhode Island promptly complied with the call; and the General Assembly, at its February Session, resolved to send three Commissioners there, consisting of the Governor, Colonel John Andrews, and Samuel Ward. They were directed to lay before Lord Loudoun an exact state of the Colony, with regard to its fortifications, cannon, warlike and military stores, the number of its inhabitants, and the state of the Treasury. They were also required to ask of his Lordship an allowance for the provisions and military stores furnished by the Colony, the previous two years.

From the Memorials presented by the Commissioners, before-named, to Lord Loudoun and the other gentlemen of the Convention, we are enabled to gather some important facts relative to the actual state of the Colony, at that time. They state that, at the close of the year 1755, there were in the Colony eight thousand, two hundred, and sixty-two able-bodied men capable of bearing arms; but, as they had lost many during the War, and *fifteen hundred were out in privateers*, they believed the effective force had been greatly reduced. This is certainly a very large force to be engaged in privateering, and shows to what an extent this

business was carried. We should imagine that, in our day, with a population nearly four times greater than it was a century ago, fifteen hundred would be a large number of men to be thus employed. A knowledge of this fact may have induced the constant calls for seamen, by the Commanders of British men-of-war, whenever they appeared on our coast.

From an order to pay certain residents of Newport the amount of their bills, for the board of the French prisoners, it is evident that our privateers had been active, for, in no other way could such prisoners have found their way to Newport. The amount voted to be paid, for the board of these men, was five hundred and eighty pounds, ten shillings.

Admiral Lord Colville, who had been appointed Commander-in-chief of His Majesty's ships in North America, addressed a letter to Governor Greene, from Halifax, to the effect that his ships were short of a complement of seamen, and desired him to raise and forward to him, with the utmost dispatch, as many as possible. At the same time, dispatches came from Secretary Pitt, expressing great disappointment at the result of the late campaign, and making known the determination of the King to recover his losses, by the most vigorous and extensive efforts. He thought the Northern Colonies were able to furnish twenty thousand men, which, with a body of the King's forces, might, by the way of Crown Point, carry the war into the very heart of the enemy's possessions. If found practicable, Pitt also proposed to attack Montreal and Quebec. The Secretary further reiterated the call of Admiral Colville "to supply him with such a number of sailors and workmen from the Colony, as he shall, at any time, require for his Majesty's service."

There seems to have been some difference of opinion, among the members of the Convention, with regard to the quota of the troops to be furnished by the New England Colonies. The number called for, by Lord Loudoun, from Rhode Island, is not stated; but the Commissioners, in their Memorial to his Lordship, in

reply to his requisition, remark that the full quota of the Colony should be four hundred and twenty-five men. They also call his attention to the "exposed and defenceless condition of the Colony, and of the great number of its inhabitants which are out in private men of war." Lord Loudoun replied that he knew of no rule which the Governments had agreed upon; and that he could not vary from the number of men he had called for, without giving great uneasiness to the other Governments. But, whatever number the call was made for, the Colony passed an Act to raise one thousand men, "for the ensuing campaign against His Majesty's enemies in North America," which were to co-operate with a powerful fleet, "to make the most vigorous and extensive efforts to avert the dangers impending, and to carry war into the enemy's country." The whole force expected to be raised by the six Northern Colonies, which included New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, and New Jersey, was twenty thousand men. The field-officers appointed for the Regiment were, Godfrey Malbone, Colonel; Henry Babcock, Lieutenant-colonel; Daniel Wall, Major; and Joseph Coggeshall, Commissary. While these proceedings were going on, the Earl of Loudoun was recalled, and General James Abercrombie appointed Commander-in-chief of His Majesty's land-forces in North America.

General Abercrombie had no sooner taken command of the forces, than he addressed a letter to Governor Hopkins, on the subject of the new levies, and of the vigorous measures to be resorted to, in the forthcoming campaign. He also ordered an embargo to be laid on all ships in the different ports of the English Colonies. In speaking of the troops, he says that there are not arms enough in his Majesty's stores to arm all the men; and, therefore, he proposes that they furnish their own arms, together with "powder-horn, shot-bag, a case for the lock of his gun, and a good blanket."

One of the first acts of General Abercrombie was to issue a General Order in relation to the capitulation of Fort William Henry, declaring that agreement null and void. It appears that, immediately after the capitulation, "the French broke it in a most flagrant manner, by murdering, pillaging, and captivating many of His Majesty's good subjects, in violence of said capitulation, as well as of the Law of Nations." The General, in consequence, directed that all officers and soldiers who served at the Fort, "be empowered and commanded to serve in the same manner as if no capitulation had ever been made." General Abercrombie, at the same time, notified

the Governor-general of Canada that, if any of His Majesty's subjects supposed to be comprehended in that capitulation should fall into his hands and any violence follow thereupon, he would retaliate on the persons of the French prisoners then in his hands, as well as on all that might be taken, by sea or land.

The following official letter from Colonel Samuel Angell, commanding the Rhode Island Regiment, at the fall of Fort William Henry, to Governor Greene, gives the particulars of this disaster and of the outrageous conduct of the French, to which General Abercrombie alludes:

"CAMP FORT EDWARD, }
14th August, 1757. }

"SIR: The following is the best account of the siege and reduction of Fort William Henry that I am at present able to give, with the consequences that have followed:

"The 2d instant, Colonel Young of the Third Battalion of the Royal Americans, and Colonel Frye, of the Massachusetts, marched to the Lake with about thirteen hundred men, which made up the number in camp and garrison to twenty-four hundred, including carpenters and sailors.

"On the 3d instant, at five o'clock in the morning, the Fort and camp were invested by Canadians and Indians; and, at the same time, a large body of boats and canoes appeared on the Lake, near, while our camp was attacked by a superior number of the enemy. They landed their artillery, the same day. Our Rangers brought in one of their Lieutenants prisoner, who gave account that their strength consisted of three thousand Regulars, five thousand Canadians, and three thousand five hundred savages, thirty-six cannon, and four mortars.

"The siege continued obstinate till the 9th day, at six o'clock in the morning, when all the cannon bigger than twelve-pounders were broken; the men in camp and garrison spent with fatigue. They capitulated on honorable terms, viz: that they should march to this place, with a brass twelve-pounder in the front, and their fire-locks clubbed, and colors flying, with all their baggage. This was agreed to, and Articles signed. General Montcalm and other principal officers of his army expressed and acknowledged that they had made a defence beyond expectation; and, for those reasons, he allowed them as good terms as General Blakeney had. The Articles obliged our men not to bear arms till eighteen months were expired.

"The morning following, our men were to march with a strong guard of Regulars, to keep the savages from insulting them.

"When our people began to draw up for a march, the horrible scene of massacre then began by the savages scalping our sick and wounded men; next, by their drawing out all the black men, scalping the Indians, and keeping the negroes for slaves. All this did not satisfy them; but they fell to stripping and scalping without distinction; which put our men to the flight, each man for himself—having no protection agreeably to the Articles. They all scattered in the woods; the Indians following them several miles. Our men have been coming in since eleven o'clock that day, till this morning, by single persons and small parties; not a man but is stripped, some quite naked.

"There are yet behind several hundred; many of whom, it is known, are sick, and many, it is thought, will perish in the woods. This minute, a deserter from the French says that about two hundred of our men went back to the French for protection.

"By our parties, just come in, we have certain accounts that the fort is destroyed, and that the enemy are drawing off. We have about four thousand militia here, and two thousand troops. In haste, conclude—

"Your Honor's most obedient humble servant,

"SAMUEL ANGELL.

"To the Hon. WILLIAM GREENE."

In September, 1758, General Abercrombie returned to England, and Major-general Jeffrey Amherst was appointed in his place, as Commander-in-chief of the King's forces in North America.

The question of flags of truce occupied much attention, at this time, owing, probably, to the powers claimed by them; and the General Assembly appointed a Committee to examine the laws relating to them. By their Report, it appears that since the commencement of the War, but little more than a year, eleven Commissions had been issued. Governor Greene had granted three and Governor Hopkins eight. The latter were issued to Ebenezer Tyler, Thomas Rodman, Nehemiah Rhodes, Paul Tew, Lemuel Angell, Samuel Thurston, John Updike, and Benjamin Wanton. The law regarding these vessels was now amended, a provision being made requiring every flag of truce to carry off all prisoners of war that were in the Government, at the time of issuing the Commission, if they had the capacity for doing so. An exact account was also directed to be kept by the Register of the Court of Vice Admiralty, of all prisoners of war brought into the Government.

In January following, came letters from Sec-

retary Pitt, expressing the desire of the King to improve the advantages which his arms had gained, in the last campaign. His Majesty was determined, by the most vigorous efforts, to prevent irruptions of the French; and these could only be accomplished by the Colonies furnishing twenty thousand troops to join a large body of the King's forces for invading Canada, by way of Crown Point. To render the levies more certain, General Amherst wrote to Governor Hopkins, advising him not to disband the troops which had been employed in the campaign, the previous Summer, but to continue them in pay, and, at the same time, to take the necessary measures for raising new levies for the next campaign.

XXI.

FLAGS OF TRUCE SENT TO THE WEST INDIES. ONE THOUSAND TROOPS SENT TO GENERAL AMHERST AT ALBANY UPON THE REQUISITION OF SECRETARY PITT FOR THE REDUCTION OF CANADA. RHODE ISLAND SENDS SEAMEN TO THE BRITISH FLEET AT HALIFAX. BOUNTY.

At the breaking out of the War with France, (1758) there was a considerable commerce between Rhode Island and the French Islands, in the West Indies; and, as is usual in similar cases, property to a large amount belonging to our citizens was seized or retained by the French authorities.

To obtain their property, the owners asked leave of the General Assembly to send out flags of truce. Godfrey and John Malbone, of Newport, got permission to send a flag of truce to the island of Cayenne, to recover twenty thousand livres due them, there. Christian Mayer, also of Newport, obtained leave to send a flag to the island of Hispaniola, for a similar purpose. The same privilege was given to Silas Cooke, of Providence, late commander of the Privateer *Providence*, but for a different object.

It appears from Captain Cooke's Petition, that, while on a cruise in the West Indies, he was captured by two French frigates and carried to the port of St. Mark, in Hispaniola. He and his crew were subsequently liberated and sent to Jamaica, with the exception of three Indians and nine negro slaves belonging to gentlemen in Rhode Island. The latter were to be sold; and, knowing how highly they were prized by their owners, he made arrangements with a French gentleman to purchase them, so that their owners might have an opportunity to redeem them. It was with the view of obtaining these slaves that permission was given to Captain Cooke to proceed with a flag of truce to the port of St. Mark.

At the February Session of the General Assem-

bly, a complaint was made by Silas Cooke, Agent for Don Antonio Gomez Franco, a subject of the King of Spain, against the privateer *Roby*, Captain Simon Smith, of Warren, which, on the twenty-ninth of January, entered the harbor of Monto Christo, a port on the island of San Domingo, and there seized a Spanish vessel, belonging to said Don Antonio, loaded with sugar, which he sent to Warren, where she had arrived, and had been claimed by the owners of the *Roby*, as a lawful prize.

Mr. Cooke showed that the King, two years before, had prohibited his subjects from taking or molesting any of the subjects of his Most Catholic Majesty, on any pretence whatever; and as any thing done by the people of the Colony, contrary to the King's Proclamation and against the Law of Nations, might draw upon them the displeasure of the King and involve the nation in a controversy with the King of Spain, which the Ministry, at home, had industriously avoided, he prayed, in behalf of Captain Rodrigues, the Master of the captured vessel, that it might be restored to him, together with its cargo. The Assembly accordingly passed a Resolution, citing the owners of the *Roby* to make answer to the matters alleged in the Petition of Mr. Cooke.

Several letters were received from William Pitt and Major-general Amherst, in the beginning of the year 1759, pressing the Colony, in the strongest manner, to comply with the request of the King to furnish troops for the proposed invasion of Canada. The Governor was directed to urge on the Council and Assembly the importance of their exerting themselves in the present critical and decisive moment, on which their own interests and security are so nearly concerned, that it would seem superfluous to add the further motives of their duty to their King and of the gratitude they owe to this country for the very great expense and succors supplied for their defence and for the future safety of all their rights and possessions in America.

In answer to the requisition of Secretary Pitt, the General Assembly ordered that the troops in the pay of the Government should be, at once, augmented to one thousand, to be divided into thirteen Companies. They directed the Council of War to send as many of these troops to Albany, by water, as the transports were able to carry, the remainder to march by land or to go by water, as His Excellency General Amherst might direct. They were ordered to be ready by the twenty-fifth of March. The field-officers of the Regiment were Henry Babcock, Colonel, Daniel Viall, Lieutenant-colonel, and John Whiting, Major. Three of the Companies were to be led by the field-officers.

To provide for the comfort of the troops and

see that nothing was wanted, the Commissary and Sutler were ordered to furnish them with clothing and other necessaries not furnished by the Crown. Farther to provide for necessaries, hereafter required, a quantity of shirts, caps, stockings, flannel-jackets, and breeches were to be procured and sent to Albany, for the use of the troops.

A singular clause was added to the Act providing for the Regiment, which was that "if Canada be reduced to the obedience of His Majesty, during the present campaign, each of the soldiers in the service of this Colony shall be entitled to the sum of £10, lawful money, on his return, agreeably to the promise made the soldiers, last year."

To carry on the campaign against Canada, Rhode Island was required, as had been usual, on former occasions, to furnish seamen for the fleet then at Halifax, under Admiral Durell. This officer, under date of the fourteenth of February, 1759, addressed two letters to Governor Greene, on the subject. He stated that as the equipping and manning of the squadron under his command was "of the utmost consequence to His Majesty's service and particularly to the Colonies," he was obliged to call upon Rhode Island, for seamen. In case they could not be furnished, the Admiral stated that he should be obliged to apply to the Regiments then at Halifax, for them; which he feared might prove detrimental to the operations by land. As an inducement for seamen to join his squadron, he promised them a bounty of forty shillings, sterling; and pledged himself that they should not be taken either to Europe or to the West Indies.

General Amherst seems to have used more precautions than are taken now-a-days to prevent the enemy from learning the movements of the Colonies. In one of his letters to Governor Greene, he says, "I must not omit cautioning you that, as secrecy, in all enterprises on particular places, is of the greatest importance, you will use all proper discretion in communicating, by name, any of the immediate objects pointed out by Mr. Pitt, further than to such persons to whom it may be necessary, for the good of the service, confidentially, to entrust the same."

In compliance with the request of Admiral Durell, an Act was promptly passed for raising seamen to complete the manning of the King's ships, at Halifax: and, further to manifest her zeal in the cause, the General Assembly voted to pay each able-bodied seaman who should enlist, a bounty of forty shillings, sterling, in addition to the pay of the King. In order the more efficiently to carry this Act into effect, the Governor was requested to issue his Proclamation embody-

ing its features therein. At the same Session, the Assembly voted ten thousand pounds towards procuring stores and other necessities for the fort on Goat-island, and for completing its ravelins. The town of Newport had the disposition of this money, as well as the enlistment of soldiers for the fort.

To carry on the War, it became necessary to resort to a tax wherewith to pay off the troops, on their return from the campaign. Sixteen thousand pounds had already been voted for enlisting, equipping, and provisioning the Regiment; and the apportionment of the proposed tax was now made. This brought from three citizens of Newport, Messrs. J. Honeymann, Joseph Wanton, Jr., and D. Ayrault, Jr., a Protest against the Bill. From this, it is evident that the War had borne heavily on the people. This the signers do not seem to have objected to; but they thought the people of Newport had to bear too large a proportion of the tax. They say, "the merchants of Newport have lost, in the course of their trade, upwards of two millions of money, since the commencement of the War, which loss must greatly affect all persons residing in the town," who so much depend upon the prosperity of the mercantile community. They think, therefore, that "the inhabitants are not in a capacity to pay such proportion of the tax as is enjoined by the Bill." On the other hand, they believed that the increased price of provisions, by reason of the War, had greatly benefited the inhabitants of the other parts of the Colony, by whom these articles were produced; and that they, in consequence, should bear a larger proportion of the tax.

XXII.

EXTENSIVE PLANS FOR THE CONQUEST OF CANADA. RHODE ISLAND FURNISHES HER QUOTA OF TROOPS. MILITARY SPIRIT OF NEW ENGLAND. FORT NIAGARA SURRENDERS. TICONDEROGA AND CROWN-POINT ABANDONED BY THE FRENCH. GENERAL AMHERST'S LETTER TO GOVERNOR HOPKINS. COLONEL BABCOCK TO GOVERNOR HOPKINS. ADMIRAL DURELL'S LETTER. FALL OF QUEBEC.

The campaign for which the Colony had furnished a Regiment, in 1759, was the conquest of Canada; and, although, on several previous occasions, similar plans had been devised, or attempts had been made to effect the complete overthrow of the French empire, in North America, the plans for the present year were on a grander scale and embraced a wider field than those of former campaigns. A powerful fleet, under Admiral Saunders, bearing eight thousand men, in command of General Wolfe, was to attack Quebec. To reach Montreal, by way of Lake Cham-

plain, the French forts and outposts, at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, were to be reduced, for which purpose General Amherst, with twelve thousand troops, was to march from Albany; while, further West, an entrance was to be made into Canada, at Fort Niagara, with a Provincial army, under General Prideaux, and a large body of the Six Nations of Indians, under General Sir William Johnson.

The northern British Colonies entered into this War with the greatest enthusiasm, notwithstanding their contributions, in men and money, for the campaign of 1758 and previous years. But the military spirit manifested itself chiefly in New England and New York. Massachusetts, though she had sent large numbers before, now furnished no less than seven thousand men for this War, including those sent to the frontier and in garrisons.

The contest began at Fort Niagara, with a force under General Prideaux, consisting of two Battalions from New York, two British Regiments, and the Indian auxiliaries, under Sir William Johnson. Prideaux was killed at the beginning of the siege, when the command devolved on General Johnson. Nine days after, a general battle took place, which resulted in the complete defeat of the French and the surrender of their army.

At the same time, General Amherst commenced operations at Lake George, with a force of twelve thousand men, of which one-half were Provincials, the remainder British Regiments. The force of the French being but one-fourth that number, they abandoned Ticonderoga and Crown Point, almost without making any defence. The following letter, from General Amherst to Governor Hopkins, announced to him the first result of the campaign:

"CAMP AT TICONDEROGA, 27th July, 1759.

"SIR:—On Saturday morning last, I embarked with the army at Lake George. The next day landed without opposition, and proceeded to the Saw Mills, and took post on the commanding grounds, meeting only a trifling opposition from the enemy. We lay on our arms all night; and early the 23d, we continued our march to this ground, which I took possession of in the forenoon, the enemy having abandoned the lines without destroying them; first having carried off their effects, as well as sent away the greatest part of their troops.

"As soon as I was set down before the place, and after having reconnoitred it, I ordered the trenches to be opened, and batteries to be made, which were finished last night, and were to have opened at break of day; but the enemy did not think proper to wait till then, having, about ten of the clock, yesterday evening,

"blown up a part of the fort, and made their escape, all to about twenty deserters.

"Our loss, considering the fire we sustained, is inconsiderable. We have only two officers killed, viz: Col. Townshend, Deputy Adjutant-general, and Ensign Harrison, of late Forbes's.

"I take the earliest opportunity of acquainting you with this, and assuring you that

"I am, with great regard, Sir,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

"JEFF. AMHERST.

"To the Hon. Governor HOPKINS."

No letter is preserved from Colonel Babcock, except the following to Governor Hopkins, written three days after the fall of Ticonderoga:

"TICONDEROGA, July 29, 1759.

"HON'D SIR:—I have so many different things to do, that I have scarcely time to turn around. For God's sake, if you have any regard to the safety of your Government, as I am well assured no man can have more, be good enough, as soon as possible, to appoint Major Whiting Lieutenant-colonel, and Eb. Whiting, Major. I beseech you to do so, as it is for the good of His Majesty's service. The latter has been solicited repeatedly to take command in the Inskilling Regiment, and he would not do it without my leave; and he is so good an officer that I could not, contrary to his private interests, let him go.

"I beg you would come up, and then you will see what is absolutely necessary. We want brass kettles, which I must draw upon Dow for—but how to get them here, I can't tell. I have not two minutes notice of this express going.

"The fort was evacuated the 26th July, the same day that Louisbourg surrendered.

"I am, &c., &c.,

"H. BABCOCK."

A few days later, the following letter, giving more particulars of the campaign, was received by the Governor from General Amherst:

"CAMP AT CROWN POINT, 8th August, 1759.

"SIR:—On the 27th ultimo, I had the pleasure of communicating to you that the enemy had, on the evening before, abandoned the fort at Ticonderoga; to which I have now the further satisfaction to add, that they have likewise withdrawn themselves from this place, after having also attempted to blow up the fort, in which they have succeeded only in part; and that I am in possession of the ground ever since the 4th, where I propose building such a stronghold as shall most effectually cover and secure all this country.

"The night of my arrival here, I received letters from Sir William Johnson, with the additional good news of the success of His

"Majesty's arms at Niagara, which surrendered by capitulation on the 25th, to Sir William, upon whom the command had devolved, by the demise of poor Brig. General Prideaux, killed in the trenches on the night of the 20th; the garrison, consisting of six hundred and seven men, being prisoners of war, and now on their march to New York, together with seventeen officers and one hundred and sixty men more, part of a Corps of twelve hundred, assembled at Detroit, Venango, and Presque Isle, under the command of Messrs. Aubrey and Delignory, for raising the siege; but Sir William Johnson having intelligence of their approach, provided so properly for their reception, that, on the morning of the 24th, when they went to march straight to the fort, they met with such an opposition as they little expected, being entirely routed, with the loss of all their officers and a great number of their men killed, whilst the loss on our side is inconsiderable.

"This signal success, added to the other advantages, seems an happy presage of the entire reduction of Canada, this campaign; or, at least, of circumscribing the enemy within such narrow bounds as will ever after deprive them of the power of exercising any more encroachments; on which I hope I shall have the satisfaction of congratulating you, as I now do, on these late great events; and am, with great regard, Sir, &c., &c.,

"JEFF. AMHERST.

"To the Honorable Governor HOPKINS."

To complete the naval events of the campaign, we give the letter of Admiral Durell, acknowledging the aid he had received from the Colony, in the seamen so promptly furnished him to man his squadron:

"PASS AMELIA, OFF THE ISLE MADAME, }
"3d September, 1759. }

"HONORABLE GENTLEMEN:—I received the honor of your letter, by Mr. Tripp, with the men you so readily and cheerfully raised for His Majesty's service, upon my application to you.

"I take the opportunity of the said gentleman, to return you my hearty and sincere thanks, as well for the men raised, as for your generous offer in assisting, at any time (upon timely notice given you) to raise a greater number, if his Majesty's service should require it. I shall not fail, when I come to England, to represent the cheerfulness with which you acted upon this occasion.

"When you draw for the forty shillings bounty-money you have dispersed upon this account, you will be pleased to make your draught upon the Honorable the Commissioners

"of his Majesty's Navy; and if said draught should be objected against, which I don't apprehend will be the case, you will be pleased to direct your correspondent, in London, to apply to me, and I will represent it to the Right Honorable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

"I am, with great regard, &c., &c.,

PHIL DURELL.

"To the Governor and Company of Rhode Island."

The result of the attack on Quebec is familiar to all. The whole armament reached there, on the twenty-sixth of June. Little of moment was accomplished during the months of July and August. On the morning of the thirteenth of September, Wolfe made a landing, near the city, and, with his army, climbed the precipitous banks, when he reached the Plains of Abraham. Montcalm met him, that day, in battle, each army having about five thousand men. Both commanders were killed; but the victory remained with the British. Five days after, Quebec capitulated. The news of this important victory was received with great joy, in Rhode Island. Bonfires and illuminations, Sermons and Orations, attested the universal joy at the complete triumph of the British arms. In England, were similar rejoicings; and a Royal Proclamation was issued appointing a day of Public Thanksgiving throughout the country.

XXIII.

THE WAR TO BE PURSUED AND THE FRENCH DRIVEN FROM THE CONTINENT. LETTER FROM WILLIAM PITT. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY VOTE MORE TROOPS. MONTREAL TAKEN AND THE REDUCTION OF CANADA COMPLETE. THE RHODE ISLAND TROOPS DISBANDED. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY APPOINTS A DAY OF GENERAL THANKSGIVING FOR THE SUCCESS OF HIS MAJESTY'S ARMY, IN THE REDUCTION OF CANADA.

The Government determined, after the fall of Quebec, to continue the War with the utmost vigor and drive the French from every part of the Continent. But it was now too late in the season; and further active operations, at the North, were necessarily deferred for another campaign. The following letter was received by Governor Hopkins from Admiral Colville, at Halifax:

"SIRS: As I am Commander-in-chief of His Majesty's sea-forces, in North America, the nature of my office, as well as my instructions, points out to me the propriety of corresponding with the several Governors of His Majesty's Colonies on the Continent. Therefore, I make it my present request to your Excellency, that you will, as early as possible, communicate to

"me whatever intelligence you may receive, relating to the enemy; and, particularly, if any of their ships of war should arrive in your neighborhood, that part of the force under my command may be employed to defeat their purposes.

"I must likewise acquaint you that most of the King's ships with me are short of complement, and, by death and sickness, will be still shorter in the Spring. There is no provision made to supply this deficiency from England; because 'tis supposed, there, that it can be done from the Colonies; and, although I am perfectly sensible, from former experience, how difficult it is to raise men in America, for the sea-service, yet I am under the necessity of applying to Your Excellency for this purpose; because I have no other prospect whereby the strength of the squadron can be kept up.

"I am, &c., &c.,

COLVILLE.

"Northumberland, at HALIFAX, Nov. 1, 1759.
"To the Governor and Company of Rhode Island."

Under date of the thirteenth of December, 1759, General Amherst wrote to Governor Hopkins complimenting the Rhode Island troops for their services, in the campaign against Canada. He adds, "and, as Colonel Babcock has, throughout the whole campaign, continually manifested his zeal for the service and, upon all occasions, promoted it to his utmost, I should do him injustice were I to omit giving him this public testimony of it, and begging of you to return him my particular thanks for the same." On the same occasion, General Amherst made a requisition on Rhode Island for a Regiment of troops, or rather requested that the Regiment which had been in the late campaign should be completed and kept in service during the Winter. But the General was too late with his request. The General Assembly, at its October Session, had ordered that, when the Regiment returned from the seat of war, it should be disbanded, unless, before that time, a request should be received from the commanding General that they might be longer retained. The Regiment, it appears, waited until the tenth of December, when the officers and men were all discharged, by Proclamation. In stating this fact to General Amherst, Governor Hopkins assured him that the Colony had no design of withholding its further assistance to His Majesty's service, should it be wanted; and that his future requisitions for troops would, at once, be laid before the Assembly, by which body they would "all be cheerfully and promptly carried into execution."

Early the following year, a letter was received from William Pitt, Secretary of State, calling

upon the Colony for aid, of which the following is an extract :

" WHITEHALL, 7th January, 1760.

" SIR : His Majesty having nothing so much at heart as to improve the great and important advantages gained, the last campaign, in North America, and not doubting that all his faithful and brave subjects, there, will continue, most cheerfully, to coöperate with, and second, to the utmost, the large expense and extraordinary succors supplied by this kingdom for their preservation and future security, by completing the reduction of all Canada ; and His Majesty not judging it expedient to limit the zeal and ardor of any of his Provinces, by making a repartition of the force to be raised by each, respectively, for this most important service ; I am commanded to signify to you the King's pleasure, that you do forthwith use your utmost endeavors and influence with the Council and Assembly of your Province, to induce them to raise, with all possible dispatch, within your Government, at least as large a body of men as they did for the last campaign ; and even as many more as the numbers of its inhabitants may allow, and, forming the same into Regiments, as far as shall be found convenient, that you do direct them to hold themselves in readiness, as early as may be, to march to the rendezvous, at Albany, or such other place as His Majesty's Commander-in-chief, in America, shall appoint, in order to proceed from thence, in conjunction with a body of the King's British forces, and under the supreme command of His Majesty's said Commander-in-chief, in America, so as to be in a situation to begin the operations of the campaign, by the 1st of May, if possible, or as soon after, as shall be any way practicable, by an irruption into Canada, in order to reduce Montreal and all other posts belonging to the French, in those parts, and further to annoy the enemy, in such manner as His Majesty's Commander-in-chief shall, from his knowledge of the countries through which the War is to be carried and from emergent circumstances, not to be known here, judge to be practicable.

" And the better to facilitate this important service, the King is pleased to leave to you to issue Commissions to such gentlemen of your Province, as you shall judge, from their weight and credit with the people and their zeal for the public service, may be best disposed and able to quicken and effectuate the levying of the greatest number of men ; in the disposition of which Commissions, I am persuaded you will have nothing in view but the good of the King's service and a due subordination

" of the whole, when joined to His Majesty's Commander-in-chief ; and all officers of the Provincial forces, as high as Colonels, inclusive, are to have rank according to their several respective Commissions, agreeably to the Regulations contained in His Majesty's Warrant of the 30th of December, 1757.

* * * * *

" It is unnecessary to add anything to animate your zeal in the execution of His Majesty's orders, on this great occasion, where the future safety and welfare of America, and of your own Province in particular, are so nearly concerned ; and the King doubts not, from your own fidelity and attachment, that you will employ yourself, with the utmost application and dispatch, in this promising and decisive crisis.

" I am, etc.,

W. PITT.

" To the Governor and Company of Rhode Island."

Governor Hopkins laid this letter before the Assembly, at its Session, in February, which body acted promptly upon it, by passing an Act for raising a thousand men " to proceed on an Expedition against his Majesty's enemies still remaining in Canada, and for supplying the Treasury for the necessary charges thereof." Bills of Credit, to the amount of sixteen thousand pounds, were ordered to be issued towards carrying the Act into execution. The field-officers of this Regiment were as follows : Christopher Harris, Colonel ; John Whiting, Lieutenant-colonel ; Thomas Burket, Major. Among the Company officers, we notice the names of Slocum, Watson, Peck, Tew, Brown, Shaw, Wilcox, Rodman, Eldred, etc. The Assembly also requested the Governor to direct the Colony's Agent, in London, to apply to the Government for forty shillings per head, bounty-money, for the seamen raised in the Colony the previous year and sent to His Majesty's fleet, in the river St. Lawrence.

The sixteen thousand pounds, voted in February, were for equipping the troops and getting them to Albany. An additional ten thousand pounds was voted in May following.

The events connected with the campaign of 1760, against Canada, in which the Rhode Island Regiment took part, belong to the history of the country rather than to that of the Colony. The French, under De Levi, made an attempt to recover Quebec, in which they failed. The whole British force, consisting of three armies, were now concentrated upon Montreal. These embraced the main army, under General Amherst, which included the Rhode Island troops, ten thousand strong. These had collected at Oswego, whence they descended Lake Ontario and the river St. Lawrence, to the place of attack. Gen-

eral Murray, with four thousand men, came up from Quebec; while Colonel Haviland, at the head of thirty-five hundred, approached from Crown Point. Against so formidable an army, Montreal, which had been long cut off from supplies from Europe and was then on the verge of famine, surrendered without a struggle. All western or Upper Canada, together with the district now known as Michigan, which was then possessed by the French, soon after, submitted, thereby completing the reduction of Canada.

The General Assembly ordered that a Proclamation should be issued by the Governor, disbanding the Rhode Island troops, at the end of fifteen days after they had received their discharge from their General, with orders for marching home. The Assembly also appointed a day of General Thanksgiving to be observed throughout the Colony, for the success of His Majesty's arms in the reduction of Canada.

XXIV.

THE EARL OF EGREMONT, SECRETARY FOR THE COLONIES, CALLS FOR MORE TROOPS. GREAT BRITAIN DECLARES WAR AGAINST SPAIN. THE COLONY FURNISHES ITS QUOTA OF TROOPS FOR AN EXPEDITION AGAINST CUBA. ATTEMPTS TO PROCURE SUPPLIES IN NEWPORT FOR THE FRENCH FLEET AND NAVY. PRIVATEERS FITTED OUT IN THE COLONY. SUCCESS OF THE EXPEDITION AGAINST CUBA. FALL OF HAVANA. GREAT LOSS OF LIFE. PEACE BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND SPAIN. GOVERNOR WARD'S PROCLAMATION.

In October, 1761, William Pitt resigned his seat in the Council, and the Earl of Egremont became Secretary for the Colonies. He soon after addressed letters to the Colony, on the subject of the War, with a request that it should raise six hundred and sixty-six men, being the same quota which it furnished the previous year, to be placed, as before, under the command of General Amherst. The request was readily complied with. General Amherst also made a requisition for one hundred and seventy-eight additional troops, to complete the regular corps, which were also furnished.

In January following, Lord Egremont transmitted to Governor Hopkins the King's Declaration of a War against Spain, with an order that it should be proclaimed in the Colony. He further announced that his Majesty had been pleased to authorize the granting of letters of marque, or Commissions to privateers. This news was particularly gratifying to the Colonists, who, from their maritime pursuits, were always ready to embark in enterprises on the sea.

Before the Regiment referred to was raised, a letter was received from General Amherst, re-

questing that of the quota to be furnished by the Colony, two hundred and seven men, with one field-officer and other officers, might be sent to him, at New York, with the utmost dispatch, to be employed in an "expedition of the utmost importance." This detachment, which was in command of Lieutenant-colonel Hargill, proved to be a portion of the troops organizing for an expedition against Cuba.

By the seizure of some papers, in New York, belonging to Frenchmen, it appeared that the French had made extensive arrangements for supplying, not only their West India Colonies, with provisions, but their fleets which might arrive there. It also appeared, from these papers, that Rhode Island was one of the principal Colonies upon which they were to depend; and that some of the merchants in Newport were to be concerned in the "iniquitous trade." To put a stop to this project, General Amherst wrote to Governor Hopkins, directing him to cause an embargo to be laid upon all vessels except those employed in the transport of provincial troops. Similar orders were transmitted to the Governors of Connecticut and Massachusetts.

Samuel Ward, who had just been elected Governor of Rhode Island, in his reply to General Amherst, says that, "although a few persons may have been concerned in the injurious traffic referred to, the people of the Colony, in general, are very far from countenancing any measures which have the least tendency to obstruct his Majesty's service or support his enemies." It also appears, from Governor Ward's letter, that the fitting out of privateers interfered with the raising of troops for the regular service, as the sailors much preferred the more lucrative and exciting business of privateering.

From a Petition, presented to the General Assembly by Captain Edward Wells, Jr., of Hopkinton, it appears that the enemy sometimes took the Colony's vessels. The petitioner represents that "he hath lost large sums of money at sea by the enemy's taking his vessels," "and is likely to be ruined thereby." "That, by reason thereof, he cannot pay his just debts without the assistance of the Assembly." He therefore asked and obtained permission for a lottery, to enable him to dispose of his goods. He further states, in his Petition, that he has "a large acquaintance, in New York and Connecticut, who will cheerfully become adventurers in a lottery to contribute to his relief and enable him to pay his just debts."

In compliance with the request of General Amherst, a Company of sixty-four men, with two officers, were detailed from the Rhode Island Regiment to remain at Fort Stanwix, until the following July. The remainder were transported back to Providence, by water, from Albany.

Governor Ward found difficulty in recruiting men to make up deficiencies in the regular army, as required by the Earl of Egremont. The quota of Colony troops was easily furnished; but the Colonists felt reluctant to enlist in the regular service, where they might be sent abroad. In his reply to the Earl of Egremont, Governor Ward says that there was "a great scarcity of men, which was occasioned by the provincial levies and the spirit of privateering prevailing since the breaking out of the Spanish war." He was, however, enabled to send to General Amherst a number of men, who had arrived at Newport from the British frigate *Hussar*. This ship had been cast away on the island of Hispaniola; and her men had been sent to Newport, under a flag of truce.

The taking of Havana was the most brilliant achievement of the War, although it was attended with a great loss of life. A fleet, under Admiral Sir George Pococke, sailed from England, in March, and, uniting with the squadron of Lord Rodney, formed a most powerful expedition, embracing no less than thirty-seven ships of war, a hundred and fifty transports, and an army of ten thousand troops. Besides this, there were the reinforcements from the American Colonies, which had sailed from New York, under General Lyman. These numbered about twenty-five hundred men, to which must be added a like number of negroes, from the West India islands, making the entire force about fifteen thousand men. The Spanish garrison numbered about forty-six hundred. The siege of the Moro Castle was commenced early in June, a period of great heat, and which, even to those accustomed to the temperature of tropical climates, would have been oppressive; but to soldiers from a northern clime, it produced fatal results. Nevertheless, the valor and indomitable perseverance of the Anglo Saxon, which has ever overcome all hardships and withstood the rigor of all climates, surmounted all obstacles, in Cuba. After great hardships and a fearful loss of life, a breach was made in the walls of the famous castle which guards the city of Havana, when it was carried by storm. A fortnight after, the city itself capitulated. The amount of treasure captured is stated to have been three millions, sterling. The following letter, from General Amherst to Governor Ward, briefly announces the victory, and states that the Rhode Island troops arrived in season to partake in it.

"NEW YORK, 6th September, 1762.

"SIR: 'Tis with the highest joy and satisfaction that I can inform you of the reduction of the Havana; having received letters from my Lord Albemarle, by the *Enterprise* man-of-war, which arrived here this morning at two o'clock.

"His Lordship acquaints me that the Moro fort was taken by storm, on the 30th July, very much to the honor and credit of the troops, and on the 13th August the Havana, with its dependencies, surrendered by capitulation, and is now added to His Majesty's conquests.

"The fatigues the troops have undergone during a long siege are not to be described; and the spirit and resolution with which they have carried on the different operations in that climate are not to be equalled.

"It gives me particular satisfaction that the troops furnished on this occasion by the Colony of Rhode Island arrived in time to partake of the honors reaped by so noble a conquest.

"I am, with great regard,

"Your most obedient servant,

"JEFF. AMHERST.

"To the Hon. Gov. WARD."

In a letter from General Amherst, of the fifteenth of September, he thanks Governor Ward and the Assembly for the promptness and cheerful compliance with his requisition for troops, for Fort Stanwix. A few weeks later [*October 13th*,] he apprised the Governor that he had received dispatches from Lord Colville, commanding his Majesty's fleet, informing him that he had retaken St. Johns, Newfoundland, and the garrison, with seven hundred prisoners, whereby the island again came entirely into the possession of Great Britain.

The troops engaged in the expedition against Havana returned to New York, late in November, when those from Rhode Island were forwarded by transports to Newport. It appears by General Amherst's dispatch, that the loss in men, from the unhealthiness of the climate, was very great. Of the two hundred and twelve furnished by Rhode Island, but one hundred and twelve survived the siege. A dispatch from the Earl of Egremont, bearing date the twenty-seventh of November, to Governor Ward, announced the welcome news that Peace had been ratified between Great Britain, France and Spain, when the following Proclamation was made by him:

"By the Hon. Samuel Ward, Esquire, Governor, Captain General and Commander in Chief of, and over the English colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in New England in America. To all whom these presents shall come, greeting:

"Be it known, that in pursuance of His Majesty's orders, signified to me by a letter from the Right Honorable the Earl of Egremont, one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, cessation of arms between His Britannic Majesty, His Most Christian Majesty, His Catholic Majesty, and His Most Faithful Majesty,

"and their respective vassals and subjects, as well by sea as land, in all parts of the world," was published on Tuesday, the 8th instant, at Newport, in the Colony aforesaid.

"Given under my hand and the seal of the said Colony this 15th day of February, 1793, and in the third year of the reign of His Most Sacred Majesty George the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, &c.

"SAM. WARD.

"By His Honor's command,
"HENRY WARD, Sec'y."

In the ensuing month of June, an Order was issued from the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, directing that a day of public thanksgiving should be observed throughout all His Majesty's Colonies in America, on the happy conclusion of Peace. The General Assembly accordingly appointed the twenty-fifth of day August, 1763, to be kept in compliance with the orders of the King, for which the Governor issued his Proclamation, "requiring the inhabitants to assemble together, on that day, in their respective places of worship," also "forbidding all servile labor, sports, and pastimes on that day."

In this long War, which had lasted nine years, our little Colony took a most active part, furnishing more than her proportion of men for the Army, besides complying with the constant requisitions made by the various British Admirals, for seamen, when arriving on the coast with their fleets. She had willingly borne the increased taxation, and submitted to the loss of her foreign commerce. She had been, however, in a measure, remunerated for this loss by the profits which accrued from her numerous privateers; and it is safe to say that the military spirit which marked the people of the Colony, in its revolutionary struggle, and which has again been manifested, while we are penning these lines, by its contributions of men and money towards crushing the wicked conspiracy and rebellion in which the country is involved, commenced in the War between Great Britain and France, for supremacy in America.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

II.—THE NORTH-EASTERN BOUNDARY OF NEW JERSEY.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 234.

VI.—A REJOINDER TO MR. DAWSON'S "REVIEW OF THE QUESTION."

BY WILLIAM A. WHITEHEAD, Esq.

A correspondent of *The Gazette*, introduced to its readers as "A Member of the New York

"Historical Society,*" in attempting to elucidate the vexed questions which have been discussed under the above heading, has signally succeeded in surrounding them all with a mystifying halo, well calculated to mislead the unwary and confuse those unaccustomed to the effect of the cross lights which historical research is apt to throw upon controverted subjects. In view, therefore, of the position the writer has felt called upon to assume, he deems it justly due to himself and historic truth, to endeavor to relieve whoever may be interested in the controversy, from the maze of error into which they are liable to be led by the gentleman's long and labored article, although, from its tone and temper, its personalities and most unwarrantable aspersions of motives, it might very properly be left unnoticed.

It is well, perhaps, to draw attention to the fact that this discussion originated in a positive announcement by Attorney-general Cochrane that "the waters of the Hudson, in their seaward current, debouch through both the Narrows and the Kills"; that "the Hudson-river empties itself through its two mouths, the Narrows and the Kills, into the Bay of New York"; and that "all the waters which lave Staten Island shores were, from the period of their discovery, known and accepted, and should properly now be considered, the waters of Hudson-river."

These assertions were presented and urged in a manner and form exceedingly objectionable to Jerseymen; and the writer, in reviewing the paper through which they were given to the public, exonerated his native State from the opprobrium sought to be cast upon her, and, at the same time, showed conclusively that the waters referred to, West of Staten Island, could never have been recognized, and could not now be recognized, as part of the Hudson, inasmuch as not a drop of the waters of that river passes through that channel. The "Member of the New York Historical Society," who has come to the support of Mr. Cochrane, does not pretend to controvert this truth; "but," he says, "the question is not as to the physical facts concerning

* This paper, like all which have preceded it, in this discussion, originally appeared in *The Gazette*, a weekly newspaper published in Yonkers, in this County, under the editorial supervision, at that time, of the present Editor of *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*; and the reader may judge with how much good taste Mr. Whitehead alluded to "the correspondent of *The Gazette*," when referring to the author of the *Review*, which had appeared as editorial, in Mr. Dawson's own paper, and over his own initials.

Mr. Whitehead also refers, sneeringly, to "the Member of the New York Historical Society," when referring to Mr. Dawson, only because, in an announcement of the forthcoming article, before it was placed in the printers' hands, it was said it would come from the pen of "a well known member of the New York Historical Society." It was no secret who was writing the *Review*; and it was printed over the initials of its author.—EDITOR.

"those waters, but, solely, the *historical character* which belongs to them." Indeed! Is not the province of history to elicit and treat of facts? Is any one class of facts less deserving of consideration than another? Can any amount of evidence, historical or otherwise, establish that which never did and never can exist? It was a "physical fact," in the days of Galileo, that the earth moved. Would the gentleman have us ignore that fact and believe it to have been a fixture in the universe, then, and to be so now, because such was its "historical character" among the Inquisitors of 1633? If facts are to be set aside as intrusive, in a historical discussion, then, indeed, was he, of old, right when he said "Read me not history for that I know is false." But, as the gentleman concedes the fact that the waters of the Hudson do not flow between Staten Island and the main land, that point, *the only one really at issue*, may be considered satisfactorily settled; and attention may be directed to the theories upon which he bases his historical disquisition.

It is unnecessary to recapitulate the grounds upon which it is attempted to ignore, as of no legal force, the Royal Grant of Charles and the transfer, by the Duke of York, to Berkeley and Carteret, in 1664, for, in reality, their existence or non-existence has little to do with the true merits of the case; but, it may be asked, if "physical facts" are expected to give way to the "historical character" of the discussion, why should not *legal doubts* be set aside, for the same reason?—particularly, as we are told, subsequently, (the Commissioners of New Jersey, in 1769, having the credit for originating the idea) that, in construing deeds and Grants, "the principles of justice require that the intent and meaning of the parties should be the governing rule of construction," for the "intent and meaning" of the Grants referred to are not questioned, even by *The Gazette's* correspondent. But the first point he makes, after ignoring these Grants, is, that the rights of John Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret—and, of course, those claiming through one or both of them—"were derived, *SOLELY*, from the Royal Charter to the Duke, dated June 29th, 1674, and from the Duke's Lease and Release to Sir George Carteret in severally dated July 28th and 29th, 1674, *AND FROM NO OTHER SOURCE WHATEVER.*"

On this the writer joins issue with him, not only as to the fact itself, but, also, as to the conclusions based upon it, if it were a fact.

This restriction of the rights of the Proprietors of New Jersey and their assigns is made to bear, first, upon their authority to *govern* the country which had been conveyed to them. It is said, "no portion of which prerogatives" [*those derived from the King*] "affecting the Realities of

"the territory was conveyed or delegated by him to Sir George Carteret, in the Lease and Release of 'th: said Tract of Land and 'Premises,' to which reference has been made, *nor* in any other Instrument of Conveyance or Delegation, either at that time or at any subsequent period." Now the very documents the gentleman refers to, the *Lease and Release* of the Duke, transfer New Jersey to Sir George Carteret, "IN AS FULL AND AMPLE MANNER AS THE SAME IS GRANTED UNTO THE SAID JAMES DUKE OF YORK BY THE BEFORE RECITED LETTERS PATENTS, and all the Estate, Right, Title, Interest, Benefit, Advantage, Claim, and Demand, of the said James Duke of York," etc. That is certainly emphatic language, and, as, according to the dogma endorsed by the gentleman, "the intent and meaning" of parties must be considered, irrespective of facts, when both the facts and the meaning of the parties coincide, there should be acceptance, one would think, of the results thus confirmed; and it is rather significant of what he meant, that James should never have attempted, himself, whatever his Governors of New York may have done, to exercise, or even to claim, the government of the tract he thus conveyed. Even the acts of Andros, for which he had, apparently, authority in the *letter* of his Commission, were repudiated by the Duke, as the "Member of the New York Historical Society" must know, if he is as familiar with the authorities as he professes to be. But if anything more is wanted to confirm this view of what were his "intent and meaning" let the following extract from a document headed "CHARLES R" be read:

" * * * We being willing and desirous "to encourage the Inhabiting and Planting of "the said Province, and to preserve the Peace "and Welfare of all our loving subjects residing "there, we do therefore hereby require you in "our Name to use your utmost endeavours to "prevent all Troubles and Disorders there for "the future: and strictly to charge and command all Persons whatsoever inhabiting within "the said Province, forthwith to yield obedience to ~~the~~ the Laws and Government which "are or shall be there established by the said Sir "GEORGE CARTERET, who hath the sole Power, "under us, to settle and dispose of the said "Country upon such Terms and Conditions as "we shall think fit ~~and~~ and we shall expect a "ready compliance with this our Will and "Pleasure from all persons, &c., &c."

This letter, which was addressed to John Berry, Deputy governor under Carteret, may be one of these facts that are to be treated "historically," and robbed of its force, because it bears the date of 18th of June, 1674, a few days

prior to the renewed Letters Patent to the Duke of York; but it is conclusive as to what were the "intent and meaning" of the first conveyances, whose existing vitality it confirms; and also, as to the sentiments of all parties concerned about the time the second Grants were perfected. But, if doubts should be entertained in regard to this, they will be expelled, presently, and, in the meanwhile, attention is asked to one document which it is rather remarkable should have been overlooked by the gentleman. Every true historical enquirer should hesitate to attribute to an opponent an intention to suppress any fact or document essential to the full consideration of any subject; and the course of the *Gazette's* correspondent, in that respect, will not, therefore, be followed; but in *New York Colonial Documents*, Vol. III.—a volume from he quotes—on page 285, will be found this letter from the "honest and wise" Sir William Jones, "the greatest man of the law," in his day, as Burnett called him:

"28 July, 1680.

"I doe hereby humbly certify that having heard w^h hath beene insisted upon for his Royll Highnesse to make good y^e legality of y^e demand of Five p^{er} cent from y^e inhabitants of New Jersey; I am not satisfied (by any thing that I have yet heard) that ye Duke can legally demand that or any other duty from ye inhabitants of those lands. And y^e w^h makes y^e case the stronger against his Rll H^{is} is, that these inhabitants clayme und^r a graunt from his Royll Highnesse to y^e Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret in w^h graunt there is noe reservation of any profitte OR SOE MUCH AS OF JURISDICTION.

"W. JONES."

It is evident that there was no "Member of the New York Historical Society" in those days, to enlighten Sir William. A reference to the volume from which the letter is quoted will show the willingness of the Duke of York to comply with the "intent" of his Grants, as interpreted by this legal giant.

The second point made by the "Member of the New York Historical Society" is that, although James conveys "all Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Woods, Fishing, Hawking, Hunting, and Fowling, and all Royalties, Profits, Commodities and Hereditaments whatsoever, to the said Lands and Premises belonging or appertaining, with their and every of their appertanances, &c." yet "Islands," "Soils," "Harbors" and "Marshes" which were also specifically named in the Letters Patent from the King to the Duke, are not mentioned and therefore—THEREFORE—the "historical character" of the missing items requires it to be said—"The

"Tract of Land and Premises which were thus conveyed to Sir George Carteret and the Rivers belonging or appertaining thereto, were and are, historically, all that then formed or now form, the Province or State of East Jersey; and whatever tracts of land and 'what-ever rivers' [not?] 'belonging or appertaining thereto,' which were not thus Released, and all the Islands, Soils, Harbours, Waters, and Marshes which were between Connecticut River on the East and Delaware River on the West, whether within or without the limits of 'East Jersey' together with the River called 'Hudson's River' and the several prerogatives of Sovereignty which had been separately and specifically conveyed to the Duke, by the King, REMAINED WITH THE DUKE ENTIRELY UNIMPAIRED."

Poor East Jersey! How desolate! No islands, no soils, no harbors, no waters, no marshes, no quarries, (for "quarries" too were omitted,) "ALL retained by the Duke of York as part of his Colonial possessions, and are still to be considered historically! /] waters and lands of the State of New York." Mr. Cochrane concluded his paper by proposing merely to have Raritan-bay "expunged from the Map, and expelled from our physical geography, as a "New Jersey heresy;" but his coadjutor seems to consider it an easy matter to absorb the whole State. Such statements do not call for refutation. They are simply and preposterously absurd, having neither facts nor "intent" to sustain them, as JAMES, HIMSELF, as we shall see, TESTIFIES, UNDER HIS OWN HAND AND SEAL.

It will have been observed the assertion is broadly made that no portion of the prerogatives granted to the Duke, by the Letters Patent of June, 1674, were transferred to the Proprietors of New Jersey in the subsequent *Lease and Release*, "nor in any other Instrument or Conveyance or Delegation, either at that time, or at any subsequent period;" and that the right of the Proprietors were "derived, SOLELY, from the Royal Charter and the Duke's *Lease and Release* of 1674 and from no other source," and whatever was not, by them, in expressed terms conveyed, "remained with the Duke, entirely unimpaired." If all this were so, which the writer does not admit, and Sir William Jones denies, the Duke's right to dispose of those "prerogatives," and those "islands," "waters," "quarries," etc., as he might think proper, was certainly unquestionable. NOW THAT VERY THING HE DID, by his conveyance to the twenty-four Proprietors of East Jersey, on the fourteenth of March, 1682-3. With his usual courtesy, the "Member of the New York Historical Society" accuses the writer of giving a "mutilated" extract from this deed when

referring to it, on a previous occasion, although the words he particularly dwells upon, as left out—"so far as in him lieth"—were actually made the subject of comment. It is not usual to quote the whole of a document every time a portion of it may be pertinent to the subject under review, but the gentlemen shall be favored in due time with an explanation of the phrase he refers to, as well as with further extracts from the Grant itself.

In that document, the Duke sets forth, not only that he *had*, on the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of June, 1664, conveyed New Jersey to Berkeley and Carteret, (*the legal force and validity of which conveyance he affirms*) and subsequently executed the other Grants which have been referred to, *expressly*, so he says, *as he had received it from the King*, with its "islands," "soils," "marshes," etc.; but, also, that, in consequence of the partition made by the grantees of the said tract, and subsequent sale, by Sir George Carteret, of the eastern moiety, he grants and conveys anew to the then twenty-four Proprietors, in whom the title then rested, "their Heirs and Assigns all that Tract Share and Portion and all those Parts Shares and Portions of all that entire Tract of Land, and all those entire Premises so granted to his said Royal Highness, * * * called by the Name of East New Jersey together with ~~the~~ *all* ISLANDS BAYS RIVERS WATERS FORTS Mines Minerals QUARRIES Royalties Franchises and appertinances whatsoever to the same belonging, or in any wise appertaining, &c., ~~as~~ *also* the ~~the~~ *free* use of all Bays Rivers and Waters leading unto or lying between the said Premises, or any of them, in the said Parts of East New Jersey, for Navigation, free Trade, Fishing or otherwise. ~~to~~ *TO HAVE AND TO HOLD* &c to improve and plant the said Premises with People and to exercise ~~the~~ *all* necessary Government ~~in~~ therein, whereby the Premises may be the better improved does and doth by these Presents give grant assign and transfer unto the said" [naming the twenty-four] "their Heirs and Assigns, Proprietors of the said Province of East New Jersey aforesaid, for the Time being ~~the~~ *all* and every such AND THE SAME Powers, Authorities, Jurisdictions, Governments, and other Matters and Things whatsoever which by the said respective recited Letters Patents, or either of them, are or were granted, or intended to be granted, to be exercised by his said Royal Highness his Heirs Assigns Deputies Officers or Agents in or upon, or in Relation unto the said Premises &c." ~~the~~

What rights of property, what prerogatives, pray, are retained here by the Duke, to become "historically" or in any other *Pickwickian*

sense, united to New York? And see, too, what Charles himself said in confirmation of this last-mentioned conveyance, "His Majesty doth hereby declare his Royal Will and Pleasure, and doth strictly charge and command the Planters and Inhabitants, and all other Persons concerned in the said Province of East New Jersey, that they do submit and give all due obedience to the Laws and Government of the said Grantees their Heirs and Assigns, as absolute Proprietors and Governors thereof, &c." This was under date of November, 1688. Need anything more be said to show how entirely at variance with the facts is this "historical" theory?

The writer's mode of disposing of Mr. Cochrane's arguments, based upon a passage in Ogilby's *History of America*, does not meet the approval of the "Member of the New York Historical Society;" and it is probable no greater satisfaction will be felt with the opinions he may express respecting the use made of that work by the gentleman himself.

It is somewhat remarkable that such peculiar stress should be laid upon a single paragraph written by one who was never on this side of the Atlantic, whose ears were open to any "old-wives fables," and his pen as ready to record them, and whose sole authority for the details of his map was the imperfect ones of Vischer and Vander Donck; but, in a theory which discards "physical facts," it may be consistent to accept, as all sufficient authority, one whose knowledge of the waters he describes warrants him in presenting Long Island Sound as *one* of the mouths of the Hudson!! But as his "elegant map" leaves out all appellations for the waters of Sandy Hook, and for convenience has the name of "the Groote River" and its numerous aliases out at sea, just as it places "Zuydt River" off the capes of Delaware, Ogilby is considered an authority of the first grade, omission to confer distinctive titles upon the waters which are the subject of discussion being regarded by the gentleman, as it was by Mr. Cochrane, much better evidence of the "intent and meaning" of parties than positive conferment of definite appellations. It is probable, however, that had his map been on a large scale he would have given to the waters within Sandy Hook their specific title, as did Vander Donck.

In this connection the writer feels bound to notice and pointedly condemn the unwarrantable accusation brought by the gentleman, against the New Jersey Historical Society, of having mutilated, for sinister purposes, the portion of the map of Vander Donck inserted in the first volume of their *Collections*. He says "while the words 'Port May' and 'Godyns Bay' have

"been VERY DISTINCTLY inserted in the proper place, the names of the 'GROOTE RIVER' OUTSIDE of the former have BEEN STUDIOUSLY OMITTED, and Vander Donck has been FORCED to say nothing whatever concerning the Hudson, either at its mouth, at Sandy Hook, or elsewhere. The capitals and italics are the gentleman's own, and a cause which seeks for aid through the effect of such imputations must be inherently weak. He knows that the map inserted in the volume referred to is only one-third of the original—just so much of it as could be brought within the limits of an octavo page, four inches by seven—and the reason why the names he refers to were not on it, was, without doubt, the same with that, the writer has had the charity to suppose, which prevented Ogilby's inserting the names for the bay, the "physical fact" that there was no room for them, if the character of the map as a *fac simile* (as far as it went) were preserved. The implication, that the New Jersey Historical Society "has quailed before the testimony," afforded by the original map, to the North River's emptying into the ocean, is simply ridiculous. It may be safely affirmed that the Society will never be driven to ignore "physical facts" to establish any historical theory.

The *Gazette's* correspondent has devoted much time and labor to verifying an opinion, expressed by the writer, on a previous occasion, that "with a little research a few like instances" [to those adduced by Mr. Cochrane] "might be discovered," of the application of the general title of "Bay of the North River" to the expanse of waters between Sandy Hook and Staten Island. He has supplied "a few like instances," three or four in number, which establish nothing new, and do not controvert the fact that, what thus occasionally received a general appellation was at the same time considered, from its characteristics, devisable into smaller portions bearing specific titles. He has, besides, made diligent search among the contents of "Old Time's" "drag-net," and rescued from oblivion, perhaps, a score or more of extracts to prove—what? that the waters of the Hudson enter into the ocean at Sandy Hook!

It is a favorite mode of procedure, with some disputants, to set up some fanciful and weak edifice of their own, which they would have the world believe is an antagonist's selected stronghold, and then to take great credit to themselves for demolishing it with ease. Such seems to have been the course of the "Member of the "New York Historical Society," for the writer would remind his readers, that there has been no attempt on his part to controvert the "physical fact" that the waters of the Hudson mingle with those of the ocean at Sandy Hook. That

is a truth recognized by the terms of all the Grants which make the eastern boundary of New Jersey "the main sea and Hudson's River;" and he is not aware of any other way in which the two can meet, unless the gentleman's favorite authority, Ogilby, be followed, and the junction be effected *via* Long Island Sound—the other mouth of the River! It is the *homogeneous character* of the waters filling "the Bay," and losing themselves in the Atlantic, at that point, which is denied; and *that*, he believes, is a position impregnable to the attacks of any "historical" theory. But their dissimilar character is one of the "physical facts" which Mr. Cochrane and his coadjutor would ignore; the Hudson and the Hudson *alone* is to be recognized in all those waters; the peculiar influences to which it has been subjected in its passage to the ocean having very materially increased its powers of appropriation and absorption, so that nothing in the shape of water can withstand its voracity—so fittingly symbolized by its "two mouths."

Notwithstanding that Hudson himself, in the "narrow River to the westward," having different tides and currents, discovered a stream distinct from the river he subsequently ascended—although, from that time to the present, that distinction has been recognized by the retaining of the "baptismal names" conferred at first, such as "Kill van Coll;" "the Kills," "the Sea," or "the river which parts Staten Island and the Main," "the Sound;" "Raritan Bay;" "Sandy Hook Bay," &c., names called for by the position and physical character of the waters; and that, too, without any deviation from the practice, excepting by a few individuals, in a few instances, during the period when the New York authorities were prosecuting their fruitless attempt to deprive New Jersey of a seaport:—notwithstanding that *every map*, conferring any title upon those waters, conforms to this this prevailing original nomenclature or confers other distinctive appellations, entirely at variance with the idea that they were ever considered identical with the waters of the Hudson:—although the Staten Island deed, which, from its locating the island "in Hudson Ryver," is so prominently presented as confirming "the character of the waters in question," although even that (despite the forced paraphrase with which its terms are accompanied in the article of *The Gazette's* correspondent) places "*ye Ryver*" only on "ye North" and has upon "ye South" "*ye Bay*"—in the face of these and numerous other facts, both physical and documentary, *The Gazette's* correspondent gravely asserts that the leading Cosmographers of the time, both English and Dutch, [meaning Ogilby and Montanus, *one copying the other*, and both believing that in the New Netherlands could be seen "a kind of

"Beast which hath some resemblance with a Horse, having cloven Feet, Shaggy Mayn, one Horn just on their Forehead, a Tail like that of a wild Hog, black Eyes and a Deer's Neck," that fed "in the nearest wildernesses," together with "Buffles" or "Elands" * * * subject "to the falling sickness," &c., &c., that these *leading Cosmographers*] concurred in the opinion that the Hudson discharged its waters through two mouths, the Narrows and the Kills; whereas there is not a particle of evidence that they had ever heard of either passage. Take the gentleman's own adopted version of the extract from Montanus, so often referred to, it reads thus: "Among the streams the Manhattan, or Great River, is by far the chiefeft, as with two wide mouths washing the mighty Island Matouaces" [not Staten Island, be it observed] "it empties into the Ocean. The Southern mouth is named Port May or Godyns Bays; midway lies the Staten Island and little higher the Manhattan," &c. What is there in this passage to warrant any such statement as that above, as to the opinion of these "leading Cosmographers?" It is impugning the intelligence of the settlers of New Netherland to make these writers exponents of the extent of their knowledge respecting the Province. As early as 1656, Vander Donck, after having examined the localities for himself, placed the mouth of the Hudson at its junction with the East River; and Egbert Benson and the other New York Commissioners, in 1807, frankly acknowledged that such was the "common conception in regard to it," and by the way, those gentlemen were so little satisfied with the modern "historical character" of the waters West of the island that they labored to establish that channel as an arm of the "main sea," connecting with Hudson River in the upper bay! In January, 1664, the Chamber at Amsterdam, was so much better informed about the River than Montanus was, seven years later, that we find it corresponding with the Directors and Council at New Amsterdam in relation to the "defensible condition of the mouth of the river, 'both on Staten and Long Island,'"—(*New York Colonial Documents*, ii., 218.)—and it is evident that, ten years after Montanus wrote, the localities were not much changed from what they were in 1656 and 1664, as we find Governor Andros, in December, 1681, mentioning Staten Island as situated "att the entrance or 'mouth of the River to New Yorke.'"—(*Ibid.* iii., 310).

In this connection it must be noticed that the "Member of the New York Historical Society" has failed to exhibit a single document, or name a single map, that confers upon the waters of Staten Island the name of Hudson River, with the two or three exceptions, also adduced by Mr.

Cochrane, which have already been made the subject of comment, (in due time they will be again considered,) occurring nearly a century after the settlement, and having no value as proofs. But he should know, as well as the writer, that so far from all intelligent well-informed persons, English, Dutch, and American, in 1674, considering the Hudson's River as flowing on both sides of Staten Island, "Hudson's 'narrow river to the westward' and its connecting channel, southward, were uniformly referred to by other names; among the 'intelligent, 'well-informed persons' doing so, being Governor Nicolls, who speaks of both as 'the sea 'between Staten Island and the main' and was so ignorant of the opinions of 'leading Cosmographers' as actually to make the northern boundary of some land on Staten Island, 'Hudson's River and the Kill Van Cull.'"—(*Grant to Bollen & Co., December 24, 1664*). Governor Andros even (IN DOCUMENTS THE GENTLEMAN HIMSELF QUOTES) calls the one "After Cull River" and the other "the Great Kill."

The reader's patience will not be tried by the barren enumeration of other Grants and other documents showing the continuous use of this nomenclature. The records of both States abound in proofs beside those the gentleman himself has furnished; and, without consulting many other works, an examination of the *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in the office of The Secretary of State at Albany* cannot but excite surprise that he should have ventured upon the assertion that, "from an early day—as early as 1643, the waters of what we call * * * 'The Kills' * * * were considered and disposed of as waters of Hudson's River—and that, without a single adverse witness, the same opinion prevailed and the same action was continued until the surrender of the Colony to the King of Great Britain, and its transfer to the Duke of York, in July, 1674." But having, on a previous occasion, gone over this ground, the writer deems it unnecessary to traverse it again. Before passing to another topic, however, he must be permitted to notice the unwarrantable assertion that, *the Map of the settled portion of East Jersey in 1682, in East Jersey under the Proprietary Government*, places "Constable's Hook" at the southwestern extremity of the Neck, [Bergen Neck] "to which point the waters of the Hudson would have been necessarily recognized on his" [the writer's] "own authority, had he told 'the whole Truth' of the matter." This, to say the least, is in worse taste than the accusation brought against the New Jersey Historical Society, of studiously suppressing the title of Hudson's River from the fac-simile of a part of Vander Donck's map, given in the same volume.

Others are left to designate it as their sense of propriety may dictate.

"Constable's Hook" will be found, on all maps going sufficiently into detail, to be the name from the earliest times conferred upon the northern point of the eastern entrance of the Kill Von Kull. The *Gazette's* correspondent knows this fact and understands the position of the "Hook" perfectly. The youngest tyro in geography well knows that names are placed above, or below, on the left, or on the right of the localities to be designated as convenience prompts; and it will scarcely be believed that the above grave charge is based upon the circumstance that the engraver of the map placed the name on the left of Constable's Hook extending of course from the southwestern extremity of the neck towards the Hook. If such a statement as that above quoted is warranted on such grounds, it might with equal propriety be said that Vander Donck located "New Amsterdam" on the West side of the Hudson, because the name stretches across New Jersey; or that Mr. Brodhead intended to place "Paulus Hook" on Newark Bay, or "Communipau" on Staten Island, because their names commence at these points on his map, or that the engineers, who prepared the sketch of the Harbor of New York for the Coast Survey Report of 1857, in placing "Constable's Hook" in a similar position to that which the words occupy in the map first referred to, had some reference "to the claims of modern New Jersey." All the proofs of the Hudson's "debouching" through the channel between Staten Island and the main, which can be deduced from such puerile assertions and arguments, the "Member of the New York Historical Society" is at liberty to appropriate; and also all he may find in the fact that Bergen-county was "to contain all the settlements between Hudson's river and Hackensack River, beginning at Constable's Hook, and so to extend to the uppermost bounds of the Province northward, between the said Rivers." Those settlements being "Pembrepock," "Communipaw," "Paulus Hoeck," "Bergen," "Hobuk," and perhaps one or two others, the nearest, "Pembrepock," being two or three miles North of Constable's Hook.

Allusion has been made to the unbroken testimony borne by MAPS to the fact that distinctive appellations have always been borne by the waters in question, and that such appellations have never indicated any identity with Hudson River; and attention is now directed to the following schedule of a series of the more prominent among them, covering the whole period from 1614 down, upon which they appear, whenever any names are conferred.

1614. Five years after the discovery of the
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River by Hudson, appeared the first map of the country of which we have any knowledge. On it the waters are not named.

1616. Two years later we have the *Carte Figurative* referred to by Mr. Cochrane. On this, what is now known as Raritan Bay, has its distinctive title of "Sand-Bay."

1621. A Map of *America Septentrionalis Pars* was published by A. Jacobz, on which the same title appears for that bay.

1631. An Italian Map by Lucini, supposed to be of this date, has on it "Sand Bay Golfo" to designate the same waters.

In 1648, as appears from *Plantagenet's New Albion*, (p 48.) the bay was known as "Sand-bay Sea;" and subsequently, as has been seen in this discussion, it became known, wholly or in part, as "Coenraed's Bay" (as in the map of Joannes Jansones, of uncertain date,) "Port May," "Godyns Bay," etc., and in—

1656. On Vander Donck's Map, the waters between Sandy Hook and Staten Island are named "Port May or Godyns Bay;" and so are they on a somewhat later Map by Matthæi Seutteri.

1671. Ogilby's and Montanus' Map gives no names to the waters within Sandy Hook, but by titles outside indicates that the Hudson River there empties itself in the ocean.

1683. In this year John Reid was sent from England for the purpose of surveying a portion of East Jersey, and we have the result of his labors, in part, in *A Mapp of Rariton River, Milstone River, South River, Raway River, Bound Brook, Green Brook, & Cedar Brook*, with the *Plantations thereupon, &c., &c.* On this valuable illustrative document, appearing thus opportunely, being contemporaneous with the last Grant of the Duke of York to the Twenty-four Proprietors, we have the "The Sound," between Staten Island and the Main, and for the waters South of the Island, "Part of Rariton Bay."

From the appearance of Reid's Map, down to the Revolution, on all maps giving any titles to these waters, the same system of nomenclature is followed: on some of them "Sandy Hook Bay" appearing in connection with "Raritan Bay." The best of these were the following:

1760. Captain Holland's Map of *New York, New Jersey and part of Pennsylvania*; and, in—

1776. Governor Pownall's improved edition of the same map. On both of these we have "Raritan Bay," and on the last, in addition, "Sandy Hook Bay," "the Sound," and "the Kills."

1779. With this year came the highly finished Map of the *Province of New York*, by Claude Joseph Sauthier, "compiled from actual

"surveys deposited in the Patent Office at New York," on which we find that "the infertile waters of the Raritan" are allowed full sweep, as well as "Sandy Hook Bay," and "the Kills;" and "York Bay," has the position of the present "Lower Bay."

In 1778 and again in 1780 the French Government issued correct and well-executed maps of these waters, upon which appear the same intrusive titles.

It is unnecessary to trace this series of proofs to a later period. It is evident that these distinctive appellations did not originate in modern times, were not the result of "accumulating ignorance," as asserted by Mr. Cochrane, or of any "design" except to name distinctly, and distinguish properly, the waters to which they apply; and if not universally acknowledged, as correctly applied, why is it that *not one map* can be found, the maker of which, has been willing to stultify himself so far as to identify those waters with Hudson River, by conferring its name upon them? All geographers, "leading" or otherwise, have thus endorsed the "physical fact" that Hudson's River "debouches" only through the channel eastward of Staten Island; and one, if not more—Homann of Nuremberg—who lived about the middle of the seventeenth century, with a "design," evidently, to sustain "the claims of modern New Jersey," actually colors Staten Island with the same tint he gives New Jersey. A sensible fellow was Homann: he believed in "physical facts," and did not adopt for a text book, either Montanus or Ogilby.

Whether previously initiated or not, into the mysterious processes of absorption, by which sundry portions of New Jersey, as such, have disappeared from view, every one attending to this discussion will have seen that a failure to establish the existence, "historically," of what the natural configuration of the land and water has made *physically impossible*, necessarily involves the destruction of any theoretical attempt to account, on moral or legal grounds, for the possession of Staten Island by New York, except through the concessions of the inter-State Treaty of 1833. So clear are the terms of the Grants as regards *all* lands *West* of Hudson's River that, unless it can be made to run "historically" where it does *not* run naturally, there cannot be a shadow of pretence to title save by the effect of that instrument. Hence the anxiety to establish that point; but, in order to lessen the effect of incontrovertible facts which prevent such a result, many irrelevant matters which have been introduced, to confuse the enquirer after truth, leading to a wonderful array of so-called authorities having little or no reference to the

simple proposition of Mr. Cochrane, the refutation of which is admitted. To enter upon an examination of all these would entail upon the writer a vast amount of labor, with no possible accruing advantage to the reader. Two or three points, however, thought by *The Gazette's* correspondent to be of particular importance will be noticed, to show how, in reference to them as to every thing else, he has failed to establish his views.

He raises for example another flimsy structure, and making a great demonstration, brings column upon column to bear upon it, as if the fanciful assumptions and imaginary positions he combats as entering into its composition, originated with, or were verily taken by Jerseymen: expending an immense amount of labor in proving that Staten Island has always been in the possession and under the jurisdiction of New York. Who doubts it? *That* is certainly an "historical" fact which no one questions. If it had not been, whence and to what end, this discussion? The writer concedes the point fully, and thereby saves himself and his readers an interminable journey through a labyrinth of contradictory statements and conflicting authorities, which the gentleman has skilfully planned—and within which he is left to rove by himself at his pleasure. Staten Island has always been in the possession of New York, despite of every proper interpretation of the Grants to New Jersey, and having shown that the course of the Hudson is on the eastern side of the island, the unjustifiable character of that possession is fully established.

An attempt is made to substantiate Mr. Cochrane's assertion that the "initiation of New Jersey's enterprising encroachments" upon Staten Island, took place in 1681; although such an assertion is entirely inconsistent with the fact, as it is claimed to be, that the island was "adjudged" to New York in 1669. How happens it that, as shown by the gentleman himself, Governor Carteret should have made a "contingent Grant of land on Staten Island," in 1668, if no claim to it was set up before 1681? How happens it that Governor Nicolls should have announced the item of intelligence he did if the question of title was not then in abeyance?

The writer regrets that he is obliged to differ from his friend Mr. Brodhead, as to the importance to be attached to the statement of Governor Nicolls. It is with diffidence that he presumes to question the deductions of one so well informed upon all points of our colonial history, but he nevertheless is of the opinion that, while unsupported by any corroborative testimony, Nicolls's declaration, when his position is considered, amounts to nothing in the face of constantly recurring indications of a still asserted, unabandoned title to the island on the part of

New Jersey. It is a noticeable fact also that, when the claim was more vigorously prosecuted, not the slightest reference is made by any one to this authoritative settlement of the question, years before. On a previous occasion it was satisfactorily shown that the peculiar position in which Governor Carteret was placed on his arrival at Elizabethtown, in 1665, the subsequent attempt at an exchange of territory, the reconquest by the Dutch and the temporary reestablishment of their authority, and other causes, operated to postpone any positive enforcement of the right of New Jersey; but though dormant it was ever considered valid, and was never surrendered until 1833. The wise course of the Provincial authorities in avoiding all collisions with New York by refraining from any forcible attempt to obtain possession, which would, undoubtedly, have proved fruitless from the greater power of that Province, and in not pretending to a *quasi* possession by erecting the island into a County, in 1683, is now assumed to be "a very significant fact," arguing that "Staten Island" was not considered at that time a part of New Jersey even by its own Assembly." Under the benign teachings of New York, it is not likely that New Jersey will ever be guilty again of such a mistake as not to resist aggression from the start.

It is a circumstance worthy of note, that not a document is known to exist signed by the Duke of York, himself, which calls in question the right of the Proprietors of East Jersey to the island: and not one, professedly issued under his authority, can bear any such interpretation, for more than twenty years after the transfer of Berkeley and Carteret, and then not until his relations to New Jersey, as we shall see, were materially changed. He was ever ready to confirm his original Grant of *all the lands West of Long Island and Manhattan Island*, and document after document was issued for that purpose; for whatever may have been his faults and vices, and great they undoubtedly were, it is conceded that the Duke was sincere in his friendships. Those who would feign convince themselves and others that "the opiates of John Scot artfully discharged upon his drowsed senses," or any other influences foreign to his own unbiassed inclinations, moved him to part with New Jersey, forget or overlook the close relations existing between him and both Berkeley and Carteret—the former his Governor in youth and associate officially and otherwise through life; the latter one of his most intimate and constant companions, of whose hospitality he frequently partook—which led him to refrain from any act that could be construed as unfavorable to their interests. Through good and through evil repute he appears to have ever been true to them. What

greater evidence could he have given of his disposition to quiet any adverse pretensions to New Jersey, or of his "intent or meaning" in relation thereto, than the repeated Grants by which he confirmed the original transfer? Note, too, the prompt repudiation of Andros's proceedings towards Governor Carteret, and the granting of the deed to the younger Sir George, in 1680, (of which more hereafter,) immediately on receiving Sir William Jones's opinion, to which reference has been already made, that, under the Grants to Berkeley and Carteret there was "no reservation of any profit or soe much as of Jurisdiction." Which opinion, by the way, and the action of the Duke under it, explains the circumstances leading to the passage of the Act by the New Jersey Assembly, in 1679, which *The Gazette's* correspondent so laboriously misconstrues as manifesting "without complaint or dissent * * * a degree of resignation to an unavailable fate, consistent only with a corresponding knowledge that resistance to that fate would be useless, that the jurisdiction of the Duke and his servants over those waters was unquestionable." Well, it did not remain unquestionable very long as Sir William Jones and the Duke made manifest. The Act referred to, guaranteed from loss, to the extent of £150., the owners of any vessel that "should be by any of the Government of New York arrested, detained, condemned and bona fide made prize of, for the only cause of trading in this Province and not entering and clearing at New York, &c.," which was nothing more nor less than one mode of doing what the Merchants of New York did themselves, viz: opposing the payment of the Customs imposed by the Duke;—(*See Colonial Documents*, ii., 217, 246, 286, 289, &c.)—only with far greater reason, inasmuch, as Sir William Jones says, the Duke had reserved in New Jersey "neither profit or Jurisdiction." Yet the "Member of the New York Historical Society" devotes a whole column to prove that this action of the New Jersey Assembly, so consistent with a proper regard for their rights and calculated to bring about a legal decision thereon, was an admission of the jurisdiction of the Duke of York and his servants over "the waters in question."

Returning from this digression let it be noted that in all the Grants of the Duke of York, New Jersey included *all the lands West of Long Island and Manhattan Island* and its eastern boundary is ever the same—the main sea and Hudson's River. As it was in 1664, so was it in 1672; so was it in 1674; so was it in 1680; so was it in 1682; so was it in 1683. It was certainly ever his "intent and meaning" that the veritable Hudson, wherever it might really run, and not any other stream so baptized for a purpose, was

to be the boundary; and *he* could find no land West of Long Island and Manhattan Island which was not *also* West of the river. Is it at all probable that, in the face of a continued claim to Staten Island, such a material deviation from that line, as its excision from the lands originally conveyed, should have been intended by him without some indications of it appearing in a change of the description? It is very evident from the correspondence of Governor Carteret with the Governor of New York, in 1681, in which the claim to possession is so distinctly made, that a more definite understanding with the Duke of York in relation thereto had been arrived at during the preceding year. And this is confirmed by the letter of Sir John Worden, the Duke's Secretary, written to Governor Andros on the sixth of November, 1680, which has been before alluded to. He informs the Governor that his Royal Highness had been pleased "to confirme and release to the Proprietors of 'both moieties of New Jersey all their and his 'right to ANYTHING besides the rest reserved, 'which HERETOFORE MAY HAVE BEEN DOUBTFUL, 'whether as to government, or public duties in 'or from the places within their Grants.'" This had reference to the deed to be prepared for Sir George Carteret the younger—but as has been already demonstrated, it is not necessary to go further back than the date of the deed to the Twenty-four Proprietors, in 1682. This was granted in accordance with the request of the Earl of Perth—(*Colonial Documents*, iii., 329)—for the express purpose, as stated in the instrument itself, of "*better extinguishing all such 'claims and demands as his said Royal Highness, or his Heirs might anywise have*" to East Jersey. The peculiar fullness of this Grant has been already made the subject of comment, but inasmuch as the "Member of the New "York Historical Society" has discovered some flaws therein, *which have escaped the learning and acumen of all the statesmen and lawyers of both England and America*, it is well to refer to the document again. The gentleman recognizes the fullness of the rights and powers granted, but observing that the Duke in conveying them uses the phrase "so far as in him lyeth," he considers the whole Instrument simply as the Duke's "confirmation, as Lord Paramount of the County," [or *Messe Lord as he subsequently styles him*] "of the change of Lessees of East Jersey "and his PERMISSION TO NAVIGATE THE WATERS "LEADING UNTO OR LYING BETWEEN' THE "LANDS THUS LEASED TO THE PROPRIETORS, "FROM WHICH THE FORMER LESSEES HAD BEEN "CAREFULLY EXCLUDED." This exclusion is denied; but how confirmatory, is this very admission of the gentleman, of the fact that the Duke was desirous to remove all grounds of disputa-

tion as to the rights of the Proprietors. But it is said that he had already granted all these privileges to the younger Sir George and therefore had nothing left to convey. Let us unravel the truth of the matter.

It will be remembered that it was broadly asserted that "all islands," "bays," "marshes," "soils," and various other concomitants of East Jersey had not been conveyed by the deed of 1674 because not specially enumerated, yet no one can doubt the "intention" of the Duke of York to convey all the Lands West of Long Island and Manhattan Island and all belonging to them as fully as he had himself received them from the Crown; and it is somewhat curious that the Duke's Secretary in writing to William Penn—(*New York Colonial Documents*, iii., 280)—should have expressly nullified any such doctrine as that the failure to specify islands necessarily left them unconveyed—"neither can "I Judge," said he, referring to Penn's Grant, "how far such an enumeration of particulars "can include any more than y^e gen^l Boundar- "yes doe"—the insertion of "isles," subsequently, not necessarily adding any thing to the limits of the Grant. But, notwithstanding the assertion made by the "Member of the New "York Historical Society," at the outset, that these items of property were *never* relinquished by the Duke, we find him subsequently admitting that *they were transferred* to Sir George Carteret's grandson and heir, in 1680; an admission forced from him by the dilemma in which he is placed by the fullness of the Grant to the Twenty-four proprietors. Unless those rights which he claimed to be remaining "with the Duke, "entirely unimpaired," could be got rid of, there was no way of avoiding the fact of their transfer to the Twenty-four. It will be seen how slight an impediment to their title was this presumed prior Grant.

There seems to be room for little doubt that the discussion of the Customs question and the decision of Sir William Jones had drawn the attention of the Duke's legal advisers to some of the dicta respecting the rights of parties having a navigable stream for a common boundary, and among them the plain proposition that even when the right of jurisdiction between two countries or States thus situated extends to the middle of the stream only, *the right to use the whole stream* for the purposes of navigation, trade, and passage, must exist as a right common to both parties whether expressly granted or not; for in the Grant to the younger Sir George, and subsequently in that to the Twenty-four proprietors, the Duke not only conveyed the Islands, Bays, Rivers, Waters, &c., but adds "as also the *free* "use of all Bayes, Rivers and Waters leading "unto or lying between them;" in this, as in all

the other documents emanating from him, manifesting his desire to remove all grounds for cavilling or disagreement. No matter whether the principles of maritime law gave the privilege or not, he was willing the Grant should be made so plain that all might understand his "meaning and intent."

Sir George Carteret in his Will "to the intent" he said "That my Debts, Funeral Charges, Gifts, and Legacies, may be effectually paid"—gave to five distinguished courtiers, "their Heirs, Executors, and Administrators, the whole Estate, Interest, Term and Terms, for years or otherwise, which I or any other person or persons in trust for me have or hath" * * * [along with other property] * * * "all my Plantations in New Jersey * * * upon this Trust and Confidence that they and the survivor or survivors of them, &c., * * * do make sale of all the said premises, and out of y^e Moneys that shall arise upon such sale, pay and discharge such of my said debts, &c."—any surplus to be for the benefit and advantage of his grandson, George, the son of his deceased son, Philip.

Sir George died early in 1679 and his Trustees, on the fifth or sixth of March, 1680, conveyed his "Plantations in New Jersey," to Thomas Cremer and Thomas Pocock. The precise terms and object of this transfer are not known as the instrument itself has not come down to us, but it is evident that it was considered as vesting in them the full title to the Province. It appears also that for some time its existence was not known to Lady Elizabeth Carteret or the Duke of York, or the latter would not, in September, 1680, have made the Grant he did at that time to Sir George's heir. That Grant, as we have seen, was issued by him of his own accord, without any prompting from any one, certainly without the knowledge of his Trustees, purely out of regard for the interests of the family of his old friend, Sir George, he having previously given a new Grant of similar import for West Jersey. Although the document was communicated by Lady Elizabeth to Governor Carteret, and made the basis of his action in 1681, as before adverted to, yet it was rendered inoperative by the fact that the title to the Province had been for some months in other parties, and the "Member of the New York Historical Society" is the first person in either hemisphere that has considered it as possessing any legal force. The Trustees of Sir George—including the Earl of Bath, the young Sir George's father-in-law, who would be likely to appreciate the value of such a document, if it had any—the Earl of Sandwich, his maternal grandfather—Messrs. Cremer and Pocock, Lady Elizabeth Carteret, the original twelve Proprietors, the second twelve, and the

Duke of York himself all ignored the document by the execution and acceptance of the deed of March 14, 1682, in which they interchangeably, under their hands and seals, certify to all the prior Grants, connected with the Province, but among which the deed of 1680 does not appear. Moreover a document from the Board of Trade, to which is appended the names of Sir Philip Meadows, Sir John Pollixfen, Abraham Hill, and Matthew Prior, whose acts—judging from the credence *The Gazette's* correspondent gives to them—are worthy of consideration, gives the following endorsement of the deed of 1682: "He the said Duke of York did by Indenture dated the sixth day of August, 1680, grant and confirm the Province of West New Jersey, with all the Appurtenances thereunto belonging to Edw Byllinge, &c., * * * and did in like manner by Indenture dated the 4th day of March, 1682," [nothing being said of the deed to Sir George the younger,] "grant and confirm the Province of East New Jersey, with all the Appurtenances thereunto belonging, to James Earl of Perth, William Penn, Esq., and several other persons, in whom the title to the same then was, and to their Heirs and Assigns forever—and by each of the said Indentures did likewise give, grant and assign unto the aforesaid respective Grantees or assigns, ALL AND EVERY SUCH, AND THE SAME POWERS, AUTHORITIES, JURISDICTIONS, GOVERNMENTS, AND OTHER MATTERS AND THINGS WHATSOEVER, which by the forementioned respective Letters Patents, or either of them, were granted or intended to be granted to be exercised by him the said Duke of York his Heirs, Assigns, Deputy Officers or Agents."—(Leaming & Spicer, 603.)

But how about the phrase "So far as in him lieth?" If anything more than a legal technicality, it simply means this: that the Duke having already conveyed the whole of New Jersey in common to Berkeley and Carteret, as joint tenants, and had subsequently given deeds in severalty for both East and West Jersey, with different boundaries, the propriety of his giving another deed to other parties might be questionable. But the writer is happy to furnish a solution of the problem by the Commissioners of New Jersey in 1769, the gentlemen whom *The Gazette's* correspondent compliments for their good judgment. They say, in their Brief, (p. 21):

"In 1682, East New Jersey became vested in Twenty-four Proprietors, who thought proper to procure the Duke's Confirmation to them. In this Confirmation, the Duke recites his first Grant to Berkley and Carteret, and the partition of New Jersey, and, 'as far as in him lieth,' grants and confirms to the Twenty-four

"Proprietors, all that *Part, Share and Portion, and all those Parts, Shares and Portions*, of all that entire tract of Land and all those entire Premises, so granted by his Royal Highness unto the said John Lord Berkley and Sir George Carteret, and their Heirs, as in, by, and upon the said Partition, was and were vested in the said Sir George Carteret; so that the words 'so far as in him lieth' did not imply any Doubt in the Duke, whether he had authority so far; but whether he had a right to grant at all, as he had before conveyed all New Jersey to Berkley and Carteret," &c.

But why should the patience of the reader be longer trifled with to establish what no Court in Christendom has never doubted—and the document has stood the test of an examination by the most distinguished on both sides of the Atlantic—the validity, to the full extent of its tenor, of the Grant to the Twenty-four Proprietors. "Historically" and legally, it will stand unaffected by any assaults from those, who finding in its ample provisions a most perfect title to all the lands "lying and being to the westward of Long Island and Manhattan Island," would strive to ignore its efficiency by new discoveries in law and physics.

Naturalists tell us that some odd fishes, when endeavoring to flee from some corner into which they may have been driven, have the faculty of ejecting into the waters an extraneous substance, which enshrouds them in such obscurity, and so befogs both pursuers and spectators, that they escape detention. Such seems to have been the intention of the "Member of the New York Historical Society," on introducing, towards the close of his article, the subject of the right of the Province of East Jersey to a sea-port. But he will meet with as little success through this device as through others he has adopted. He cannot be allowed to escape in a mist of his own creation, when it is composed of such materials as the following statement: "The Proprietors, whose principal purpose in purchasing the lands and settling them was to make themselves independent on matters of Government of all other persons," [not certainly of the Crown, for the right of appeal was expressly provided for] "abandoned the project, and surrendered their 'pretended rights' to the Queen: while Perth Amboy was 'overshadowed' by New York, and New Jersey, ON ALL MATTERS OF COMMERCE, THENCEFORTH, BECAME IN FACT AS WELL AS IN LAW ENTIRELY SUBORDINATE TO NEW YORK."

The writer has no desire to draw upon the courteous vocabulary of *The Gazette's* correspondent. It is presumed from his animadversions upon others that he never "suppresses," never "mutilates," never hesitates to tell "the

"whole truth," never "quails" at any adverse testimony, and it may therefore be attributed to an oversight merely that he should not have discovered and communicated to his readers the fact that IN EVERY CASE in which the right of East Jersey to a sea-port was endeavored to be wrenched from her, THAT RIGHT WAS ESTABLISHED—and EVERY ATTEMPT on the part of New York to impose restrictions upon her Commerce, however successful for a time, through superior force, proved eventually abortive. A statement to this effect has already been made, but it seems a more thorough refutation is needed.

The first occasion on which the rights of East Jersey in these respects were attempted to be encroached upon by New York was, as we have seen, during the administration of Andros, in 1680; and we have also seen that the manoeuvres of New York were nullified by the opinion of Sir William Jones and the execution of deeds, ordered—"plainly to extinguish ye demand of any Customs, or other duties from y^m" [the Proprietors] "save y^e rent reserved as at y^e first."—(*New York Colonial Documents*, iii., 285.)

The next attempt was made by the indefatigable Dongan, in 1684, through reiterated intimations of what "might, could, would, or should be" done, to curtail the actual or presumed advantages of East Jersey. The Commissioners of the Duke of York's revenue were very willing to receive from him suggestions that might tend to increase that revenue; but, notwithstanding that the transfer of East Jersey to others naturally lessened the interest of the Duke of York in the preservation of the rights he had originally conferred, yet Dongan's devices availed little until the relations of the Duke to the Province became changed by his succeeding to the throne, as James II., early in 1685. That event emboldened Dongan greatly. He found there were "great inconveniences in having two Governments upon one river:"—that it "would do well to look into the last Patent of East Jersey to see whether shipping bee obliged if they come into Sandy Hook to make entry at New York, and informed the Board of Trade" that "we in this Government look upon that Bay that runs into the sea at Sandy Hook to bee Hudson's River, therefore, there being a clause in my Instructions, directing me that I cause all vessels that come into Hudson's River to enter at New York, I desire to know whether his Maj^y intends thereby those vessels that come within Sandy Hook:"—and he furnishes the "Member of the New York Historical Society" with an assortment of choice extracts, which, with others of like character, are distilled in his alembic into first class authorities, although any candid and impartial historian would dis-

card them as of little weight, emanating, as they do, from the chief parties in interest, the aggressors, and being entirely *ex parte* in their nature.

Finally, Dongan becoming impatient, informs their Lordships "I caused a vessel which 'came to Amboy to come hither and enter.'" The Proprietors thereupon took the liberty of complaining to the King of this manifest infringement of his own conferred privileges, and after a fruitless attempt, by the Board of Trade, to whom the matter was referred, to get rid of a decision by sending the complaint to Governor Dongan to be answered, their Lordships by an Order of Council, on the twelfth of July, 1687, were *commanded* to give the Proprietors a hearing, the result of which was the Order of Council, dated 14th of August, 1687, which the gentleman gives at length as most damaging to the East Jersey claims! *That Order, on the contrary, sustained them in every particular.* It confirmed New Perth as a Port of Entry; and Governor Dongan was delicately informed that "His Maj' is pleased, upon further consideration, to direct us to signify his pleasure unto you that you permit all ships and vessels bound for New Perth in His Majesty's Colony of East New Jersey to goe directly thither without touching at New York or being carried thither until further order." Thus did James, the Duke of York, conform, as James II., the Grant of 1682-3, by recognizing the right of the Twenty-four Proprietors in the waters which originated this discussion. But the gentleman by his capital letters would convey the idea that this Order was a direct recognition of the authority of New York over New Jersey, because the person to collect the customs should be appointed by the Governor of New York or by "the Receiver General of His Majesty's Revenue": losing sight of the fact that New Jersey then was, as New Jersey has ever been, an upholder of law and order, loyal and true; the Proprietors ever inculcating "submission and obedience to the King." *Four years before the issue of this Order, they instructed their Deputy Governor "to observe the Act of Navigation, and to see that it be infringed in nothing as to what relates to the Kings Customs or otherwise."*—(*Leaming and Spicer*, 171.) It was not the payment of duties to the King they objected to, but the restrictions imposed by New York upon their commercial projects; and those restrictions were ABSOLUTELY REMOVED by this Order. Thus ended the second attempt at subjugation.

The next attempt, and the last demanding notice, was made during the administration of Lord Bellamont as Governor of New York, and

furnishes the text on which *The Gazette's* correspondent hangs the erroneous commentary which has been quoted. The first steps towards this aggressive action commenced under Governor Fletcher. The Assembly of New York undertook, again, to impose duties upon the imports into East Jersey which, as Chalmers says, —(*Annals*, 626)—"could be as little supported "by any principle of equity or law" as those denounced and abandoned in 1680; and the proceeding, of course, aroused the opposition it deserved.

In 1694, the Assembly of New Jersey—it may have been in some spirit of retaliation—passed an Act for better regulating the trade of the Province which, although duly subservient to the "Act of Trade and Navigation" conflicted with the interests of New York, much to the disturbance of Fletcher's equanimity; and he intimated to the Lords of Trade that it was the intention of the Jerseymen to make "New Perth" a free port: by which it is evident he considered the non-payment of duties to New York equivalent to paying none at all. Nothing definite, however, seems to have resulted from Fletcher's complaints, and, in 1696, the right of East Jersey to its port was recognized by the appointment, by the Commissioners of the Customs, in England, of a Collector for Amboy. The Proprietors, however, were anxious to have an end put to these constantly recurring annoyances; and, in April, 1697, they obtained from Sir Cresswell Levinz, and, in June of the same year, from Sir John Hawles—both "Crown Lawyers," and the latter subsequently an Attorney and Solicitor-general—concurrent opinions "that no customs could be imposed on the people of the Jerseys otherwise than by Act of Parliament or their own Assembly." —(*Chalmers' Annals*, 626; *Analytical Index*, *New Jersey Documents*, 15, 16; *East Jersey under the Proprietors*, 141, &c.; *Contributions to East Jersey History*, 295.)—For several months, the various officers of the Crown were pressed for some ultimate and decisive action which might relieve New Jersey from the aggressions of New York, with varying success. There was evidently a wide difference of opinion among these functionaries; for while in one month, October, 1697, the Commissioners of Customs ordered Mr. Randolph, the Surveyor-general of Customs in America, to appoint officers to collect duties at both Amboy and Burlington—thus sanctioning, as Lord Bellamont says, in one of his dispatches, the establishing of two Ports that were to prove "a destruction to the trade of New York"—the next month, November, the Council, upon a representation from the Board of Trade, issued the Order, upon

which the "member of the New York Historical Society" dilates, denying the privileges of a port to Amboy, and exhibiting greater ignorance of the localities than the presumed intelligence of the members would lead us to consider possible. But there was an object in view to effect which the means employed, needed not, they thought, to be closely criticised. With the flight of James II. from England, in December, 1688, and the recognition of William III. as the Sovereign, in February, 1689, old things had passed away, all, so far as the personal relations of the Sovereign to New Jersey were concerned, assumed a new aspect. The questions in which she was interested had not reference thereafter so much to titles to, and boundaries of, the domain conveyed by the Duke of York, as to the extent of the sovereignty he had a right to transfer with that domain. The surrender of the Government to the Crown was the object sought; and hence arose many of the delays and disappointments to which the Proprietors were subjected, in relation to the Port question: they "thought it 'best to join both together,'" as the Lords of Trade said, in one of their letters to Lord Bellamont, supposing that rather than endanger the one the Proprietors would abandon the other, but their schemes were destined to be frustrated: for although the Government was eventually surrendered by the Proprietors, their right to the Ports was *previously conceded and legally established*. It came about in this wise. The Instructions of Lord Bellamont, who entered upon his duties in April, 1698, were in accordance with the views enunciated by the Council, as above stated; and he bent all his energies to enforcing them. Governor Basse, in New Jersey, as firmly asserted the rights of that Province; and his bold determination to sustain them seems to have excited no little surprise among the officials in England. The intelligence of his refusal to heed the Order of Council, reached Secretary Popple, in December. He at once wished to know what the Lords of the Treasury had heard about it; and was desirous to have the Commissioners of the Customs inform the Board of Trade to what conclusions they had come. Well, in February, 1698, the Commissioners came to the same conclusion they had evidently arrived at before, that the inhabitants of East Jersey *should be released from the payment of duties to New York*. In March, Mr. Secretary expressed a wish that the Lords of the Treasury would inform him what they intended to do, and eventually—not to prolong the narrative unnecessarily—that course was adopted which was entirely in accordance with the wishes of the Proprietors, leading to a result DIRECTLY OPPOSED to the opinions of the

Lords of Trade, for which they are so highly complimented by *The Gazette's* correspondent. "A careful perusal of the 'opinion' of the 'Board of Trade,'" says the gentleman, "and 'of his Majesty's Order in Council which was based on that 'opinion' would shed some light 'on the ridiculous pretences of some who have 'assumed to speak in behalf of the 'pretended rights' of East Jersey, on other subjects 'as well as on this.' Indeed! Well, an opportunity was afforded, not long after the circumstances about narrated, to a dignified body in Westminster Hall, to 'peruse' that opinion, and to express an opinion upon it; and we will see what light that opinion shed 'on the ridiculous pretences of some.'"

Lord Bellamont, "feeling himself sure of his 'Majesty's' support, commenced a course of procedure which resulted in the forcible seizure of a vessel belonging to Governor Basse himself, lying in the harbor of Amboy. A suit was brought in the Court of King's Bench, to recover damages for this illegal seizure, in which the whole question as to the right of East Jersey to a port was discussed; and the Court so far from finding that "the rights and privileges of 'New York' had been 'infringed' rendered a verdict, in favor of Basse, for several thousands of pounds. Lord Bellamont therefore found it necessary to change the tone of his correspondence considerably. "Your Lordships' directions 'to me," he wrote in October, 1700, "will not 'will not now need to be complied with, since 'the Proprietors have carried the cause in Westminster Hall and obtained a FREEDOM OF 'PORT FOR PERTH AMBOY;" and again in November, he said, "Mr. Basse has had great 'good fortune in his trial, upon the account of 'my seizing the Ship *Hester*, at Perth Amboy 'in East Jersey, to have recovered such great 'damages of the King * * * * with what 'conscience such extravagant damages were 'awarded for that ship is more proper for your 'Lordships' enquiry than mine." Doubtless their Lordships did enquire, and became satisfied that New York had not, "within the capes," the supremacy they had been foolish enough to claim for them. Thus was the right of the Proprietors of New Jersey to the full enjoyment of Commercial Ports within their respective Provinces FULLY ESTABLISHED, and what becomes of the arrogant assumption of the "Member of the 'New York Historical Society" that "*New Jersey, on all matters of commerce, thenceforth,*" [after the order of November, 1697,] "*became, 'in fact, as well as in law, ENTIRELY SUBORDINATE to New York?*" On the contrary, from that time to the present there has not been a period in which the commercial relations of East Jersey have not been entirely independent of

New York, being subordinate only to the will of the common Sovereign.

The writer has not thought it necessary to burden his pages with reference to authorities for all the individual facts stated, bearing upon this point as, (thanks to Dr. O'Callaghan's well-constructed Index) those not supported by the specified works he has referred to may be readily found sustained by *overlooked* pages of the *New York Colonial Documents*. Neither has he thought it necessary to enter upon a discussion as to the precise *nature* of the title given by the Duke of York to the grantees of East Jersey, as the question has nothing to do with the matter at issue. He will say however, for the satisfaction of *The Gazette's* correspondent, that if in error (as he may have been, not being "learned in the law") in styling that title a "fee simple," he was led into it *by the Duke of York himself*, who states, in his Grant to George Carteret the younger, that the "*fee simple of Lord Berkley's Moyetye*" was at that time in Messrs. Penn, Laurie, and Lucas. Both moieties were held by the same tenure, and the Duke or his legal advisers, therefore, *intended* to conveyed a fee simple title or those individuals could not have had one. "Intent and meaning," it will be remembered, were to receive particular *attention* in this discussion. But as to this matter of title it is enough to know that "ALL the lands to the westward of Long Island and Manhattan Island" with their "islands, bays, rivers, waters, &c.," and the "free use of all bays, rivers, and waters leading into or lying between the said premises" were conveyed, or, if it suits the gentleman better, were *intended* to be conveyed, by the Duke, "IN AS FULL AND AMPLE MANNER" as the same were received by him, both as to soil and government; and Charles II., himself, as we have seen, declared the grantees to be "ABSOLUTE PROPRIETORS AND GOVERNORS THEREOF." If subsequent Sovereigns thought he overstepped his prerogatives in so doing, that fact does not militate against the "intent and meaning" of the Grants, as interpreted by the Duke of York and himself.

The reiterations of the "Member of the New York Historical Society" to the effect that "Staten Island and the waters in question were reserved," at any time, are utterly unsubstantiated. They are based upon an assumption, which has been denied throughout this discussion, that Hudson River runs *West* of the island; an assumption which he admits has been disproved by "physical facts" and which the writer holds has been disproved also by "historical facts." To verify the gentleman's assertions, he must first make it apparent that neither islands nor waters "appertained" to New Jersey, which he has not yet succeeded in doing.

The writer is now done with this controversy. He was induced to enter upon it, and led to continue it, solely from a desire to relieve his native State from the imputations and aspersions cast upon her; and he regrets that her defence could not have been confided to abler hands. The results elicited are as follows:

I. It was asserted that "the Hudson River empties itself through its two mouths, the Narrows and the Kills, into the bay of New York." He has shown that this *never* was and *never will be true*, inasmuch as not a drop of the water of the Hudson flows either way through the channel West of Staten Island; and *this has been acknowledged by his opponents as an incontrovertible "physical fact."*

II. It was asserted that the Grants of Charles II. and the Duke of York, in 1664, were rendered null and void by the re-conquest by the Dutch, in 1672 and other causes: He has shown that neither the King nor the Duke ever called in question their validity, but were ever ready to give any other guarantees requested of them.

III. It was asserted that the Proprietors of New Jersey derived their rights *SOLELY* through the Grants of 1674. He has shown that subsequent Grants, more precise, more full, and more complete, particularly on the points in which those of 1674 are asserted to be deficient, were subsequently given, for the very purpose of removing all doubts and quieting all disputes as to the "intent and meaning" of the grantors; and, moreover, that these subsequent Grants have repeatedly been recognized in Courts of the highest character, on both sides of the Atlantic, as conferring all the rights and privileges claimed by New Jersey, through them, and that the ultimate decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, upon the mutual rights of New York and New Jersey, under them, would have long since been obtained had not New York *refused* to submit to that Court the questions at issue.

IV. It was asserted that the Duke of York, in 1674, retained to himself certain powers of government, and certain portions of the tract, previously conveyed, which became thereafter part of his Colonial possessions and "are still to be considered 'historically' as belonging to the State of New York." He has proved under James' own hand and seal, that he always considered the transfer of New Jersey to have been made in as ample a manner as received by him from the King; and he has moreover exhibited the Opinions of Sir William Jones and other eminent lawyers that *nothing* had ever been retained by the Duke excepting the nominal rent.

V. It was asserted that Staten Island was adjudged to New York, in 1689, but no clue can be furnished to the person, Court, or authority by

which it was so adjudged. He has shown that, while there is no doubt of such a report having been sent over from England, by Governor Nicolls, it was still an unsettled question, in 1679; and, as such, undoubtedly one of those intended to be covered by the provisions of the subsequent Grants. If it were not included, but on the contrary intended to be reserved, that fact would undoubtedly have been indicated by a change of description in the Grants.

VI. It was asserted that "all well informed persons" considered the waters West of Staten Island as part of Hudson River, although no evidence of any system of nomenclature, in conformity with such an opinion having been in practice, has been presented. He has shown that specific titles, having no reference to Hudson River, have uniformly been conferred upon those waters in documents and maps from the earliest times to the present.

VII. It was asserted that the grantees of New York held the Province by only a qualified title. He has shown that Charles II. endorsed them as "absolute Proprietors and Governors"—subject, of course, to the right of appeal to the Crown; and that, so far as their rights as "Proprietors" are concerned, they have time and again been confirmed, while the authority they possessed, as "Governors," never, certainly, reverted to New York, but is now legitimately vested in the State-government of New Jersey.

VIII. It was asserted that an Order of the Board of Trade, in November, 1697, rendered New Jersey "*thenceforth, on all matters of commerce, in fact as well as in law, entirely subordinate to New York.*" He has shown that every attempt on the part of New York to subject the commerce of New Jersey to its caprices most signally failed. And if any other points brought forward have not been touched upon, it has been owing to their irrelevancy, or to the fact that they carried their refutation so plainly with them as to render their discussion unnecessary.

In conclusion, the writer would remark, that he is pleased to find the fairness and sound ideas of the Commissioners of New Jersey of 1769 recognized, even at this late day. It is to be regretted that their views were not indorsed at that time, as they now are by *The Gazette's* correspondent. Meeting with his approval, as they seem to do, his attention is solicited to the following sentences, which are also extracted from their *Brief*: "Where a deed will admit of two constructions, 'the one definite and certain, the other vague and uncertain, that which is certain should 'be taken and the other rejected.' Nothing could be more 'definite and certain,' for the eastern boundary of New Jersey, than the direct line formed by the 'Main Sea and Hudson's River,' nothing more 'vague and uncertain' "

than the circuitous, undefined line, the adoption of which is essential to the substantiation of the claims of New York to Staten Island and the waters in question.

It is to be hoped, as the gentleman exonerates Mr. Cochrane from any intention, by his paper, "to distract the peaceful relations of the two States, as they were settled by the inter-State Treaty of 1834," and disclaims any such intention on his own part, that the sincerity of his protestations may be evinced by a cessation of the attacks upon New Jersey, New Jersey institutions, and New Jersey writers.

W. A. W.

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY, December, 1865.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

III. — "MR. ROUBAUD'S DEPLORABLE CASE." *

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, IN THE COLLECTION OF THE EDITOR.

[The following strange document is from the pen of one who was a contributor to the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*; and, if not edifying, it is certainly curious.]

The writer, Peter Anthony Roubaud, was a native of France, who, on the seventh of September, 1759, entered the Society of Jesus, in the Province of Lyons, and, in course of time, was sent to Canada, to take part in the Jesuit Missions, there. He arrived, in 1755, and seems to have been assigned, soon after, to the Abénaqui Mission of St. Francis de Sales.—(F. Martin's List in Caryson's *Chaumonot*, 210, 220).—In the operations of the War, he attended his tribe, as Chaplain; and his letter of Oct. 21, 1767, dated at St. Francis—(*Lettres Edifiantes*—Kip's *Jesuit Missions*, 187-190)—gives an account of the capture of Fort George, by Montcalm, and the scenes which ensued on its surrender.

After the fall of Canada, he went over to the English interest; and, by the favor of Lord Amherst and Sir William Johnson, obtained the appointment of Royal Missionary and a salary of £200. He was, however, soon sent to England to give the Government the aid of his views. Here, he renounced his former faith; married; and became a mere tool of Government; and, as such, suggested many of the odious measures by which the English authorities harassed their new Catholic subjects, in Canada, till the growing discontent in the Colonies prompted a different course.

Roubaud's *Deplorable Case* shows that his career in England was not one of much credit or happiness, and gives a poor opinion, indeed, of his ideas of right or honor. He used the money of St. Francis Mission, and asked the Government to refund it to him, for his private use; he admits that he pilfered valuable manuscript maps from the Jesuit archives, in Canada, and sold or used them for his own advantage, in England, as he did also Montcalm's correspondence. Historical students are not likely to pardon him lightly for this.

His married life seems to have been singularly unfortunate; and his Protestantism must have sat very lightly on him, when he could, as in this document, wind up the long story of his miseries and troubles by the strange request that the Protestant Government of England would take

* This curious and interesting paper was found in the hands of the dealer into whose hands the refuse of the stock of the late WILLIAM GOWANS passed, in bulk, on its way to the paper-mill, and purchased by us, for a few cents. The light which it throws on the colonial policy of Great Britain and the matter of the Montcalm papers induces us to present it to our readers, with a prefatory note by our friend, John Gilmary Shea, LL.D.—EDDRA.

his wife off his hands and allow him to retire to a Convent in the Austrian Netherlands, the Belgium of our day, not daring to ask shelter among his own kindred, in France.

Yet F. Martin, in his list, says he died in Paris.

ELIZABETH, N. J.

J. G. S.]

MR ROUBAUD'S DEPLORABLE CASE,

humbly submitted to lord North's consideration, humanity, Generosity, civil and natural equity, and to all Administration.

in the year 1757, at the conquest of fort George near ticonderago, the indians, breaking abruptly upon the Capitulation, slaughtered the english garrison. j was then a jesuit and Missionary of one of their chief tribes, in Canada. j applyd my influence over them and the wealth of my mission, to snatch out of their barbarous hands, one hundred and seventy three english Prisoners, some already tyd at the stake, to be burnt alive and among these, the English Commander, Brigadier General Monro, and paid out of my pocket, their respective ransoms, to the amount of sixty six thousand french livres.

thro' all last war, j was the father of all english prisoners in Canada. at the conquest, j had a great share, in the General peace, concluded with the indians, at the saut at Louis, chief village of the iroquois, on account of these public services, General, now lord Amherst appointed me by patent in His Majesty's name, the only Royal Missionary, in that newly British colony, and the late Sir William johnston allowd me two hundred pounds a year for my salary.

lord Halifax, desiring that some Gentلمان perfectly acquainted with canadian affairs, should be sent to London, to direct the Government in the administration of that province, General Murray deputed me in His Majesty's name, for that public service, taking me from my mission, where by the salary from Sir william johnston added to the allowance of the college of quebec, and the usual bounties of the indians, j enjoyd a yearly income of one thousand pounds sterling, a large fortune in that country

arrived in this Metropolis, at my first audience at st james, j delivered into His Majesty's hands, my book of accounts, signed by my General, the late Marquis of Montcalm, and the english Commander Brigadier General Monro, comprehending the names of the english prisoners, j had redeemed, with the respective sums, layd out, for so Generous an office. Our Gracious Sovereign, as much by His Royal Care for The Dignity of His Crown, as from a paternal tenderness for the blood of His people ordered at three different times that, j should be reimbursed: but frivolous, tho' Royal orders, which are never complyd with, to the disgrace of that Great Monarch's authority; so that, the Crown of england, and all this nation owe yet the price of the lives of one hundred and seventy three of

their children to a poor foreigner, brought into england by public authority, to be payd upon the gallows, by the shedding of his blood.

at my second audience in Court, j put into His Majesty's hands, the famous Marquis of Montcalm's letters, which, ten years, previously to the event, prognosticated the present revolution in america, and which if duly and timely attended to, as it was resolved in the Cabinet, under mr George Grenville, who resigned too Soon, for the execution of that advised deliberation, should have cut off by the root, before its birth, the present unfortunate war.

my last copy of Montcalm's letters, was asked of me some years ago, in Her Majesty's name, and delivered to General groeme, then her private Secretary; as a payment of those unvaluable letters, Her Majesty Sent me by the hands of doctor Morendie, twelve *Royal* guineas, which from a my respect for the Consort of my Sovereign, j did humbly accept, but, j could never had expected, that, some of those Letters, seventeen in number, should have been published by a Lord, belonging to Her Majesty's houshold, without my consent and against the Laws of trust and honour. that publication exasperated so violently the court of versailles against me, that, it poored its revenge against my family. one of my Brothers was confined into the bastille, and another arested under the most trifling pretense, but in fact on account of the Communication of those letters, to the cabinet of st james. my unbounded respect for Her Majesty, has always prevented me from listening to all proposal, of bringing in law the noble but injust author of that mischievous and treacherous publication.

as soon as j was settled in London, Lord Halifax Communicated me, the affair of canadian papers-money: began by answering three memorials, from the Court of Versailles, left unanswered a whole year. j composed by a special order of the cabinet, the history of those papers-money, a french volume in *folio* now deposited in the records of the board of trade; j was present at all the comitees held on that matter between Lord Halifax and the count of Guerchy, then, the french Ambassador at our Court, and convinced so well His Excellency of the english rights, that, by my means he brought the french Cabinet to an agreement, which poored into the national wealth of this country, an additional million and half sterling. in case of success, j was fooled before hand, with a flattering promise, of an annuity of four hundred pounds, and a gratification besides of one thousand: but, that promise, as a thousand more from The Government, vanished away in smoke, and the service once bestowd, j was never offered even a thank for it.

at the birth of this American contest, j was at the hague, Secretary to Sir Joseph Yorke. j struggled to my utmost, and prevailed upon His Excellency to bear up my weak efforts with His recommendation, in order to prevent from bringing the tea-bill in parliament, forwarning, that, from my knowledge of the American senses and dispositions, all taxative Legislation, should be born up against and trampled under foot in America, and set all in flame over that vast Continent, as a positive declaration of war. but, j was not believed, and no notice was even taken of my patriotick allarms and foresight. at every campaign, j set down, and conveyed to the Ministers, the plans, and j dare to assert, the only plans fit for the success, as it may be plainly seen after the events, in the History of my deputation, which j was never allowed by the Government to publish. but j was not believed, and no notice was even taken of my patriotick intelligences.

at the first sparks of this American war, j got accidentally an acquaintance with the count of Guignes, then the french Ambassador at our Court, who charged me with setting down the debates of parliament. being in His Majesty's service, j would not take such a charge upon myself, without taking the sense of Lord Dartmouth, then my principal as a secretary of state for the American department. His Lordship approved very much of my appointment, committing to my zeal the interests of this country. j acted with such a success, that, very soon, after several memorials sent previously to His court and approved of, the count of Guignes charged me officially to offer to the Government of England, a double alliance with France, the first a commercial one, and the other offensive and defensive even against the Americans, with a supply of french troops, as strong or weak as it should be thought proper, and half cheaper, than the purchase of our German mercenaries. j composed a memorial on so important subject, with as much accuracy and energy, j am capable of, and carryd it in triumph to my worth patron, Lord Dartmouth, who, after a perusal sent me with a recommending letter, to Lord Rochefort, whose department that important negotiation resorted to officially. this Lord welcomed me with that politeness, and my memorial with that prudence, that distinguish His noble character; but he resigned during that transaction, and it was very much otherwise for me and my message under his too hot and unadvised successor, who began by scorning at my negotiation with a dismal indifference, and put an end to it, bidding me and my constituent, with an insulting oath, *to go long about our business*. j sent immediately the most alarming letters to Lord North and all our ministers, strongly remonstrating, that, such ill

usage should undoubtedly exasperate the Court of Versailles, unite her with America, and bring very soon the arms of all the family of Bourbon against England; but, j was not believed, and no notice was even taken of my alarming representation. this last and almost incredible transaction, if published, with all its shocking circumstances, should certainly fill all Europe with astonishment and indignation.

the bad success of the count of Guigne's endeavours to serve England and connect her by a strict alliance with France, occasioned his disgrace, and a sudden recall from his court. under my usual approbation of Government, j kept my first employment under the Marquis of Noailles, and detected by the confidence of his chief secretary, the treaty between France and America, two weeks after its conclusion. j imparted my discovery to Lord North and all our ministers by an immediate letter, but j was not believed, and no notice was even taken of my important intelligence.

j was offered a place, of an English translator, by the Spanish Ambassador the count of Almodovar, at the beginning of his embassy. but, as the times drew then nigh to a crisis j would not intrude myself in so ticklish an office, but under a witnessed approbation of Government. to get at it, j applyd, to my Generous friend and Protector, Sir Thomas Mills, and begged of him to advise about it, with Sir Grey Cooper, who bid me to write Lord North a letter, which he took upon himself to carry into His Lordship's hands. the answer was, that j was allowed to do, what j thought the best for the interests of England. j found out many capital intelligences, especially about some of our great men, who kept secret correspondencies with His Spanish Excellency and paid him frequently nighly visits; but, above all, j learned by the youthfull blunder of one under-secretary of the embassy, that the epocha of their departure for Spain was fixed to the end of the then parliamentary session. that intelligence was the Christmas box j served Lord North and all our Ministers with. but, j was not believed, and no notice was even taken of my patriotick information.

it is here worthy of notice, that, as j applyd but to one chief minister, to have at once the sense of all the Ministry, about those employments, j was looked upon, by the other Ministers, as a man sold to the French party, while the French considered and distrusted me as a renegade, and an English emissary, who had acted jesuitically with them, under the direction of our cabinet, and this last assertion is so evidently true, that, since the beginning of this war, they never applyd to me for any of their transactions either in England or elsewhere, a fact which all inquests shall prove true, and God knows exact-

ly true: decisive truth, which should stifle all unjust suspicions against my loyalty, and brings an evidence of my innocence into every impartial mind.

j have been trusted by government with the most secret and capital affairs of the state, and always acted with an unspotted honesty, especially in the affair of duke of Richmond, who, about six years ago, harboured the pretender at his country seat of good wood; and certainly the truth of that fact should have been brought to light, if the inquest had not been trusted into women's hands, by the imprudence and inability of the leader. success should have attended likewise, the secret information on Lord sheldone, who, last winter lodged secretly in his house don Bernardo Bellugar, under secretary of the embassy of the count of almodovar. j could make a volume of the secret negociations, j had a share to, as an under-agent. but the ministers are not very lucky in the choice of their first agents, and as for me, j was not believed, and no notice was even taken of my patriotick advices.

within seventeen years of deputation, the several Ministers drew from me one after the other, all the papers of state and politicks, which j had brought with me from america, out of the records of the jesuits, or by my inheritance of Marquis of Montcalm, my intimate friend: and those papers have been the subjects of sixty five memorials, j composed successively by order of Government.

under the presidency to the admiralty of my late friend, sir charles saunders, j lended to his office, for information forty two maps of several distant and unknown parts of america, which are the fruits of all the travels of the jesuits thro' all that vast continent, since the discovery of that new world, and which prove on experience and facts, the real existence of a northern passage by land, from america to the asiatick coasts. those Geographical maps illustrated with an explanation of the roads, the degrees of longitude and latitude, the rarities incumbrances and produces of the countries, the nature Manners, and wild appearances of the inhabitants under the pole, at length of the dreadful mountains of ice floating over those seas, and often rising up, above the waves, to one mile, in some narrow isthmuses of those coasts, those maps, do j say, make up a capital collection of the most precious and usefull discoveries, acquired by the voyages of the most learned and illustrious travellers, and consequently could not be valued too much and over prazd. however, they were obstinately and oppressively kept from me, in spite of twenty legal petitions and applications, made by General Murray himself, with all the exertion of his influence and credit, either for a

restitution or a payment, certainly attainable by law. irreparable loss, for those maps were all originals, never published, or even copy'd out but once, for the records of the general of the jesuits at rome; unjust loss, which in english jurisprudence, should be a Capital breach of trust, against a private man guilty of their fraudulent subtraction, and is for a government an arbitrary act of oppressive usurpation, not to be atoned for, but by an adequate compensation to the oppressed subject, especially a foreigner, who is now groaning he with his family under the rod of the last indigence, on account of that injustice, compensation, which j can't help expecting, and confidently requesting in a kingdom, the seat of liberty, where private properties are under the safe-guard of the constitution of the state, and the ministers boast and glory to be the vice Royal guardians of that happy and admirable constitution. there is a short sketch of my public services, follows now the ungrateful and cruel reward, j was payd with, for them.

j layd out of my pocket in my passage from quebec to scotland, and my journey thro' that country to London, and within the first year of my deputation, the small stock of all my fortune j had brought with me from Canada. for five years j was quite unprovided by the Government, and j ran into large debts, which kept me ever since under the weigh of the most horrible poverty, and carryd me successively in the several geols of this metropolis, a fine appartment for a clergyman, who had set at liberty so many english, at his own and very dear expenses.

j summoned legally often our government, to send me back to my mission, but, as j was turned a protestant, the Governors Murray and Carleton strongly opposed my return, on account, that such step should be looked upon, by all the canadiens, as an insult to their religion, in the clergy of which, j had cut so respectable a figure formerly. on that political pretense, j was precluded by an injunction of Government, from the recovery of my rich settlment in Canada, without any sort of compensation certainly due in honour, and just by law.

at length, Lord Hillsborough and General Murray prevailed upon the present ministry, to allow me an annuity of two hundred pounds. but, as j had then at hand, by order of Government an ecclesiastical and civil plan, for the better regulation of the province of quebec, which plan if adopted, should have smothered, before its birth, that quebec-bill, so detrimental in canada to this country. General Murray agreed privately with lord North, to allow me at first but one hundred pounds, and keep in reserve the other one hundred pounds, as a reward for my work, and encouragement to other: my

plan was finished six months afterwards, and the copies delivered to lord Hillsborough and the late archbishop of york. General Murray was then out of england, at his return, when the annuity of the other one hundred pounds, already granted but suspended by agreement, was requested, no answer was ever given to so just a demand; which silence so affected General Murray, that, he retired from the court, and buryd himself for five years in the country. it appears by that account, that a political writing bespoken by the Government, costed me the loss of one hundred a year. an incredible fact, which General Murray, with a soldiery frankness and honesty, will ascertain at all times, and confirm by his testimony.

Some of my friends had more than once prevailed over me, to bring an action in law, against mr attorney General, (and were j to die now or leave this kingdom, sir George saville, protector of the family of my wife, and furnished by her with all the certificates of my just rights, already declared legal by the opinion of his counsels,) to try judicially whether one hundred pounds, scarcely sufficient to keep soul and life together, and even two hundred pounds, are an adequate allowance, for a clergyman, taken by a public deputation for the service, from an income yielding one thousand a year, and who by all the laws must be defrayd for all the expenses of his public agency. but as Government shewd me a constant dissatisfaction of that judicial litigation, not to disoblige our Ministers, j stopt all legal proceedings, under a solemn and reiterated promise of an ample compensation, which j expect since seventeen years, and should amount now to a capital sum. but, it is not enough to have been precluded from the just rewards and payment of the state, j have been, besides, deprived of the only property j had brought from canada.

when, on account of my deputation, j left quebec, the jesuits, then ordered by public authority to withdraw from that colony, after the sale of their estates, agreed to allow me, for life, an annuity of one hundred and twenty six pounds, and the capital was mortgaged upon one of their estates, which they were to leave behind, as my share to their possessions. that transaction was past in presence and under the special guarantee of General Murray, in His Majesty's name, as it appears, by his certificate, here annexed.

the jesuits, being afterwards allowd to stay in Canada, and hearing that j was turned a protestant, declined paying my annuity after the first year, on account of my recantation; refusal, which was the most daring insult offered to the religion of the state, and all the state itself, tho' it was never resented by the leaders of the state.

but General Murray applyd immediately to His Majesty, who, at three different times ordered the restitution of that annuity, with the arrears and interest already due, amounting now since sixteen years, to a very large sum. all Ministers, being now, or having been in place, within that space of time, have solemnly engaged their words, to General Murray and me for that restitution.

four years ago, sir George saville undertook to bring that affair into parliament, on account of the late quebec-bill, which by the restoration of the french laws in the colony of canada, precluded me from suing the jesuits at law, as according to the french jurisprudence, a religious man, civilly dead, is not allowd to plead, as it was intended for the recovery of my property. the day was already appointed for that motion in the house of commons; but, Lord North himself desired that such a motion should be dropped down and suppressed, under his promise of a speedy compensation, after a few weeks, and which after four years is yet to come. however, all past and present Ministers assured me, that, a compleat justice should be rendered to me, at least, when the king's council should finally dispose of the estates of the jesuits in canada.

that was near being done, about eleven years ago, when the crown intended to make a free gift of those estates, to General now Lord Amherst, who had agreed to give me my due: but, Lord Camden, then chancalor of Great Britain, peremptorily declined signing the patent, on account, that, those states being a fruit accrud from the conquest of Canada, bought at the price, of the blood and substance of the people, did not belong to the Crown, but, to the people alone, and could not be constitutionally disposed of, without the sanction of their representatives in parliament.

that national and popular objection was overruled in the cabinet about three years ago, under the chancellorship of Lord Bathurst, when the Crown, by the authoritative rights of its prerogative, seized upon the immense estates of the jesuits in canada; in vain j claimed after my due, in vain, j seth forth so many promises of the king, and paroles of honour given by our ministers to General Murray and me, all the Ministers ears were deaf to my just demand, as was their memory unmindful of their engagements, and j could never obtain any redress for the loss of my property. t'is not all.

confined by a severe illness to my bed, about three years ago, j was reduced to commit the management of my affairs, to the hands, of my spouse, who, after several visits paid to the american department, had the misfortune to attract the eyes and love of one Under secretary of state, who, after horrible and scandalous

misdeeds, more worthy of a stew, about convent garden, than of a public office, violently attacked her honour within the precincts of that office, and endeavoured to dishonour her, by the most undecent and lecherous postures. that infamous violence was upon the point of being submitted to the consideration of parliament, by the protector of my wife; but, j stopt by my tears, and moving entreaties, that parliamentary prosecution; and now, as a reward of my kindness, and zeal for his honour and that of his office, that under-secretary of state, who enjoys yet his place, and besides the trust and confidence of the greatest men in the administration, bears against me all the hatred and resentment of an inveterate enemy, stoping all my ways to ministerial justice and protection, and struggling every day after my destruction. an over flow of tears gushes out of my eyes, while j am delineating that, lamentable and unexampled part of my cursed deputation, marked with the black days alone of the most cruel calamities.

notwithstanding, that load of misfortunes unprecedented in the annals of Great Britain, j kept up during seventeen years, the same activity of my zeal for this my adoptive country. steady loyalty, which very few english men born would have carryd on so long, against the stream of so undeserved persecutions and misery, for, j lived so wretched and desperate life, that, j have been very oft upon the point of puting an end to my existence by violent hauds, in spite of those religious principles instilled to my minds, since my cradle.

by the intrigues and influence of my powerfull enemies, precluded from the audience of our ministers, and without any hope, j don't say, of having my just rights attended to, but even my letters read, by them, as j was declared by their subalterns, j circumscribed my patriotism to serve Lord Hilsborough, my constant protector and friend, to whom since six months j communicated many capital transactions of our ennies, which came to my knowledge by my patriotick inquests, and especially, the treaty of the states General with france, by the intrigues of their great pensionary Van Berket, and which j found out, two months before sir joseph yorke presented our last spirited memorial to Their High mightiness, j flattered myself with the steady protection of that respectable lord when a few weeks ago, an ill-concerted zeal, imprudence, weakness of minds affected by a severe illness, a formal despair, and above all a subtle plot and conspiracy of my powerfull ennies, threat me into the scrape, to the risk of my honour, fortune and life,

j did afore say, that my zeal for this Country had addicted all its patriotick endeavours, to Lord Hilsborough's office. j got two years

ago, at orange coffee house, a justly suspected place, but which my naked poverty forced me to haunt, a slight acquaintance with one seyer, lately a surgeon in the french navy, now living N. 21 newman row, lincoln-inn fields; that man came back in england, about christmas last, from the french west india islands. at his arrival he furnished me confidently, with the most ample informations of the present situation, fortification and garrisons of those french dominions; informations justfyd by experience to be true, in the last attempt of sir George rodney, against st vincent; he supplyd me besides, with the best intelligences of the count of d'estaing's fleet, its strength and destination, and several capital points relative to the french marine finances and politicks. j imparted without delay to Lord Hilsborough so important discoveries, with the name of my informer, and his promise to bring me back all the situation of france, whither he intended very soon a journey. my family is very large and numerous one, tho' j was not born a french subject j have some relation in almost every french department. nine of my brothers are settled in paris; and one, a clergyman of note, lately at the head of the economists in france; under the administration of the french finances by mr turgot, is now intrusted with the confidence, and addicted to the of mr necker. there is not perhaps a man better acquainted with the french affairs, than he is. but, by the most urging verbal entreaties, carryd to him, j could never prevail upon him, nor any of my brothers to open an epistolary correspondence, with me as long as my abode should be fixed in england.

the said seyer, who, as j knew since, was bribed and hired by my ennies, came frequently to my house, always pretending his next journey to france, from whence, he swore he would bring back to me, the most capital intelligences, as well as letters from my brothers, which in consequence j promised to Lord Hilsborough; under several pretenses, he justfyd the delay of his journey, till at last he asked of me under my hand-writing some informations on english affairs for france, in order to facilitate his successfull return, and insure him of a passeport, which it should be otherwise a very hard matter to obtain, for england. tho' the pretense was speciously contrived, j started back, at the first proposal, but took care in good policy, to keep out of his knowledge, my surprize, by a cool and composed countenance, lest his raised suspicions should cut off entirely his journey to france, and make miscarry a message, j had forwarned of Lord Hilsborough, and from which j expected the greatest benefit for this country and myself, therefore, j shifted off his insidious demands, by evasive and specious answers. but

he reiterated his instances, till, at last, he found and caught the fatal moment to intrape into his snares.

j was, then, labouring under a pleuretick disorder, from which j am not yet quite recovered, actually in the heat of a violent fever, having been already blooded three times; j had already sold or pawned almost my last shirt, to afford the expences of my illness, surrounded besides by a crowd of creditors, conspiring against my liberty, and to compleat that load of distress, my spouse who, since two years, as lord North knows very well, is periodically every month obnoxious to lunatick fits, had been taken with her madeness, irritated by our common wants and destitution, and threatened me every day in my bed, with a violent and immediate destruction; that's the cruel hour, the hired treator picked up, to extort from my weakness, the fatal, tho' informous, insignificant, dark, illegal and unconvulsive papers, he aimed at, for my ruin, and which, in the greatest part, he dictated himself to my distracted minds.

however, perfectly sure, that, from my total ignorance of the cabinet's deliberations, j could not and that, from my zeal for this country's and my own interests, j would not send any information hurtfull to england, two motives prevailed upon me, to comply with his demands: the chief and first was, the flattering expectation, of coming to a capital discovery, and by it to the end of my misfortunes. my second motive was, that, in case of treason (which j guessed at very well from a man to whom j was so slightly connected) and misapprehension of my real intentions, a sudden trial and death should put a quick end to my misfortunes, more cruel, than death itself, and in my situation, j can't help wishing for that event, and requesting it as a favour, if no change is granted to my deplorable condition.

it was not long before j was acquainted with the fate that was very likely to attend me, by the plot of my ennies. one of the chief informers and inquisitors of state, under the stipend of a certain minister, and whom, j should wish, more prudent, honest and loyal for the public and private honour of his noble employers, (for it is not here a proper place to explain myself better) that civil hunter for the state, do j say, declared me, that he had seen into the hands of a minister, some treacherous papers, under my hand writing, for which the attorney General Was of opinion, to serve me with his warrant, for my confinement, warrant, which he had stopt by his good offices. as j have not in my possession any political papers, but those already communicated to Government, as the most severe inquests, in my house or elsewhere may justify; as, since j am in england, j never sent or received

any letter from out of the kingdom; my family even not excepted, j readily conceived, what papers could be witnessed to my charge.

the said chief informer added, that j kept a strict intimacy, with one mermaid, if j not mistake the name, a suspected man privately living in oxendon street, and that, j had paid him several private and secret visits in His apartment. my answer was, to hold my good informer by the hands, and desire of him to follow me to the said mermaid's lodging, and that, j would, with all my heart forfeit my life, if it was found out, by the landlord's or any other evidence, that, j had any sort of connection, either with mermaid, or any other man suspected or not suspected, except a single Generous friend, in a trading way, quite stranger to politicks, who saved me from starving by my frequent admittance to his table. j was answered, that the ministers were very conscious of the truth of the fact, and consequently of my guilt, and that, they wanted not any defence or apology of mine. a thundering declaration, which forebodes but my premeditated and unavoidable destruction.

the said informer insisted peremptorily, that, on thursday, the first of february, j was gone to dine, at a place, distant four miles from London, with three notorious treators, and he let me know, his under-informer, who, had seen me with his own eyes, in that treacherous compagny. j am werry sure, that the Government know nothing of that under-informer, who is so notorious a villian, so known in the cells of newgate, and so lost to all principles of the meanest honesty, that there is not a man in the kingdom, however so innocent, who, should not tremble, were he acquainted that, his honour and life depend upon the inquests, impeachment and evidence, of so profligate banditty. however at the name of that infamous slanderer, j rose, quite in a passion, and as that very same day, j had dined in public by the generosity of a friend, at mr thompson's inn, prince street, Leicester-fields, j run to that place, and brought back, one of the Gentlemen, in whose company, j had dined; but, my informer denyd positively listening to my eye-witness, and hearing his testimony confirmed, by the whole compagny, and mr thompson's family. and his reason was, that my guilt was sufficiently proved in the minds, and set down in the black book of our Ministers; a confirmation of the premeditated plot against my life.

the said informer instructed me, that, stephen de Mairanville, that thief who robbed me last summer, almost ruined me by his theft, and was cast at the last assises of Guilford to seven years transportation, had been granted His Majesty's free pardon, on account of having impeached me. what was that new impeachment, j was concealed; but, what j know, is, that the con-

vict is now parading in the streets of London. cutting a stately figure, defaming everywhere my character, and threatening me with a destruction from our ministers. what j can say upon so scandalous a subject, is, that, if a recrimination of a convict under sentence of a criminal court, against his prosecutor, makes a sufficient title, to the forgiving prerogative of the Crown, to the protection of Ministers, and the gifts of the state, if such unproved a recrimination is a lasting verdict against his prosecutor, it is indeed more dangerous to enforce the laws and seek for redress under their protection, than to trample by nefarious deed upon them; and then farewell to all civil Society and public Safety.

In short, my informer ascertained, that, the only way to obtain my pardon, save my beggarly and trifling annuity, and have my just rights on the Government Granted, was to discover the names and practices of those spies, who infest this country, swearing, that, without that desired discovery, j should deem myself a lost man; so am j, if that's the case, for, j solemnly repeat it, ready to confirm it upon oath; j know not any spy, j never had any connection with any, since j am in England, j never sent to nor received any letter from France; j never had any money but from the government, which alone has scarcely and scantily supported my miserable life, and if it is ever proved, that one single of those assertions is false, j consent with all my heart, to have my honour fortune and life exemplarily forfeited; alas! alas! my deplorable poverty and the straightness it reduces me to, is a compleat evidence, that speaks aloud of my veracity and innocence on those capital points; the French are Generous to their spies, who swim in gold, and j swim in rags and all the dirty badges of misery, and so terrible one, that, j am every day upon the point of dropping down, starved in some corner of the streets of London. god knows, j tell the truth, and a most cruel truth it is.

from the aforesaid accounts, it is plain, that there is a plot contrived against my honour and life. for the above mentioned informer made out as clear as the sun at noon day, that j was surrounded with spies, hunting after my tracks, till in the chandleshops, whither, the meaner wants of my family call me to. j shall be always very glad to be watched at my most secret steps; but, j beg humbly to consider, that there is a moral impossibility to me and every man to give a legal account of all the places, the circumstances may occasionally carry me to, and if exasperated enemies and infamous rogues are blindly credited in their charges against me without being even allowed a hearing, and defense, there is not a man who should not tremble for his existence under so dreadful a pro-

dicament. well, if my life is wanted, j give it up very gladly: let it be taken away at once without any farther formality by some legal or illegal way, j don't care a straw for it; but it is better for me to be quickly out of this world, and consequently, out of my misfortunes, than if it was applyd for it to subtle means, which should involve in the loss of my life, the loss of my honour and that of General Murray, my respectable friend.

as to the uniform papers, j delivered, injudiciously by the event, to the surgeon Seyer, j could with good conscience, call the almighty to witness, that my chief intentions were, to serve great Britain. but, such sacred an appeal, which shall carry so great a weight, in the last doom's day, is of no force, at the tribunal of our Momentary judges. all what then j can say to my defense, is that those papers, if duly attended to, demonstrate that my person and name are not even known to the present French ministry, and consequently, as j have to often ascertained, that, j never entertained any sort of correspondence in France. the contents of those papers besides, are the most notorious falsehoods dictated in great part by Seyer himself to my distracted mind, and partly assertions, extracted from news papers, well known all over the continent: and were j supposed to be ever so disaffected to Great Britain, which god knows is not the sentiments of my heart, it should be out of the reach of a poor and isolated man as j am, unconnected with all public offices, without any correspondence out or in the kingdom, and no money to buy and pay some informer, it should be impossible, j say, to such a man to carry to our enemies, any hurtfull intelligence; reflexion, which must certainly carry a victorious conviction to every impartial mind.

here is now my present situation; j am but a poor foreigner, destitute of all interest and protection in England; once in a brilliant condition of life, which j gave up to come here and serve this country, which by education and from my cradle, j was taught to esteem and love. it is on those natural dispositions, for which j have been cruelly rewarded in England, that, j did not hesitate a moment to sacrifice my rich mission of Canada, to an uncertain, and by the event, destructive deputation, for the service of this country, under the sanction of His Majesty's proxy, General Murray, to whom my misfortunes have been a constant and shameful disgrace, and who would never forgive to himself my deputation, if some farther mischiefs were to fall upon my devoted head; alas were he to know my present condition, that knowledge, would make him truly wretched and miserable in his life. he is the

only friend and protector, j may surely depend upon, in england, out of which he is now for the service of His king and country; it should be an ungenerosity, worthless of the english, to take an advantage of his absence, and my general destitution. j don't say to take away my life, for which j have not the least alarm, but to keep me longer under the weight of so deplorable poverty, by the privation of my just rights. j am besides a clergyman of sixty years of age, threatened, with a total blindness, quite destitute of all means of getting my livelihood, for me and my family. afflicted with three severe maladies, which by want of proper accommodation, undermine every day the vitals of my life; scarcely recovered from a pleuresy, which by the expences has taken away from me almost all what j was possessed of in this world; overloaded with debts, hurried up every day by the scantness of my annuity, the dearness of the times, and the infirmities of my age, debts, which threaten me at every instant, with a goal, which very quickly should be my grave, as j support now my life, but by alms, which j could not get in confinement, and with those alms nature is very oft falling under the severe fast j am reduced to. to complete that load of calamities, j am charged with a lunatick wife, who in her fits endangers often my life, hitherto spared by special providence. incredible misfortunes, so true, that j'll sent them authenticated with my oath before a justice of the peace, to all the Ministry, as soon, as general Murray's noble relation, j applyd to for it, sends me the money for that purpose, in short my life is so intolerable to me, who had never felt the anguishes of calamity before j set my foot in england, that j call every day death, and the most cruel death to my assistance, death, which j ask now of the Government or the happy change of my situation, by an act of justice to my rights and services; services not doubtfull and obscure, but known to all ministers, and certiyd by an existing testimony of the king himself. it is on those considerations, that, j humbly submit the following proposals, to the justice and humanity of Government.

my wife is a york-shire woman, whose family was ruined in the last rebellion, by an exerted zeal for the Royal family. she is in a decay, from a complication of disorders, and afflicted with a consumptive fever; she is then radically unable, to get her livelihood for the short remainder of her life. were j now to die or leave this kingdom, sir george saville, protector of her family, furnished, as j have said, with all certificates, and proofs of my rights, declared just by his counsels, would sue the Government, in order to recover the property of her

husband. besides, if am guilty she has no share in my guilt. Lord North, who knows her perfectly well, promised her four years ago a separate maintenance, if it cannot be done another way, let our mild and human Government allow her fifty pounds a year, for her short remaining days, which fifty pounds shall be taken from my annuity; so that, she may retire into her country, and j be legally discharged of her debts, as having provided her with an alimentary allowance according to the laws of nature, honour, and england.

as for me, j give up with all my heart, fortune and life. if the government think, that an error of judgement, which imposed upon my disturbed minds, only a few weeks ago, has destroyed the merit of one and twenty years of the most hard, and usefull service either in england or america, and intend to exert against me, the last tho' undeserved severity, with all my heart, j submit to my fate; j solemnly declare, that, at the first intimation j am ready to surrender myself, to the custody of any messenger of state, appointed for it, and carry without complaint and even defense, my devoted head to the block, where all my rights, on the government shall die with me, and receipt in full for the loss of my property, signed and sealed with my blood, relying however upon the private english gratefulness, and hoping, that, some of those officers and prisoners, who, by the good offices of my humanity and generosity, survived the flames, kindled by the barbarians, to roast or boil them, at the bloody catastrophe of fort George, will bury decently my poor body, so cruelly tortured in england, while, j am yet living.

but if the Government, choice to use toward me of that mercy, which always was the characteristic of this nation, and give an insignificant life for so many precious english lives, j redeemed out so dearly, then, let them send me back to quebec, whither j am very willing to go, on that just condition, that they will provide there for my subsistence, which j could no more request from the jesuits, deprived now of their estates.

if the same politickal reasons, which formerly militated against my return to that colony, are yet urging in their full force, j am ready with the consent of Government, to leave this country, provided they will allow me the same annuity as all the jesuits in Canada, and besides a little sum of money to defray the expences of my journey, and support my life, till j found some convent, in the austrian netherlands, where j may bury myself in an obscure retreat, for my short remaining days: if in my solitude, j can catch some discovery usefull to this country, god is my judge, that j will and

shall immediately impart it to our Ministers, whom, j shall be very happy to serve, till to my grave. j said, that j would seek after my last refuge in the austrian netherlands, for j shall never trust my person to france, where j could expect but a prison as a renegado, or a death, as an o'd friend to the english, tho' j am now suspected by them to serve france as a spy.

but, if neither of those proposals is agreeable, let the government exile or banish me in any part of england. bread and some milk shall be a sufficient maintenance for a sickly man, brought up to sobriety and moderation from his infancy. j hope only from ministerial charity, at least, that, they will allow me some proper physicks, against my excruciating disorders; satisfyd with my fate, in that unknown retreat, j shall wait with patience, that, god gives a glorious peace to this country, and brings back home General Murray, who surely then from his income, will allow me more than a decent maintenance, j don't see, that other proposals can put an end to my misfortunes, which j cannot more patiently bear up against, and prevent me from being intraped in the snares, layd from every quarter by a general conspiracy, for my destruction.

j beg humbly upon my knees, of the Government, to consider my case, and leave me no longer in a suspense to my desperate situation. j humbly beg to let me know, what they intend to do with me, or to give me leave to take their silence, as an approbation of my leaving this country, at my own expences; in such a terrible case, as j have nothing, j don't say, to travel, but to live upon, not an another way is left to me, but a public subscription already offered to me by some noble friends, and to solicit the General Generosity of this nation, by printing immediately the prospect of my case, that's to say my just rights to that Generosity, and besides my long and voluminous letter to Governor Carlton, now in the hands of some General Murray's noble relation and wherein a full history of my lamentable deputation, all my public services, plans transactions, and negotiations under the sanction of Government, are minutely set down. true, two years ago, Commodore Johnston, General Murray's nephew, presented my manuscript to Lord North, and was answered by mr Robinson secretary of the treasury, that such a publication, should compromise The Names of Their Majesties, and discover besides some secret transactions of the state, by no means fit for the public. no body has a greater regard for Their Majesties, and their present ministers, than j have, and j should think myself happy, to seal that respect, with the last drop of my blood, if it could be of some service to Their interests.

but self preservation leaves no other ways, of avoiding an us less death, but by the Generosity of this nation raised by the publication of my services and the sale of the only papers left to me. j hope the Government will pity my distress, and let me know, their intentions, to which j willingly submit before hand, with respect and gratefulness.

j conclude this humble memorial, with begging to be excused for all impropriety of language and assertions. in my present despair, j am out of my natural tho' small presence of minds, and forced by the urgency of the circumstances, to write currently with a shacking hand, and half blinded eyes, without advice and great reflexion. j hope that, such an Excuse will be accepted by the politeness and kindness of our Ministers.

PETER ROUBAUD

VAUX-WALK N. 2 24 feb. 1781

COPY OF GENERAL MURRAY'S CERTIFICATE.

j do hereby certify, that, the bearer, mr Peter Roubaud formerly, a jesuit in Canada, was sent home by me, to give The king's servants, informations of that colony and other things, relative to america; that he acquitted himself to the entire satisfaction of Lord Halifax, who thanked me, in His Majesty's name, for having sent him.

j do hereby farther certify, that when he left quebec, the jesuits agreed, in my presence, and under my special guarantee, to allow him, as a share to their estates, and out of the revenues of their colledge, an annuity for life, of one hundred and twenty six pounds, which they declined paying, after the first year; that, that having been represented To His Majesty, Lord shelburne, by a special order wrote to Governor Carleton, to insist from the jesuits, not only upon the punctual payment to mr Roubaud of that annuity, but the arrears and interests already due.

given under my hand JAMES MURRAY
Lieutenant General.

LONDON 1 july 1770.

the originals are in almost all our minister's hands.

—The *Wiscasset* (Maine) *Oracle* says, that a whipping-post stood on the corner of Maine and Middle-streets, in that town, near the "town-pump;" and Mrs. Phebe Still, a very old resident, who died a few years ago, remembered to have seen it in use, when she was a very little girl. It probably dates as far back as 1790, or earlier.

IV.—DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF DURHAM, NEW HAMPSHIRE.

FROM THE NEW HAMPSHIRE ARCHIVES, NOW FIRST PRINTED, FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

COMMUNICATED BY CAPTAIN WILLIAM F. GOODWIN, U. S. A.

I.

Petition of the settlers, for the establishment of a town government.

To the Hon^{ble} John Usher Esq^r: Leu^t Govern^r.
Command^r in Cheife of his Majes^{ty}: Province of
New Hampsh^r, and to the Hon^{ble} the Councill
WEE the Subscribers Inhabitants of Oyster
River *

Humbly Petition and Pray

That whereas his Moste Sacred Majisty King William, has been pleased Through his grace and favor to grant unto yo^r: Hon^r: by his Royall Comision | with y^e Councill | full Powers, and authorities to Erect and Establish Townes with in this his Majesties Province, and Whereas wee yo^r: Petitioners haue by devine providence Settled and Inhabited that Part In this his Majes^{ty} Province Commonly Called Oyster River and haue found that by the scituation of the place as to Distance from Dover or Exeter, butt more Especially Dover wee being forced to wander through the Woods to y^e place to meet to and for y^e management of our affaires, are much Deadvantaged for y^e present in Our Business and Estates and hindred of adding a Towne & People, for the Hon^r: of his Majesty in the Inlargement and Increase of his Province, Wee humbly Supplie^{ve} that yo^r Hon^r: Would take itt to Yo^r Con-sile ation, and graunt that we may haue a Township confind by your honour, w^{ch} wee humbly Offer the bound Thereof may Extend, as followeth, To begin at the head of RIALLS his Coue and So to run upon a North west line Seven Miles, and from thence wth Dover line Paralell, untill wee meet with Exeter line, That Yo^r Hon^r would be pleased to Grant this Petition, which will not only be a good benifit Both to the Settlement of Our Ministry—The Population of the place, the Ease of the Subject and the Strengthening and advantaging of this his Majes^{ty} Province, butt an Engagement for Yo^r Petition^r,

Ever to pray for the Safety & Increase
of Y^r Hon^r and Prosperity

John Smith	William Jackson
Joseph Jones	Joseph Bunker
James ^m bunker sen	John Woodman
John williames	Stephen Jones
Thomas williames	Paul el davis mark

william willyoums	Samson doe
Henery wines	John doe
Nathanieil Meder	Jeremiah Cromet
John Meder Seuer	James J durgin mark
John meder Ju	William . . durginn ma:
william fasset	Elias Critchett
O his mark	phillip O Cromet
Janis Acre ^h his mark	John Cromet
philep Duly O his mark	Jeremiah Burnnum
clemetret X his mark	John Smith
Joseph Jengens	Thomas hickford
Jems bonker O his mark	ohn ginder
James thomos	francis mathes
Nathale pitman	Henry Neck
Joseph meder	John ^m willy his mark
Joseph Smith	Thomas Edgerley
Edward Wakeliam	John Edgerley
Thomas wille	Edward E Lethers his
Thomas Chastle	mark
philip Chastle Sin :	Henery ^m mash
francis Pittman	william ^m durgin his
Thomas Chastle Juner	mark
George Chastle	

[Endorsed:]

Filed "1695"
"Oyster River Petition"
"Referd till another time"

II.

Objections to the reception of Colonel Davis and his wife into the church at Cochecho, as members thereof.

REVERED HON^{ble} & BELOVED

und^rstanding Col^o Davis & his wife are al^t to Joyn in full com^m wth yo^r church this is y^e by Vertue of y^e Communion of Churches to enter My Objections agst y^m for Scandalous crimes untill their publick confession & reformation
1st crime agst him is his hipocrisy in p^rtending he could not wth our church on Acc^t of Cap^t Jones who (as he said) had taken a false oath ab^t Cap^t Hills land at y^e Falls wth Jos^r meader also when he Considered not the heam in his own eye relating to another oath he himselfe took concerning Wheelwrights pond
2^d crime is his Sacrilegious fraud in his being the ring leader of the point peoples first rate of my first years Sullary detaining 16^d thereof now almost Sixteen years
3^d crime is his Sacrilegious covetousnesse of the poisonage Land for his Son daniel acting thereby like Abals Coveting & forceable entry upon Naboths Vineyard
4th his late wresting the Law of this province in his partial Spite agst his own legal minister for so innocently playing at nine pins at a house no ways license for a Tavern & also for reproaching and defameing 8^d minister as being in drink or disguised therewth; besides his the 8^d Jo^r

* Durham, formerly called Oyster River, was once a part of Dover. It was incorporated May 15, 1783.—W. F. G.

Davis being So desperately & notoriously Wise in his own conceit his pretending to have so much religious discourse in his mouth & yet live So long (40 years) in hatred unto, contempt of, & stand Neuter from, our crucified Saviour, & his honouring his Sons & his wife also above the Lord of Heaven by his hearkening to them more & rather than to him 1 Sam^l 2 : 29 in the Second place ag^t her the S^d Elizabeth his wife

1st crime is her railing ag^t the s^d minister publicly at the Church meeting in the meeting house by Saying that the s^d minister told a Lie in the pulpit abt^t Sobriety Thomas &c

2^d crime is her prophane mockery at Christs ordinance of a church meeting for discipline by her Saying in away of derision, theres a going to be another Caball now i. e. a horse racing from Caballing the starry Constellation, or else a secret council for Some mystery of iniquity

3^d crime is her being disorderly as a busy body at every one of her husbands Courts to be his adviser

4th crime is } or intermedlar in his passing Judgment
 y^e other } m^t: in any case as if he sh^d regard
 side } her more than his oath the Law or
 evidence if these criminals will have there crimes to be proved at any Church meeting to hear the Same wth y^e reverend pastor m^r Jon^s Cushing may please to appoint. Then as the Hon^{ble} Col Richard Waldron Esq is one of the members of y^e Church in full communion & a cheif Justice of peace for this Province as a Subject I desire but as an ambassad^r for Christ I demand of his Hon^r afores^d a blank Summons & notification reasonably as a complain^t to sumous evidences for the affirmation of y^e p^rmisses as Witness [two hebrew words *] pastor | dated at Oyster River parish in Dover Aug^t 17th 1728 | to be communicated to y^e church at Cochecho of & when Judged exped^t by the Rev^{er} s^t pastor thereof

On the other side,]

the womans } her so evidently insparring her
 4th crime is { Son Thomas into So many denials
 of any such couenn^t wth Sobriety

Thomas in all that Scandalous businesse For wth cum multis aliis &c as baptized Children of the Covenant by the prof minister they are both of y^m laid under y^e Censure of his pastoral rejection as unbaptized heathen man & woman as Warranted by the Law of Christ in Titus 3. 10 | 1 Tim^s 1: 20 | Titus 2: 15 | matth 16: 19 | mal: 2: 7 | 1 Sam^l 18: 23 | Matth: 3: 10 | Acts 8: 18: 21: 23 | untill their publick Confession & amendm^t of life concerning whome therefore I must Suppose in Charity for y^e Church by the receiveing such among you w^d not dare to transgresse those written orders in the Apostolick

* These words are not given in the copy sent to us by Captain Goodwin.—Editor.

Law Christ 1 Cor 5: 11 & Sundry other Scriptures

III.

Petition of the inhabitants of Oyster River, to the General Assembly, praying for a change of boundaries between that Parish and that of Cochecho.

To the Honorable John Wentworth Esq^r Leut^{nt} Gov^{er} and Commander in Chief in and over his Maj^{ties} Province of New Hampshire in New England and to the Honorable his Maj^{ties} Council and Representatives for Said province The Humble Petition of Sundry aggrieved Inhabitance of the parish of Oyster River Most humbly Sheweth Where as we the Subscribers In Habitance of Said parish Have allways been Constant hearors and Paid our Rats to the Minister of Said Parish as by the Rait List of assessm^{ts} Will make app^r and Likewise Sundry of us have Been at a Consederate Charge in Bulding a Meeting House in Said parish it being Nier and more Convenient for us to attend upon the Publick Worship of God at Oyster River Meeting House then at Cochecho Meeting House Which is a great way farther for us to go the Neuer the Less as we Understand we are in Danger of Being Excluded from our Said Priuiledges by Such an Unequal Line of Boundary between the parish of Oyster River and Cochecho which if being So Stated will be Graty to the Damage of Yor Petitioners

We Do therefore Humbly Craue Liberty of the More Mature and Superior Judgment of your Honours in the General assembly praying yor honours to take it in Consideration that there may be a more Equael Line of Boundary Set So that yor: aggrieved Petitioners may not be under Such Great hard Sheps: and yor petitioners Shall Ever pray

Joseph Jones in behalf of the Rest whose Names are to be geuen in

Joseph Daniel
 William Brown
 James Jackson
 Thomas Lethers
 John Tasker
 Lemuel Chasley
 Joshua Chasley
 Zachrah Edgely
 William Glines
 Samuel Daves
 Joseph hiks
 James busell
 Morres fouller
 John Busell
 Joseph Parkins
 Thomas Bickford
 Ralph Horll
 Samuall Parkins

John Rand
 John Remik
 Timothy Moses
 Thomas rizo
 Samuel Chale
 John Allan
 Eli Demerett
 William Demerett
 John Demerett
 John Hucksins
 Job Demerett
 De ry pitman
 Thomas Willey Juner
 Joseph Daniel the third
 Noel Cruse
 John Daniel
 Benjamin Euins
 Henrey Busiell

Joseph Jones jun^r William Basiell
John Jones

[Endorsed:]

Filed

"Petition of Sundry aggrieved
Inhabitants of Oyster River"

"Dec. 10. 1729."

IV.

*Petition of the Inhabitants for a provision for the
proper maintenance of Rev. Hugh Adams,
the old Pastor of the Town.*

To His EXCELLENCY Jonathan Blecher Esq^r
Governor and Commander In Chief in & Over His
Majesty's Province of New Hampshire in New
England, the Hon^{ble} His Majesty's Council and
House of Representatives for Said Province In
General Court Convened

Jan^y 31st 1739—

THE PETITION of Sundry of the Inhabitants of the Town of Durham in Said Province
HUMBLY SHELWS—

THAT the Inhabitants of the Said Town are divided into two parties Respecting their Ecclesiastical affairs, the One Such as adhere to the Reverend Mr Hugh Adams the late Minister of the Said Town & who Continues so to the Said party, the other (who are much the Greater) are Such as have Oppos'd his Standing in that Relation to them, & Still Continue so to do—

That notwithstanding it was the Opinion & Result of the late Ecclesiastical Council held there that it would not be Expedient for him to be any Longer the Minister of the said Town, Yet Considering his former Services, his advance Years and the unhappy Circumstances of himself & Family they Earnestly Recommended and press'd it upon the said Inhabitants that they should Liberally make Provision for his Support during the Stay of himself & Family among them— which is what would be highly agreeable to Your Petitioner—

That altho Several propositions have been made touching that matter yet nothing has been agreed on nor any care taken to Secure the performance thereof in the manner Recommended as aforesaid—

THAT your Peticoners apprehend it would be a great Indecency if he who was once & so long the minister of the said Town should have no other provision made for his Support than what the Law provides for one of the poor of the Town, and that he Should be Reduced to a necessity of Depending upon such a Subsistence

THAT your Peticoners are desirous Still to Sit under his ministry and are willing to Support him & his Family Suitable to his character & Station among them—and Conceive that his being Comfortably Supported would have a good Tendency & be the mean of making peace in the

Town (respeting Ecclesiastical matter) and would keep all parties quiet & Easy— But your Peticoners however willing are not of a ability to afford much Support while they are Subject to & pay towards the Maintenance of another Minister in the Town—

WHEREFORE they most Humbly pray that they with Such Others of the Said Town as will Associate with them (not Exceeding the one half) may be Exempted from paying towards the Support of any other minister & may be discharged from all Charges of that nature laid on them by Law by their Opponents from the time of the aforesaid Result, and may by be Incorporated as a Parish during the Life of the Said Mr Adams in order to maintain him & his Family & to Enjoy the Benefit of his Ministry Or that the Town in General may be obliged to afford him a Comfortable Subsistence during his abode there— Or that Such other method may be pursu'd as this Hon^{ble} Court in their Great Wisdom & goodness shall think proper for the peace of the Town & the Ease of that aged Gentleman—And Your peticoners as In duty bound shall ever pray &c—

Francis Mathes

Thomas footman

Thomas Drew

Joseph Wheeler

William Lord

John Edgerly

SteUphe n wille

Joseph Steuensen

John footman

Joseph footman

Benjamin Pinder

John Durgin

Benjamin Durgin

Beniamin Pender Jun^r

frances Durgin

Joseph Drew

John Kant

Moses Edgerley

John Kant jun^r

John Drew

Benjamin Benet

James Durgin Jun^r

Willam Durgain

James Durgain

Willm Durgain Jun^r

Joseph Durgain

Toworthley Durgain

Joshua Durgain

Hazerciah Marsh

Joseph duda

Joseph duda

Juner

Centmor duda

John Cronut

Philp Cronut

David Davis

Jacob Task

isacc Meson

nathanael Watson

Nathaniel frost

John Smart

John mason

Benjamin Bardit

Pumphet Whitthows

Vallitin Hill

Sam^l Adams

Samuel willey

Joseph Bickford

Abraham Banneck

Benjamin Banneck

Jonathan Durgain

William wormwood

Joseph Edgerley

Thomas Bickford

Abraham Stennson

John Bickford

William

Joseph Edgerly

N^o: 57

[Endorsed:]

February the 15th 1739-40 In the house of Representatives The within Petition Read, and Voted the Petition be dismiss'd

JAMES JEFFRY Cl^{er} and

In Coun^t feb. 21. 1739-40

Read and the Question put whether the Council w^d Concur with the representatives vote four voted yea & four nay— w^{ch} were all that were present

R WALDRON Sec^y

V.

Roll of Captain Smith's Company.

DURHAM July y^e 24th 1740

A list of Names of all the Soldiers that I^e under my Comand from Sixteen-years old and upward as the Law Directs

JOHN SMITH Jun^r Cap^t

Sarg Thomas Steunson	Willm: Lord
Sarg Samuel Willey	Stephen Willey
Sarg John Crummet	Benja Matheres
Sarg John Edgerly	Volintine Mathers
Cor Joseph Wormwood	Abraham Mathers Jun ^r
Cor Joseph Davis	Joseph Steunson
Cor Joseph Edgerly	abraham Steunson
Cor John Durgain	Caleb Wakham
John Footman	Francis footman
Joseph Footman	Daniel Davis
Samuel Smith	The footman Jun ^r
Benja Smith	John Genckens
Joseph Chasly	Robert Burnham Jun ^r
Ebenezer Smith	John Burnham Jun ^r
Benja Pender	Richard Danmore
Francis Durgain	Benja Davis
Eliphalet Daniel	Jabez Davis
John Kent	Jeremiah Davis
John Kent Jun ^r	Abraham Mathews
John Drew	Samuel Watson
Elijah Drew	Joseph Gloden 27
The Bickford	Solmon Davis
Robert Kent	Ebenezer Davis
The Langly 26	Samuel Meeder
John Mason	James Burnham
Daniel Doo	Ichbod Denmore
John Doo	Joseph Bickford
Joseph Doo	John Langley
Benja Doo	Jobe Langly
Will ^m Wormwood Jun ^r	Hezekiah Marsh
Will ^m Jncks	Will ^m Willey 29
Joshua Cremet	Joshua Woodman
Abraham Bennet Jun ^r	John Crechet
James Durgain Jun ^r	John Willey
Will ^m Durgain	James Burnham Jun ^r 4
Phillip Crommet	
Benja Bennet	
Isac Mason	
David Davis	
Samuel Joy	
Joshua Davis	
Joseph Dudy	
Joseph Dudy Jun ^r	
Benmore Dudy	
The Willey	

[Endorsed:]

A true Copy of the List Roll taken y^e Last Training Day and Copied out July y^e 24th 1740

JOSEPH DREW Clerk

Total 86

Theodore Willey

James Smith

J^{oseph} Smith

The Yorke

Smith
For Col^l Gerrish.

VI.

Petition, to the General Assembly, of Daniel Meder, for relief for himself and for the Quakers residing in the town.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY Benning Wentworth Esq^r Governor & Commander In Chief in & Over his Majesty's Province of New Hampshire the Hon^{ble} His Majesty's Council & House of Representative in General Assembly Convened the 11th Day of Feby 1741. 5.

THE HUMBLE PETITION of Daniel Meder of Durham in the Province of New Hampshire in behalf of himself & the People called Quakers Inhabitants of Durham afores^d SHEWS

THAT your Petition^r was Chosen Constable of the said Town at their Annual Meeting in March 1743 for that year & at the Same time One Isaac Clarke was Chosen a Constable or Collector of the ministers Rate thereby Intending to Exonerate the Constable of the Town (properly so-called) from that Service.

THAT since that Choice Mr Hugh Adams has Recovered a Judgment ag^t y^e s^d Town at the Court of Appeals for a Considerable Sum of Money w^{ch} the Town was obliged to Raise, a Meeting was called, & a vote past Raising a Sum of Money but express'd in a Covert disguised manner purposely Concealing the use & design to which it was to be applied with an intent as your Petitioner Conceives, both to oblige him to Collect it, & the Quakers to pay a part of it, who are Exempted by Law from paying any part of money Raised to the use for w^{ch} this was Really designed— and pursuant hereto a list of Rates was made, wherein all Denominations were taxed towards the Sum Voted as aforesaid, & Artifice & contrivance used to get it into the hands of your Petitioner & to Oblige him to Collect the money—

THAT as the Laws of the Province do not Oblige any man or men to pay towards the Support of any way of Worship but that which he or they attend much less will they Compel any man to Collect money for the Support of that mode of worship from which he descends and the Money adjudged to Mr Adams as aforesaid & which has been Collected (with other money) and Since paid to him Comes within the meaning of the Province Laws granting Liberty of Conscience & other Privileges respecting Religious worship, as any sum to be raised for any ministers Yearly Salary.

WHEREFORE your Peticon^r Humbly prays that as the Quakers have not yet paid the part of Said Rates which they were Assessed they may be

Exempted & discharged from paying the same and be Exonerated from the burthen of making Such Collection— and farther as your Petitioner Conceives the Collecting any part of Said Rates was an unjust Imposition on him he Prays that he may be paid by the Said Town a Quantum Meruit for that Service and he will as in duty bound Ever pray &c—

DANIEL MEDER

VII.

Petition to the General Assembly for an investigation as to the qualifications of the Member from Durham.

TO THE HON^{ble} the House of Representatives for the Province of New Hampshire In General Assembly Convened Nov^r 1755

HUMBLY SHEW Sundry of the Inhabitants of the Town of Durham in Said Province That they apprehend themselves Aggrieved By the Return made by two of the Select men of Said Town of the Person said to be Chosen to Represent the Said Town in the Last Election, for That they Conceive upon a fair Examination of the Facts Relative thereto, it will be found That Joseph Thomas their Late Representative was really the Person Legally Chosen & Ought to have been So Returnd

That the true State of the Case is thus upon Reading & Counting the Written Votes put in it appeared that Lieut Stephen Jones had One more Vote than Said Thomas upon which there appeared a Sufficient Number (who being Doubtful whether it Could be so upon a fair Examination) Desired a Poll to Put the matter beyond Dispute which was accordingly Granted the Event of which was that there were thirty nine Polls in favour of Said Thomas & thirty two Polls in favour of Said Jones— whereupon the moderator Declared the Said Thomas the Person Electd & Directed the Clerk to mark the Entry accordingly— Yet So it is that the Said Jones is Returnd as the Person Elected & Said to be Notified to attend accordingly all which upon an Impartial Inquiry will Turn Out as your Petitioner^s apprehend to be a misrepresentation & a bold Infringment upon the Rights of Liberties of the Electors & worthy of Inquiry & Examination— Wherefore Your Petitioners Humbly Pray the Premises may be taken under Consideration by this Hon^{ble} House & Such a Resolution form'd thereupon, as Shall be found upon Examinaⁿ to be agreeable to the Truth of the Different facts & allegations Produced & made by the Different Parties Concernd And Your Petition^{ers} Shall Play &c

JOSEPH THOMAS
ELIPHALET DANIELL
JONATHAN DURGAIN
BENJⁿ MACKENS

VIII.

Petition to the General Assembly for authority to open a new road.

PROVINCE OF
NEW HAMPSHIRE }

To his Excellency John Wentworth, Esq^r Captain General and Governour in Chief in and over his Majesty^s Province of New Hampshire & To the Honourable his Majesty^s Council & House of Representatives in General Court Convened This Eleventh Day of February A D 1768

THE PETITION of us the Subscribers being Inhabitants and Freeholders of Durham New market and Towns adjacent... Most Humbly Sheweth That at his Majesty^s Court of General Sessions of the peace begun & held at Portsmouth within and for the said Province of New Hampshire on the first Tuesday of September last: your Petitioners humbly Petitioned Said Court of the Sessions for a "High way of Two rods wide To be laid out from the Bridge at Lamprele River To the Road leading from Durham Point to Durham Falls: in The following manner viz beginning at the Country Road at Said Lamprele River near Joseph Hams Dwelling House & to Run as the Falls now Runs Through lands of Walter Bryant Esq^r and Abraham Bennitt To lands of Samuel Smith at the Gate at the Head of said Smiths Pasture from thence running between said Smiths & Bennitts Land To the afores^d path at the head of Said Smiths lane and Down Said Smiths Lane To the End thereof Thence running between Said Smiths & Bennitts land & Through Said Smiths Land as The path now goes To Lands of Joseph Chesley Thence Through the Several Lands of Said Chesley The heirs of Ebenezer Smith Esq^r Deceased and John Smith to lands of Thomas Stevenson & through said Stevensons Land between his House & Barn To lands of Joseph Footman & Through said Footmans Land to lands of Dependence Bickford & John Durgin & through said Bickfords & Durgins land To & through Lynda belonging To the Said Heirs of Ebenezer Smith To Mathes Creek (so called) near the Mill and over the Said Creek between lands of the Honourable Peter Levins Esq^r and John Kent To Lands in possession of John & Joseph Drew Thence running between Said Levins & Drews Land To a Road Leading from Durham Point to Lamprele River— and at the Court of General Sessions holden at said Portsmouth in December last The Petitioners prayed for a Committee To view The Several Lands Through

which said Road was Intended to be laid out and To Report To the said Court of Sessions Thereon but the Court refused To Send a Committee or to grant the prayer of the Said Petition and accordingly the Petition was Dismissed, by means whereof your Petitioners are much aggrieved as the said Way if laid out would much Comode your Petitioners as well as his Majesty's Subjects in general: Wherefore your said Petitioners most humbly pray That your Excellency & Honours would Take The Matter under your Consideration & Cause the said place to be viewed & if the Said way Should appear to be necessary & Convenient Then To order the Said way to be laid out and opened in Such way & manner as your Excellency and Honours shall in your great wisdom Think fit and your Petitioners as in Duty Bound will Ever pray

Feb^y 11th 1768Thos^s Stevenson

David Davis

Bradstreet Doe

mose^s Edgerley Jr

James Cram

Truworthy Durgin jun

George Tuttel

Stephen wille Jun^rTim^s MurrayNath^l Norton

John Mundro

George Bickford

Joseph Drew

Volintine Mathes

John Drew

John Mead

Joseph wormwood Ju

Ede Hall Bergin

Depn. Bickford

Zebulun Doe Jun^r

Francis Mathes

Jonathan Doe

John Edgerley

Edward Smith

John Smith

[Endorsed:]

PROVINCE OF }
NEW HAMPSH^{ire} }IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENT-
ATIVES Feb^y 18th 1768

The within Petition being Read

VOTED That the Petitioners be heard on this Petition the third Day of the Sitting of the General Assembly next after the tenth Day of March next and that they at their own Cost Serve the Selectmen of Durham with a Copy of this Petition and Order of Court that they may shew Cause why the Prayer thereof Should not be Granted

M WEARE Cl^kIN COUNCIL Feb^y 19th 1768

Read & concurred

GEO: KING Dep^y Sec^yPROVINCE OF }
NEW HAMPSH^{ire} }IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENT-
ATIVES March 15th 1768

The Parties being heard on this Petition and the matter Considerd

VOTED That Andrew Wiggin Esq^r Cap^t Eliphelett Merrill and Cap^t Ezekiel Worthen be a Committee to View

the Road Petitioned for to hear what any Persons Concern'd may offer and make Report to the General Assembly as Soon as may be. The Cost of the Committee to be Paid by the Petitioners

M WEARE Cl^k

IX.

Action of the Town on the above Petition.

PROVINCE OF } At a Town Meeting of the Free
NEW HAMPSH^{ire} } holders & other Inhabitants of
Durham held at the Meeting House
in s^d Durham on Monday the 7th
day of March 1768 at 8 O'Clock
P M

VOTED that Cap^t Thomas Chesley shall be an Agent in behalf of the Town to answer to a Petition sign'd by Thomas Stevenson & others Directed to the Governor Council & representatives of s^d Province requesting a High way to be laid out from the Bridge at Lampemel River to the Road leading from Durham Point to Durham Falls) and to shew cause why the Prayer of s^d Petition should not be granted

A True Copy— Attest

JOHN SMITH T Cler pro-tempore

V.—COLUMBIA, CONNECTICUT.

PAPERS CONCERNING THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE TOWN.

COMMUNICATED BY PROFESSOR E. F. ROCKWELL.

1.—*Original Petition of the people of what was called "The Crank," but now Columbia, to be set off a Society from the town of Lebanon, Connecticut, 1714.*

To y^e inhabitants of Lebanon the humble Petition of us whose names are under written inhabiting a place called the *crank*, and at Hop-river and adjacent to y^e crank with some others that have a right of land near sd crank. Humbly Showeth that Whereas the providence of God who bounds our habitations hath so ordered our settlement in the world so remote from y^e public worship of God, while we and ours stand in great need w^e by Reason of y^e Remoteness of the place of worship, which way ever we goe, that there are but few of our families can constantly attend, and we being got to such a number of families that are here and preparing to come among us that we hope that in case you that are our fathers, breatheren & Christian friends in Lebanon would be pleased to grant us with the accommodation of part of y^e land in the Town—

ship of Lebanon w^e we might have y^e worship of God set up among us in some short time w^e we hope, we greatly desire & shall endeavor after, according as y^e providence of God shall lead in that matter. and we hope and are confident that you would do for us w^t you can that may be reasonable for to incourage & promote so good a work. We therefore desire and intreat you who are our fathers, brethren and Christian friends in Lebanon to consider our case & do what you can conveniently to promote such a good work and set out to us for y^e promoting of a society here, as much of your Township as may be incorreging for y^e same. We dont here pretend to be our owne carvers but desire and request of you that a line may be run from y^e North Pond the westerly line of y^e five mile to the great Chestnut tree on Chestnut Hill which is the Northerly corner of y^e five mile: then to turn eastward in the line of the five mile to y^e Southly branch of ten mile brook so down by y^e brook as the brook runs to y^e eastward part of y^e town bounds to be, to incorreg the above s^d society, but in case you cannot comply with y^e above s^d line taking in all the Land in the Town bounds towards hebron [Hebron] and windham [Windham] we then desire your complance in any other line that you may se cause to afford us for y^e incorreging so good a work: we also desire and crave your help with respect of joining in to y^e Township that land lying between Lebanon bounds & coventry or so much of it as you may judge necessary for to obtain y^e end above s^d and it seems needful that there be speedy care taken about those of us that live out of y^e bounds of Lebanon that they be brought into y^e bounds, for we understand in case nothing be propounded to further and promote y^e motion above s^d that our friends at Coventry do intend to petition the Generall Court that such of us as are out of y^e bounds of Lebanon might be annexed to Coventry, & if it be once don their may be aboundance of more difficulty in bringing about the designe above s^d. and further, seince it is so that we ar y^e most of us must attend to it & we be thereby forc^d to do it we pray tht we may be freed from paying to the ministry in Lebanon and also that provided we are incorreged in so good a work as y^e settling of a Society here that we in a short time be at Charge towards settling of a minister here by building, breaking up of Land & farming of it in that we thereby may incourage a minister to settle among us: we then desire our Public taxes as to town charges might be also Released to us all, w^e we hope you will Readaly Grant to us your Humble petitioners: and in so doing you will greatly oblige us who are your friends and Neighbours.

LEBANON, feb. ye 28th, 1714-15.

RICHARD MASON, BENJⁿ WOODWORTH, JR.,
JOSIAH LOOMIS, JR., SAM^l WRIGHT,

BENJAMIN WOODWORTH, JOHN SWEETLAND,
CHARLES DOWALF, JOSIAH LYMAN,
JOSIAH LOOMIS, THOMAS PORTER,
HENRY WOODWORTH, EBENEZER WOODWORTH,
BENONY CLARK, JOSEPH FOWLER,
EBENEZER RICHARDSON, EPHRAIM TUPPER,
EZEKIEL WOODWORTH, CALEB LOOMIS,
ISAAC TILDEN, BENJⁿ SMALL,
JOSEPH CLARK, NATH^l DEWEY,
EPHRAIM SPRAGUE, THOMAS WOODWARD.

2. — *Action of the town, on the above Petition.*

April the 28th, 1715 at a Legall town Meeting of y^e inhabitanes of Lebanon they then granted the Petition of y^e People at the crank either to be a Siasity or a township allways Provided that y^e town Reserve to y^m selves all y^e Right of Land in s^d tract, both allotments & Common Right as to y^e, for y^e land & also except Petitioning for an adition between Coventry & Lebanon, and also provided there be no publick taxes Lay^d on y^e Land untill y^e Land be improved as y^e Law directs & also whereas the Petitioners to h^e all the land on y^e westerly side of the five mile, so far as Hebron road from Lebanon: Likewise Provided they pay publick taxes to y^e town untill they have liberty and incorregment from the Generall Courte to be a Siasity or township by themselves, the above written was voted by the Town: at the same time Stephen Tilden, Joseph Owen, John Hutchison, Joseph Hutchison, Joseph Owen Jun., and Moses Owen, all entered their Protest against the above s^d vote.

3. — *Notes, by Professor Rockwell.*

In explanation of what is meant by "the five mile," mentioned in the above paper, we are able to give an extract from the history of the town of Columbia, prepared by John S. Yeomans of that place, and read before an Association of Ministers in Tolland county, Connecticut. "Lebanon" originally consisted of a number of pieces of "land granted to different persons, at various times, which were finally united into one town, forming one of the largest towns in the State, its extreme length, from North to South, being at least twenty miles. The North line of Lebanon, at this time, terminated about fifteen rods South of the present Andover Depot, on the Providence, Hartford, and Fishkill Railroad; and extended, then, as now, about two miles South of Bzrahville.

"The first Grant was from Oweneco, son and successor to Uncas, Sachem of the Mohegans, to the Rev. Mr. Fitch and Captain Samuel Mason, called the 'Mason & Fitch's mile:' it was one mile wide and five miles long: and abutting, easterly, on the old Norwich, now Franklin, bounds.

"The next Grant was from the same Oweneco,

"and is what is known as 'The five mile purchase' The first book of Lebanon Land Records contains a deed, transcribed from the Norwich Records, and conveys to Captain Samuel Mason, Captain Stanton of Stonington, Captain Benjamin Brewster, and Mr. John Richard of Norwich, a tract of land, high and adjoining 'The Mason and Fitch's mile'; and was five miles long and five miles wide.

"The third tract of land granted was to Deacon Josiah Dewey and William Clark, from Rev Thomas Buckingham and John Clarke of Saybrook, and described as lying in the Wilderness, within the precincts of New London county, near a place called Lebanon. And is described as beginning as much northerly of Norwich North-west corner, in the West Side of Captain John Mason's line, and so to run Northerly, leaving a mile at the upper end, to the river Willimantic or Shetucket, against Windham; and to hold a straight line until it comes within a mile and a quarter of 'Hartford-gentlemen's land'; then bounded by a West line, till it comes to 'Saybrook-men's land'; then bounded on the West by 'Saybrook men's land'; South by the West line that divides between Abimale and Oweneco, agreed upon by the Committee appointed by the General Court; and easterly by 'Captain John Mason's mile.' This Grant bears date September 20, 1699. This tract covers most of what is now Columbia."

"The five mile" of the above Petition, from its shape, five miles each way, and from its position, seems to have been the second of these Grants.

STATESVILLE, N. C.

E. F. R.

VI.—THE CASE OF STEPHEN ARNOLD.

PAPERS SUBMITTED TO THE GOVERNOR, IN SUPPORT OF AN APPLICATION FOR A REPRIEVE.

1.—*Judge Kent's original Notes of the trial.*

The following is a copy of my original notes taken at the trial of Stephen Arnold.

OTSEGO OYER & TERMINER, Tuesday June 4th 1805.

THE PEOPLE	} Indictment for the murder of Betsey Van Ambey at Burlington on the 10th day of Jan ^y last by whipping her to Death & of which whipping she died on the 14th Jan ^y .— Plea not guilty.
vs. STEPHEN ARNOLD	

WILLIAMS | Dist Att^y | for the people
GOOLD, of | Counsel for the Prisoner.

Testimony for the People.

1. DOCTOR GAUIS SMITH— He states that on Saturday about the 12th Jan^y, he was called as a physician to see the child—he found the child very sick & its hands rough. The child lay in Mrs. Arnold's lap. He supposed it had worms. That the prisoner came after him the next morning, very early, & said he was undone & cried. He said he had whipped the child to death, & offered to give all he was worth if the doctor could save the child & would keep it secret. They went together to the prisoner's house. He saw the back of the child & advised to send for two other physicians. The prisoner confessed to him that he had gotten eight beech sticks & trimmed them out & supplied them in the fire, & said that he did not think he was then going to whip her to death. He confessed that he took her out because she was obstinate and would not spell & that it was done in the evening of Thursday the 10th. The Doctor said that on examination of her he found the child cut & mangled shockingly from the calves of her legs up to the middle of her back. That the bruised parts appeared to be withered & dead & sunk down. That the child died on Monday night following & he believed the whipping was the cause of her death. That the prisoner said that his wife advised him to whip the child as she was obstinate & would not read & that his wife had whipped her before & that it did her good.

DOCT. EZRA S. DAY—stated that on Sunday morning he was called on by the prisoner. That the prisoner cried & confessed that he had whipped the girl by stripping her clothes over her head & holding her across a stake with her toes on the ground; that he whipped her with a number of sticks & took her out a number of times; that it was on a Thursday Evening preceding; that she was black from her shoulder blades to her legs & would die. That the witness & one Ross went & examined the child; that he found her flesh bruised & lacerated from her shoulders to the calves of her legs. That he does not suppose the girl could have been cured. That the girl was out of her head when he saw her & begged of them not to whip her to death; that the prisoner went off that day. That the prisoner offered

to give all his property if he would cure her & keep it a secret. That the prisoner said he whipped her because she was obstinate & would not spell certain words. That the girl had a high fever & appeared to be about six years of age.

REBECCA HUBBLE said she visited the girl on Saturday Evening with her husband. That the prisoner was then at home. That no information was given her then. That Mrs Arnold appeared shy & the room was dark, with wet wood on the fire. That the child was very sick & Mrs Arnold said she had worms & that she had been sick from Thursday Evening. That the child kept gagging. That she heard the prisoner on the next day in the afternoon say that he had been a cruel creature & had whipped the child to death & would give all he had to save it. That upon the administration of Clysters there were bloody discharges from the child.

SALLY ADAMS.—said she lived in the house of the prisoner. That she saw the prisoner take the girl out seven times & it was an hour and a half from the time the girl was taken out the first time till the girl came in the last time. That the prisoner said he pulled the clothes over her head & held her over a crotch. That the child was very much bruised from her shoulders to her heels, as she saw her the same night, but she was not very bloody. That when the girl came in each time she said she could spell & would try. That the girl was never ugly before. That the girl would not pronounce the word "gig" as the prisoner wished. That the girl said she could and would pronounce it. That the girl did not cry much & was very smart to learn. That the prisoner used before to speak well of her. That the girl talked as free as ever between each whipping. That the prisoner did not appear angry till the last time. That the girl said she could do better & would. That the girl did not complain much. That the witness expected the fatal whipping was the last time. That before the whipping commenced the girl pronounced the word right & so she did after the last whipping. That the girl was not sick the next morning & set up & played the next day. That the girl got up herself on Saturday morning

& grew worse about Saturday noon & the witness went to Mr Rudd to go after the doctor. That the prisoner went on Friday to keep school & on Friday night said he was sorry he had whipped the child. That the girl had on shoes & stockings & nothing was discovered or said on Thursday Evening about the feet of the child being frozen. That the girl was well & hearty before the whipping. That the girl all the time during the space of the seven whippings tried to pronounce the word "gig" & the prisoner never told her how to pronounce it till the seventh time. That the witness has seen beech sticks bushed & worn up & supposed them to be the sticks. That the prisoner was out with the girl near half an hour the last time. That the whipping was beyond the wood pile & she heard no crying. That the prisoner used to whip his scholars if they cried. That the prisoner before he began to whip & while at supper pronounced the word "gig" right. That the girl was partly high & partly low Dutch. That the girl said during her whipping that she was ugly & wished she was better. That the witness heard the girl say before she went out the first time that she did not mean to go out but once before she would pronounce the word. That the girl during the sixth interval asked for leave to warm her feet & each time sat by the fire. That the interval between each whipping was perhaps ten minutes. That the prisoner kept school for six or seven years. That the witness had lived with him some years & he never offered any abuse to her. That when the prisoner brought in the girl the last time he pulled up her clothes & Mrs Arnold said "O my God Arnold, you have killed the child" & the prisoner said he hoped he had not whipped her so as to kill her. That the witness heard the prisoner say when he whipped the child on another occasion that he did not care if he whipped her to death.

ELIPHAS ALEXANDER.—Heard the prisoner confess he had forfeited his life & that the whipping arose from his malignant passions.

SAMUEL HUBBLE.—Said he was a neighbor of the prisoners & saw him once passionate at a Cow.

The Prisoner called no witnesses, &

upon the preceding testimony the Counsel on each side addressed the Jury.

JAMES KENT.

2.—Letter of E. Phinney, Esq., to the Governor.

OTSEGO VILLAGE, Feb. 10, 1866.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY:

On Friday last the unfortunate Arnold sent a request that I would visit him with which I immediately complied. I had not seen him for several months. I found him in the dungeon confined to the floor by a very heavy log chain; and as soon as my eyes had become assimilated to the "darkness visible," a visage, sunken by grief, remorse, and despair presented. He wished me to draft a new will for him, as that which he executed the last day of May was rendered inapplicable by the subsequent sale of some land: and as he had bequeathed 100 acres to his Sister & two brothers, who although they were apprised of his awful situation had neither of them visited him. He proposed to bequeath the whole & the little which remained of his hard Earnings to his wife, with a clause which required her to pay to the *Advertising Committee* the \$200 which they were obliged to pay at Pittsburgh as a reward for his apprehension, observing that they had done right. And as he understood that they could not be indemnified by the State, he conceived that in justice he ought to make them good, if in his power. It may be suggested that the idea had been communicated to him through friendly policy; but he solemnly declared to the contrary: and for myself I do Solemnly declare that I never before heard or conceived of such a proceeding: and from the whole tenor of his conversation, and a careful attention of his eyes, those faithful interpreters of the heart, I have no reason to conclude that the policy of the bequest ever had entered his heart, but that it was dictated solely from the monitions of a tender conscience: And in my life I never conversed with a person apparently so scrupulously determined to neither do nor omit anything which a good conscience would disapprove, or require, than the unhappy Arnold during the whole of his tedious imprisonment. A petition from him will be presented to the legislature, which I conceive will relieve them from a constitutional

embarrassment in case they should not grant him a pardon

I am with great respect

You Excellency's obedient S^t

E PHINNEY

His Excellency Gov LEWIS

3.—Petition of the Prisoner.

TO THE HON. THE LEGISLATURE OF N. Y. IN SENATE & ASSEMBLY CONVENED.

The humble petition of Stephen Arnold humbly sheweth:

That your humble petitioner is deeply sensible of the heinous nature of the rash and cruel act for the perpetrating of which he is under the awful sentence of death: that he solemnly declares that he never contemplated, designed, or intended, the death of the child, who, as it appeared, died in consequence of his barbarous severity: that his affections for the child had increased from the time of her first residing with him, until the fatal period, when, in a fit of extreme and violent passion, he inflicted an inhuman and unjust chastisement, for a childish obstinacy.

Your humble petitioner doth therefore pray that your humble body would graciously grant him a pardon in which case his whole life shall be devoted to the endeavor of deserving such an act of grace & mercy, by a contrite heart and a vigilant caution in all his conduct: and, in case he should be deemed too guilty to obtain a pardon, that his punishment may be graciously mitigated by being confined to the State prison, at hard labor, for such a term as your honorable body shall adjudge, to which your petitioner will cheerfully & gratefully submit.

STEPHEN ARNOLD

VII—THE EASTERN SHORE OF NORTH CAROLINA, IN 1861 AND 1862.

A STATEMENT OF JAMES NORCOMB TO GENERAL F. SIGEL, AT BALTIMORE, IN 1865.

[DEAR MR. DAWSON:

I send you enclosed the statement of Mr. Norcomb, of which I spoke to you when I saw you, lately. You will probably find it of interest, although in regard to the political sentiments expressed, we must make due allowance to time and circumstances under which it was written. The correct date I have forgotten: but I think it was in Summer, 1865, when Mr. Norcomb saw me in my office in Baltimore, and responded to my request. The statement was at that time of great interest to me, because you remember, from my letters and papers, that I regarded North Carolina as the most important region for a great diversion from the North, its occupation and control involving the evacuation of Virginia by the Confederate army, under

Lee, or, at least, subjecting that army to the greatest disadvantages in a strategic point of view.

With my best regards and truly
Your fr end,
F. SIOZEL]

This is given as a plain statement of facts which transpired in North Carolina, about the years 1861 and 1862. When General Burnside took possession of North Carolina, by the military forces of the United States Government, a Convention of the People of the State had been called, voting whether or not a Convention should be held, and at the same time voting for members of said Convention. It was not thought necessary to hold said Convention, therefore a call for the Convention was rejected by the voters of the State, and, at the same time, the candidates to said Convention were Union men by a large majority. After which time, Governor Ellis, then Governor of North Carolina, took possession of Fort Macon, the arsenal at Fayetteville, and all the military establishments belonging to the United States. If our Government had placed the State of North Carolina in the security in which she justly deserved, at the time, and guarded by military force all the avenues of egress and ingress into the State, from her vast majority of Union men, at that time, no Ordinance of Secession would ever have been passed, but the old North State would have been a bright star in the constellation, in sustaining this, our glorious Union. All provision and forage for the army would have been for the United States instead of giving aid and comfort to its enemies.

Thousands of her citizens were then ready to die in defence of our glorious flag; and such bold and manly assistance as they would have given would have gone down to posterity as a bright escutcheon of her devotion to our common country. But things went otherwise. We were in the line of direct trade, and the military hand of *secess despotism* was planted in our lovely old North State, and the most sturdy were bound to bend as the mighty oak will bend to the storm, until we were uprooted and our soil became that—*What?* the land of traitors to their beloved country. What is yet to be the consequence, God only knows. The present state of legislation is now against every thing pertaining to order and good government; and all their ends, at the present time, is to demolish the grand structure of this Union. This is given upon mature reflection; and the facts well known to the writer, being conversant with the affairs of this, his native State, for forty years. If this statement can be of any avail to protect the Union portion of her citizens, God grant that these few lines may be remembered and made known.

Respectfully,
A NORTH CAROLINIAN.

QUESTIONS ANSWERED.

QUESTION. About how many provisions were sent from North Carolina to the army of General Lee? And how was the transit of goods and provisions through North Carolina?

ANSWER. In the eastern part of North Carolina, large portions of provisions were sent: one farmer, T. D., alone furnished about seventy-five thousand pounds, annually, of pork and bacon; F. W., G. P., I. W., R. H. S., A. R. E., W. W., I. B., and S. S., each furnishing about two hundred thousand pounds; and the quantity of provender, besides the vast amount of meat and corn, is astonishing. I would say that the gross quantity of pork and bacon, from a few of the eastern Counties, could not have been less than ten millions of pounds of pork and bacon, annually; and the Counties of Chowan, Perquimans, Pasquotank, Camden, Currituck, and Gates, may be included, averaging about forty thousand barrels of corn, annually; besides the Counties of Washington, Tyrrel, and Hyde, which furnished, through blockade-runners, large quantities of pork, bacon, and beef. The transit of these provisions was mainly across the waters of Albemarle Sound and the Chowan-river, North of the Railroad leading from Norfolk to Weldon, N. C. After this vast amount of provisions were sent across the Chowan-river, it found its way immediately to the Norfolk and Virginia Railroad, to Petersburg, Richmond, and to General Lee's army. The Counties of Bertie, Martin, Hertford, and North Hampton, on the rebel side of the Chowan, (West,) added no small amount to the army of General Lee. All the transportation of provisions and goods for the army of General Lee, from that section of North Carolina, was taken across the Chowan-river, between the points before-mentioned. Meat, etc., were exchanged by Jeff. Davis, in Richmond, for cotton and tobacco.

Ques. How many goods by blockade-runners went across into the army of General Lee?

Ans. Goods running the blockade, were sent from Norfolk principally by this route. Large quantities of shoes, cavalry boots, clothing, sugar, and coffee were carried by this route. I have known one hundred bags of coffee, and thousands of pounds of sugar, *carried over in one night*. Cotton and tobacco were exchanged, carrying on a large traffic for the rebel forces; agents were distributed through the before-mentioned Counties, with large quantities of tobacco and cotton, to be always in readiness for exchange, at available points, on or near the Chowan-river, South of the railroad. At least one hundred thousand boxes of the Virginia and North Carolina tobacco were exchanged, even

after the United States forces had taken possession of Norfolk.

Ques. How many Railroad lines ran through North Carolina from Richmond?

Ans. Richmond had three avenues of trade by Railroad: one through Wilmington, one from Tennessee, and the one referred to, from Norfolk, Virginia.

Ques. Were they destroyed by General Burnside?

Ans. He only touched a branch of the Wilmington road, which sent to General Lee's army the smallest quantity of provisions of any of them, as it was located in and around Newbern, where the land was poor, and but a small quantity of provisions of any kind was ever shipped.

Ques. How far did the troops go into the interior? And did they reach those Railroad lines and destroy them?

Ans. After the capture of Hatteras and the fall of Elizabeth City and Roanoke Island, Newbern next fell; and the troops made a diversion into the interior, in the neighborhood of that place. But so far as going into the interior and stopping the transit of provisions, generally, by Railroad, to General Lee's army, no such thing took place. Neither was the railroad communication cut off, except at that branch around Newbern.

Ques. Was the blockade effective?

Ans. It was not. Hatteras was fortified, which protected the Pamlico Sound; Roanoke Island was fortified, which protected the Croatan Sound; Plymouth was fortified, which closed the mouth of the Roanoke river; and Newbern was fortified, which closed the mouth of the Trent and Neuse rivers; besides the Harbor of Beaufort protecting Bogue Sound. Troops were also stationed at Beaufort and Morehead City, the terminus of the branch of Railroad to that place.

Between these points of fortification, there was a vast opening which was at all times taken advantage of, to feed and clothe General Lee's army. Plymouth being eight miles up the Roanoke river, and distant seventy miles from Roanoke Island, all the intermediate country between those points being productive and the richest portion of North Carolina, the produce easily ran the blockade up the Chowan river,* where these conveniences of transportation to the army of General Lee existed. The Chowan river being one of the great thoroughfares to the army of General Lee, as regards provisions, the aforementioned Counties, sending all their surplus provisions, and parts of the army of General Lee passing through this whole section of country unmolested, *only by occasional raids*, gathering up and taking quietly away, in Gov-

ernment wagons, of the so-called Confederacy, all the goods and provision of any and every kind which they found, paying the standard value placed upon such articles of clothes and provision by the so-called Confederacy. The Counties bordering on the waters of Albemarle Sound and the Chowan river being the richest in North Carolina, the rebels quietly made that their place of trade, without placing any troops, to avoid being attacked so as to cut off that very large supply.

Ques. How many Volunteers (about) do you think the United States could have got from North Carolina at that time (Spring of 1862) to increase the United States forces, if they had had the necessary protection.

Ans. If an army of fifty thousand men had been stationed, permanently, in North Carolina, at that time, she would never have passed the Ordinance of Secession; and at least one hundred thousand men would gladly have rallied around the standard of the Stars and Stripes and protected and sustained the Proclamation of the late lamented A. Lincoln.

Ques. What places or place do you think were the best to be occupied, as points to start from, with the United States forces, into the interior of the State of North Carolina?

Ans. The Chowan river should, by all means, have had an army of at least twenty thousand men. The Federal fleet that was stationed in the Sound, occasionally passed up the Chowan river; and in almost every instance was fired on by the Confederates upon the West side of the river, leading to the railroad. It is probable that if a Federal force had been placed near that river, the rebels, knowing the vast amount of supplies from that quarter, would, by every means, have been employed to drive them off, for it would have been cutting one of the arteries of their subsistence. The progress into that part of the State should have been followed by an untiring determination at least as far as Weldon, the great depot of the State, where the different roads meet; and the possession of that point alone would have driven the army of General Lee from Virginia one year sooner than his capture. The Wilmington blockade should have been complete; and then no foreign goods could have found the army of Lee, except by the channel, which should have been guarded at Weldon.

Ques. How was the political sentiment in the largest cities of North Carolina, in proportion to the population in those cities?

Ans. The political sentiment was, in the years of 1861 and 1862, in favor of North Carolina remaining in the Union; and the people in the country at large would have sustained the United States Government, politically.

* Sometimes one hundred boats were passing Edenton, at night, bringing provisions to the army of Lee.

When the question of the call for a Convention and members came up, the People of the State elected a large majority of Union members; and, at the same time, rejected the call, as they did not think it necessary. But when Governor Ellis took possession of the arsenal and the different fortifications, and another call was made for a Convention, the yoke of despotism was placed upon the necks of a free people and a Convention was held, which members being elected by small votes, having no opposition, the country, wanting assistance from the Federal Government, was *down-trodden, drafted, conscripted, proscribed, and ostracised* to that extent, by the civil and military powers, that all Union-loving citizens gave up the State.

Ques. How was it with the German element? Did they like to volunteer for the rebels, and did it have influence with them in politics?

Ans. There were so few, that as far as my information went, they were favorable to the Union, and their political associations were for the United States Government.

Ques. How was it with other nationalities?

Ans. The State of North Carolina, I suppose, had fewer adopted citizens, from any foreign countries, than any other State in the Union. The foreign element was, in nine cases out of ten, in favor of the United States.

Ques. Do you know, whether at the time of General Burnside's expedition, certain places in the interior were fortified, and how many, and whether or not held?

Ans. Hatteras, Roanoke Island, Newbern, Beaufort, and Plymouth were the only places held and fortified by the Federal forces. All of them were on water courses; and no military station was occupied, except on raids, for a few days only, in the interior of the country.

Ques. Do you know whether the rebels had any arms, and guns, and equipments, and where they got them?

Ans. All the arms of every description were surrendered to the officers of the rebels, by all persons owning them, as they had implicit orders to take the same, wherever found. All the arms that the Volunteer Companies had from the State, before the war; some small field-pieces that were at different towns, kept for firing on the national days; and the arms from the arsenals and forts were taken possession of; besides the large quantity said to have been furnished by Secretary Floyd.

Ques. What would you say about the negroes, at that time, and now?

Ans. The negroes, at that time, were in a state of great uncertainty; they were being taken to work on all the rebel fortifications, and would do any and everything to please those that had control over them. They were

polite and being cared for by their owners; and, as a people, without cares, a large majority of them were happy. But when they found that the United States Government intended to *free* them, their course of conduct was very soon changed. Without any sort of resistance, or violence, or even impudence, to their former owners, they, upon the first opportunity, left and went into the Federal lines and continued to go. When the Proclamation of A. Lincoln made them free, some few asserted their right where they resided; but timidity, in some, caused them to leave their homes, until the close of the war. They were well clad and had plenty to eat, but had their work to attend to, in their different vocations. Now, their condition, as regards food and raiment, is worse than their former condition. Since they have been free, all the old former rebels do everything in their power to subject them to all and every inconvenience. They are cheated in contracts; abused; and even the Civil Courts do not do them justice; and all know that the laws of the Southern States, still persist in holding them in subjection. Yet you find the schools adding much to their improvement; and the aid of the Freedman's Bureau an institution which will, if carried out, protect them and place them, at no very distant day, superior to any position they ever occupied. I have had an opportunity, for the last three months, to give it my especial attention, as I have been engaged taking the census of the colored population under the United States Government. The Freedman's Bureau should not be abolished, as it teaches them politeness, gives them respectability, and makes them know that they are subservient to the laws of their country, thereby making them good citizens.

Ques. About what time did the Federal forces, under General Burnside, reach North Carolina; and did you have any conversation with any of the officers commanding the expedition; and with whom and what was the nature of such conversation?

Ans. After the capture of Hatteras and Roanoke Island, by the Federal forces, about the twelfth day of March, they came to Edenton, North Carolina, at the head of Albemarle Sound. Captain Graves, of the United States steamer *Larkwood*, was the first to put his foot on the wharf, at that place. I met him and introduced myself to him and made known to him I was a Union man and had been delegated by the citizens to meet the Federal authorities. He remarked that he was pleased to meet me as such, and, as Commander Palmer had charge of the expedition, he would take pleasure in presenting me to him. In a short time,

several other gun-boats of the United States' Navy came near the wharf; and I was introduced to Commander Palmer and then Lieutenant Flusser, who afterwards had command of the Albermarle Sound. Commander Palmer wished to know if there were any soldiers in rebellion, in or near the town. I told him that two Companies or parts of Companies were in barracks, in and near the town; and upon the approach of the United States fleet, they had all left. He asked me if there were any supplies, in or near the town. I told him there were none. He then stated that there were a quantity of old cannon, in or near the town; and that there were two brass pieces in the town. I showed him some ten or twelve thirty-two-pounders, that had been sent to Edenton, in 1813, and had been exposed to the weather and had never been used. He had the trunnions broken off and the cannon spiked; and they were never moved afterward, even to this day. The two brass pieces which were held by the town, were two pieces taken from the British, in the War of 1812; which had been used in the town, for firing the national days of the United States—one of them, a four-pounder, had been taken to Roanoke Island, which was captured, when Roanoke Island fell; and the other had been taken off by one of the Companies that had left the intrenchments. Commander Palmer saw, in my office, a political text-book, open at the Proclamation of Andrew Jackson: he asked me who would read such an instrument, at such a time. I told him that the night before, I had read it and insisted that the Proclamation of Andrew Jackson was good; and that it had been followed by a Force Bill, in Congress; and that the then Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln was good, and ought to be followed by just such a Proclamation; and that all rebels against the Government of the United States should be stopped at once.

I told Commander Palmer that the people of North Carolina wished to be loyal to the United States Government; but that such influences as were then being brought about, would soon endanger the State. I told him that I hoped he would not leave us defenceless, as the troops of the then Confederates could come in upon our back, at once. He said we would be protected. I had a long conversation with Lieutenant Flusser, and urged upon him the immediate necessity of leaving troops or occupying some position on the Chowan-river, between the town of Edenton and the Railroad leading through Suffolk. I explained to him the necessity of such a point. He coincided with me, as at Plymouth, on the Roanoke: they soon took up a military position with the fleet, to watch the Sound and to prevent

the illicit trade. A small squad of men were placed about fifteen miles from Edenton, on the Chowan-river, and immediately they had, from the adjoining country, about one hundred men, North Carolinian Volunteers, in the Union army, which post was successfully managed, (considering the small number of troops) by Captain Jos. W. Etherage of Chowan-county. This small Company more than provisioned themselves from the blockade-runners, and became very obnoxious to all the rebels, in that and the surrounding country. It is disgraceful to relate, that the only true position to be held with a strong force, by the United States, in that section of the country, was allowed to be captured by the rebels, when gun-boats could have been in attendance and successfully kept all provisions on this side of the Chowan-river. Fortunately, however, very few that were in the block-houses were captured, as they all know well the country and made their escape. When that place fell, I saw Commander Flusser, who commanded, at that time, and gave him a written plan of what I thought would be effectual. He told me he knew the actual necessity; but that he had command of the fleet and would render any assistance in his power, if it could be done. The consequences were, that, until the fall of Richmond, and, until Weldon fell, our section was always open to supply the rebel army.

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO THIS STATEMENT.

The commanding officer of the garrison, at Plymouth, was General Wessels. His bravery, courage, and gentlemanly deportment could not be surpassed by any man, all having implicit confidence in his military skill and his kind and humane treatment, among the officers that visited the Sound. Commodore Flusser and Admiral Rowan ought ever to be remembered by every lover of humanity and good order.

The naval officers, Captain Graves, Captain Joslin, Captain French, and Captain Barret were officers who also deserved the gratitude of the people, for their kindness in that section of the country. In the Treasury Department, Colonel D. Heaton is not to be surpassed by any man on record, for loyalty and strict forwardness to duty.

In regard to General Burnside, (with whom, however, I was not personally acquainted) I must say, that it was the general impression of the people, if he had remained in North Carolina, things would have taken a different, i. e., a much more favorable, turn. The army officers were all polite; but there were certain officers in the navy, who excelled greatly by their pomposity and could hardly be approached by any

loyal man. E. Stanley, the military Governor of North Carolina, at that time, did everything in his power to bring about a Union feeling, in that State; and as he was a North Carolinian, the Secessionists were the more embittered against him, when he took a position under Abraham Lincoln. He yet deserves the thanks of all good citizens in the State.

Palmer was the first Commodore of the fleet in the Sound. When he returned on a visit, after two years, he was standing on the hurricane-deck of the transport vessel, (coming from Newbern) and seeing me waving my hat, he exclaimed, "Hurrah! hurrah! for Norcomb. "Norcomb is still at his post."

During the war, several of the large fisheries were in operation on the Chowan-river, sending large quantities of fish to the army of General Lee. The fortifications at Hatteras, Roanoke-island, near Edenton city, at Winton, on the Chowan-river, at Washington, on the Pamlico-river, and at the forts on the Neuse and Trent-rivers, which were around Newbern, and Fort Macon, one of the United States forts that were taken possession of by the rebels, were all captured by the army of General Burnside.

The steamer *Philadelphia* ran the blockade through Albermarle Sound and carried, at one time, two hundred and fifty thousand dollars worth of clothing and provisions for the army of General Lee, taking cotton in exchange. They offered Mr. Norcomb one pound of meat for one pound of cotton. Meat selling for four dollars at that time.

The ram, *Albatross*, was permitted to be built, up the Roanoke-river, and allowed to come down and destroy the *Southfield*, and was the death of Commodore Flusser—taking Plymouth, with General Wessels and his whole army of about two thousand.

The Counties of Chowan, Gates, Perquimons, Posquotank, Camden, Currituck, Hyde, Tyrrel, Washington, Beaufort, Martin, Edgecombe, Nash, Bertie, North Hampton, Hertford, and Halifax are not surpassed, in an agricultural point of view, to any number of Counties in the Union.

Horses, wagons, and army implements, that were required, the rebels took and paid in Confederate money, at their stated prices. The Agents buying bacon, horses, etc., would pass with barrels of Confederate-money, to pay for the same.

—The name of Old Orchard Beach arose from a growth of apple-trees, formerly, near the beach, planted at a very early period; some of them remained as late as 1770.

VIII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.]

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—Ed. His. Mag.]

REMINISCENCES OF THE THEATRE, IN COLONIAL DAYS.

Mr. Dunlap, whose *History of the American Theatre* is regarded as authority, says (on Page 15, Vol. I.): "On the 15th of September, 1752, "at Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia, the "first play performed in America, by a regular "Company of Comedians, was represented to a "delighted audience. The piece was *The Merchant of Venice*, and it was followed by "the farce of *Letha*." The farce, it may be here remarked, was written by the celebrated Garrick; and Dunlap makes it a matter of congratulation for the American people that, at this alleged first dramatic representation, Garrick "waited on "Shakespeare." It may appear presumptuous in us to controvert this assertion of the acknowledged historian, regarding matters theatrical, and to claim for our own city of New York the honor of being the first place in America, where the English drama was brought out, by professional actors. We have no desire to deprive the Old Dominion of any honors to which she is legitimately entitled; but the truth of history compels us to dissipate the illusion under which Virginians have so long rested, and to set forth the case as it really is. Indeed, it would seem that even the State of Maryland is entitled to precedence over Virginia, in this particular. At least, it is certain that a theatre, or "play-house" was in existence in the city of Annapolis, when the Company of Comedians, which Mr. Dunlap avers were the first that ever came to this country, arrived in Virginia. That the people of Annapolis were not, even at that early day, unused to dramatic representations is evident from the fact that the Maryland papers then published make mention that the "new" theatre erected in that city—the adjective term being used, probably to distinguish this particular temple of the Muses from the "old" theatre which had previously been the recognized place of amusement. In the *Maryland Gazette* of July 6, 1752, there appeared the following advertisement:

"By permission of His Honor the President "of the colony) at the new theatre in Annapolis, "by the company of comedians, on Monday "next, being the 13th of this instant, July, 1752, "will be performed a Comedy called the *Beaux Stratagem*. Likewise a farce called the *Virgin unmasked*. To begin precisely at 7 o'clock. "Tickets to be had at the printing office. Box, "10 Shillings; Pit, 7 and 6 pence; Gallery 5

"shillings. No person to be admitted behind "the scenes."

Subsequently, *Richard III.* was performed at this theatre, a Mr. Wynnell (Winell) taking the principal character and a Mr. Herbert personating Richmond. Mr. Dunlap, it will be remembered, claims that the representation, on the fifteenth of September, 1752, at Williamsburg, Virginia, was "the first play performed in America;" whereas two months previous to that time, as appears by the above, a "Company of Comedians" entertained the people of Maryland's capital, at their "new theatre." This Company, as we propose to show, hereafter, was originally from New York, where they had played, long before; and they are spoken of, in some instances, as "the New York Comedians." The author of *The Theatre in America* alludes to this performance, in a note (Vol. I., p. 20); and, with reference to the "new theatre," he says it was "probably used by boys or young men, to enact "plays after their fashion, as was the case, and "will be the case, everywhere." That the "probabilities" are all in another direction, and that the players were legitimate disciples of Thespis, who had previously performed in New York, we shall prove, further on.

We come now to consider the proofs as to our own city being the place where dramatic representations were first given in America. Mr. Dunlap asserts that the inauguration of the drama, on this Continent, is due to Mr. William Hallam, of London; that 1752 was the year in which, and Williamsburg, Va., the place where, the drama was inaugurated. That Mr. Hallam did send a Company of players to America, in 1752, is undoubted; and that they began their performances in Williamsburg is also a fact; but that they had predecessors is none the less a verity.

We may be pardoned for digressing, here, for a moment, in order to set forth the condition of the theatre in England, in the early days of which we write. At that time, Garrick was at the summit of his fame; and the old playhouse of Goodman's Fields, London, was nightly filled by men and women, of high and low degree, to witness his unequalled personations of the immortal bard's creations, as well as those of dramatic authors of lesser note. Mr. Dunlap says of that era:

"The state of the drama was, in 1750, much "more brilliant than it had been, for the last half "century, or is now" [*he wrote in 1833*] "in "Great Britain. The best and the greatest men "of the country wrote plays and attended the "performance. The pit of the theatre was the "resort of wit and learning; while fashion, beauty, taste, refinement, the proud, exclusive aristocracy of the land, took their stations in the

"boxes surrounding the assemblage of poets and "critics, below."

It was in this very year (1750) that the drama was founded in America, and not two years later, as Mr. Dunlap asserts; and New York, not Virginia, was the Colony in which it was inaugurated. The first mention we find of any professional actors being in the Colonies is contained in a paragraph which appears in *The New York Gazette, revived in the Weekly Post Boy*, February 26, 1750; and is as follows. We give it *verbatim*:

"Last week arrived here a company of comedians from Philadelphia, who, we hear, have "taken a convenient Room for their Purpose, "in one of the Buildings lately belonging to the "Honl. Rip Van Dam, Esq., deceased, in Nassau "street, where they intend to perform as long as "the season lasts, provided they meet with suitable encouragement. For the Time of their Beginning, see the Advertisements."

The names of all who compose this "company "of comedians" we cannot determine, and under whose management they first were, is not known; but that one, Robert Upton, who was connected with Mr. Hallam, at Goodman's Fields Theatre, in London, became Manager, afterwards, and before Hallam's troupe left England, is undoubted. On turning to "the advertisements" of the *Weekly Post Boy*, we find the following, which is transcribed literally from that journal:

"BY HIS EXCELLENCY'S PERMISSION:

"At the Theatre in Nassau Street;

"On Monday, the 5th Day of March next, will "be presented,

"THE HISTORICAL TRAGEDY OF KING RICHARD III, "Wrote originally by Shakespeare, and altered "by Colly Cibber, Esq;

"In this play is contained The Death of K. "Henry VI: the artful Acquisition of the Crown, "by K. Richard; the Murder of the Princes, in "the Tower; the Landing of the Earl of Richmond; and the Battle of Bosworth-Field.

"Tickets will be ready to be delivered by "Thursday next, and to be had of the Printer "hereof; Pit, 5s. Gallery, 3s.

"To begin precisely at Half an Hour after "6 o'clock; and no Person to be admitted behind the scenes."

Here, then, (1750) we have the first attempt to introduce the personated creations of Shakespeare to the notice of our ancestors, on Manhattan Island. Doubtless it would interest and amuse our readers were we to describe the rendering of the "historical tragedy," which, on that fifth of March, now more than a century ago, broke upon the sight and hearing of the New Yorkers of that day, or were we to draw a pen-picture of the original theatre which the "comedians" had, with admirable foresight, provided for the dis-

play of their histrionic abilities—that “convenient room,” in the building of “the Honl. Rip Van Dam, Esq.”—and contrast it with the gorgeous dramatic temples now scattered over our great metropolis. But our’s is the task of the historian, simply, and we must forbear.

That these actors were professional people is evident. They were styled a “Company of Comedians;” and the public were told that they would “perform as long as the season lasts, provided they meet with suitable encouragement.” It is plain, therefore, that they intended to perform for “the season;” and that they depended on the encouragement they received from the public for their livelihood, which would not have been the case were they simply amateurs, as they must have been, if Mr. Dunlap be correct. That they “arrived from Philadelphia” may be easily explained. Many vessels sailed between the Quaker City and the “Mother Country,” at that time. Philadelphia was a most important city, outrivalling New York, in fact, in those early days; and the “Company,” in all probability, sailed from London to the then most prominent place in the Colonies, which was Philadelphia. There is no evidence, however, that they ever performed in that city; indeed, we know that, some years after 1750, when Hallam’s Company attempted to establish a theatre in the “City of Brotherly Love,” the effort was sternly resisted and permission to perform was granted only after a most determined struggle, on the part of Hallam’s agent, Mr. Malone.

The Company met with success in New York, if we may judge from the fact that “the season” lasted nearly five months. The “historical tragedy of King Richard III.” appears, from the notices and advertisements, in the press of that time, to have held the boards for another representation; and the programme was then altered to “*The Spanish Fryar; or, The Double Discovery*, wrote by Mr. Dryden.” The next change was to “*The Orphan; or, the Unhappy Marriage*, wrote by the ingenious Mr. Otway,” which was supplemented by *Beau in the Sudds*, *The Mock Doctor*, *Beaux Stratagem*, *King Richard*, *George Barnwell*, and other plays that were then running the stage, in London. The first season closed on the twenty-third of July; when *Love for Love* and a farce called *The Stage Coach* were given. The next season opened on the seventeenth of September, of the same year, (1750,) with the Comedy of *The Recruiting Officer*; and the next night witnessed the performance of Addison’s *Cato*. In the *Weekly Post Boy* of the twenty-fourth of September, we find the following, touching this performance, which is inserted here as a specimen of the theatrical

criticism, if we may call it by that name, in which the press of that day indulged:

“Thursday evening last the Tragedy of “*Cato*” was play’d at the Theatre in this city “before a numerous Audience, the greater part “of whom were of Opinion that it was pretty “well perform’d. As it was the fullest Assembly that has appear’d in that House, it may “serve to prove that the Taste of this place is “not so much vitiated or lost to a sense of Liberty, but that they can prefer a Representation “of Virtue to those of a loose Character.”

Following the old files down to later dates, in the year 1750, we find, among other notices, showing that this theatre was “in the full tide of “successful operation,” the following, taken from the *Weekly Post Boy*:

Nov. 5.—“The Play House is new floor’d, “and made very warm; And this evening Sir “*Harry Wildair* will be performed, with the “Pantomime.”

Nov. 19.—“This Evening will be presented, a “Comedy called *A Bold Stroke for a Wife*. “The House being new floor’d, is made warm and “comfortable; besides which Gentlemen and “Ladies may chose their stoves” [*the foot stoves used in those days*] “to be brought.”

Dec 3.—“This Evening will be presented, a “Comedy, called, *The Beggar’s Opera*, with a “Farce, called, *The Mock Doctor*.”

Dec. 31.—“By his Excellency’s Permission (For “the Benefit of Mr. Murray;) On Monday, the “seventh of January, will be performed, a “Comedy called, *A Bold Stroke for a Wife*. “(being the last Time of its being perform’d this “season.) To which will be added, an entertainment called, *The Devil to Pay, or, The “Wives Metamorphos’d*; Also, *Colin and Phoebe*, “to be sung by Mr. Woodham and Mrs. Taylor, “in Pastoral Dresse.”

JAN. 7, 1751.—“By Reason of the Badness of “the Weather, ’tis thought proper to postpone “*A Bold Stroke for a Wife*, with the *Devil to “Pay, or the Wives of Metamorphos’d*, for the “Benefit of Mr. Murray, ’till To-morrow Evening.”

Same date (Jan. 7)—“By his Excellency’s Permission (For the Benefit of Mr. Kean). On “Monday evening next, will be presented *The “Beggar’s Opera*, with Entertainments between “the Acts, viz.:—At the End of the first Act, “Harlequin Dance; after the Second Act, “Pierrot Dance; and at the End of the Play, “*The Drunken Peasant*; all by a Gentleman “lately from London. To which will be added “a Farce called *Miss in Her Teens*; Also an “Oratorio will be sung by Mr. Kean; Those “Gentlemen and Ladies who please to favor this

"Benefit are desired to send for their Tickets either to the Theatre or to the Printer hereof, as there will be no Money taken at the Door; and the Curtain will rise precisely at 6 o'clock. Boxes 5s. Pitt 4s. Gallery 2s."

JAN. 21.—"This Evening will be presented for the Benefit of Mr. Tremain, a Comedy, called *The Recruiting Officer*; to which will be added, a Farce, called *Miss in Her Teens*."

Same date (January 21)—"Whereas several Reports have been unkindly spread, that Mr. Kean, for his Benefit Night, on Monday last, had caused a greater number of Tickets to be printed than the House would hold, this is to certify, That (according to the best of my knowledge) there were but 161 Pitt Tickets, 10 Boxes, and 121 Gallery Tickets, printed in all; and it is well known that as large a Number have been in the House at one Time.

"THOMAS PARKER.

"N.B.—Tho' it was then determined not to receive any money at the Door, it was afterwards found to be a Measure impracticable to be followed without great Offence; and such whose Business could not permit to come in Time, have since had their Money return'd.

"Whereas it has been reported, that Mrs. Taylor, in playing her Part, in my Benefit, endeavor'd to perform it in a worse Manner than she was capable, and that it was done on account of a falling out between us: This is therefore to certify, that there was no such Difference between her and me; and I believe her being out so much in her Part, was owing to her not getting the Part in Time.

"THOMAS KEAN."

We find that, subsequently, benefits were given to Mrs. Taylor, Miss Osborne, Mr. Woodham, Miss Nancy George, and others. Mr. Kean, it seems, about this time, determined, to change his vocation, as, in the *Weekly Post Boy* of April 22, 1751, the following announcement appears:

"Mr. Kean, by the Advice of several Gentlemen in Town who are his Friends, having resolved to quit the Stage, and follow his Employment of Writing (wherein he hopes for Encouragement;) and Mr. Murray having agreed to give him a night, clear of all expenses, for his Half of the Cloaths, Scenes, &c., belonging to the Play House; it is resolved, that for the benefit of said Kean, by His Excellency's Permission, on Monday, the 29th of this Month, will be performed *King Richard the III.*; The part of Richard to be performed by Mr. Kean; being the last Time of his appearing on the Stage. To the above Tragedy, will be added, a Farce called *The Beau in the Sudds*.

It seems from this that Mr. Murray was the Manager, during the second season; and, probably, Mr. Kean and he were joint Managers of the Company, when they first came to New York. It will be noticed that not only were theatricals regularly given to the New Yorkers in 1750 and 1751, but that our ancestors even had a Kean to personate the crook'd back Tyrant for their information, and, possibly, for their amusement, Mr. Dunlap to the contrary notwithstanding. The above-mentioned play, however, was subsequently changed, "by advice of friends," as appears by a notice in *The Post Boy*, of the eighteenth, and *The Busy Body* and *Virgin Unmasked* substituted therefor. In the same notice, announcement is made that there would be "singing" by Mr. Woodham, particularly the celebrated Ode called *Britain's Charter*. "Master Dickey Murray" (probably a son of the Manager), Mr. Tremain, Mr. Scott, Mr. Woodham, Mr. Moore and Mr. Marks subsequently took Benefits. Added to the announcement of Mr. Tremain's forthcoming Benefit, on the thirtieth of May, is the following:

"If any Gentleman or Lady, has the farce called *The Intriguing Chambermaid*, and will lend it a while to the Players, it will be thankfully acknowledged."

And in announcing the conjoint benefit of Messrs. Moore and Marks, on the twenty-third of May, it is added, "The company will play but twice more." This determination was afterwards reconsidered; in those days, as well as in these, there was a distinction between "the last" and "positively the last appearance."

The next announcement of a Benefit is on the third of June, when *The Distressed Mother* and *The Walking Statue* are advertised, the beneficiary being Mr. Jago. The closing sentence of this announcement reads curiously: "Mr. Jago humbly begs all Gentlemen and Ladies would be so kind as to favor him with their company, as he never had a Benefit before, and is just come out of Prison"—probably imprisoned for debt.

A Mrs. Davis has a Benefit. Her announcement, in the *Post Boy* of the tenth of June, says she "hopes as the Play (*George Barnwell*) is granted to enable her to buy off her Time, that the Ladies and Gentlemen who are charitably inclined, will favor her Benefit; and their humble Petitioner, as in Duty bound, shall ever pray."

In the same issue in which the above appears, there is also the following:

"On Monday next, will be presented for the Benefit of the Widow Osborne, the *Distressed Mother*, with several Entertainments, to which will be added *The Beau in the Sudds*. As 'tis the first Time this poor Widow has had a

"Benefit, and having met with divers late Hardships and Misfortunes, 'tis hoped all charitable Benevolent Ladies and others will favor her with their company."

Mr. Smith has a Benefit on the eighth of July, when the advertisement reads: "The last time of acting in this Town." After this, there seems to have been no more performances, during the year 1751, the Company having, probably, gone on a traveling tour. Mr. Tremain, one of the stock, changed his occupation about this time, as appears from an advertisement in the *Post Boy* of August 26, viz:

"John Tremain, having declined the Stage, proposes to follow his business of Cabinet Maker; and at the House of Mr. Norwood, near the Long Bridge, all Gentlemen and others, may be supplied, at the Cheapest Rates, and in the neatest manner, with all sorts of Cabinet Work, &c."

The next season opened on the sixth of January, 1752, when Mr. Upton became Manager of the theatre. In the *Post Boy*, of that date, is the following:

"This evening will be acted, at the Theatre, a Comedy called the *Provoked Husband*, with the Dramatick Satyre called *Letha*."

The Company under Mr. Upton seems to have been made up mostly of other actors than those who performed under Mr. Murray's management. Of the former Company, the name of only one actor appears this season. Mr. Upton did not meet with much success, in his managerial efforts. In the *Post Boy* of the thirteenth of January, 1752, one week after the season was opened, he advertises as follows:

"Mr. Upton (to his great Disappointment,) not meeting with Encouragement enough to support the Company, for the Season, intends to shorten it, by performing 5 or 6 Plays only, for Benefits, and begins with his own on Monday, the 20th instant. His Play is a celebrated Comedy, called *Tunbridge Walks, or the Yeoman of Kent*; his Entertainment, *The Lying Valet*: And as, hitherto, Encouragement has been little, hopes the Gentlemen and Ladies will favour him that Night."

In a subsequent note, regarding his Benefit, above mentioned, is the following:

"As Mr. Upton is an absolute stranger, if in his applications he should have omitted any Gentlemen and Lady's House or Lodging, he humbly hopes they'll impute it to want of Information, not of respect."

Mr. Tremain, it appears, again returned to the stage, during Mr. Upton's management; and he is announced as having a Benefit on Thursday evening, the twenty second of January. *Richard III.* was the play, Mr. Upton appearing in the title rôle.

Two or three other Benefits are subsequently advertised; and, in the *Post Boy* of the seventeenth of February, the following appears:

"On Thursday evening next" [Feb. 20] "being absolutely the last Time of playing here, will be presented, for the Benefit of Mrs. Upton, a Tragedy never played here, called *Venice Preserved*, and a Farce called *Miss in Her Teens*, with several entertainments of musick and Dancing between the Acts. The Company assure the Publick, they are perfect, and hope to perform to Satisfaction."

The last advertisement which appears, and which seems to have closed the season, is in the *Post Boy* of the twenty-fourth of February, 1752, and is as follows:

"The Play for this Night as usual; and on Wednesday, February 26, (which will certainly be the last night of attempting to play here, the vessel in which Mr. Upton goes, sailing the latter end of the week,) will be acted *The Fair Penitent* and *The Honest Yorkshireman*; the part of Lavinia to be attempted by Mrs. Tremain; and a *Farewell Epilogue*, adapted to the Occasion, by Mr. Upton."

The above excerpts are highly interesting, as going to show the character of theatricals that first brought the drama to the notice of our ancestors. They give a fair idea also of the accommodations afforded to the theatre-going public, of the "good old colony times." We see that at Mr. Kean's Benefit, two hundred and ninety-two tickets were sold, (boxes, pit, and gallery;) and complaints were made that this enormous sale was unwarranted by the capacity of the theatre. The information is given us, also, that it was customary for the spectators to bring with them their foot-stoves to the "play-house," and that beneficiaries had a custom of sending Circulars, announcing their Benefits, to the residences and "lodgings" of the Anglo-Knickerbockers; and that actors and actresses were much more humble than they are at this day, when soliciting the patronage of the public. But the extracts we have given, are still more important, as proving, beyond all possibility of doubt, that the "Comedians" who appeared before the New York public, from the fifth of March, 1750, to the twenty-fifth of February, 1752, were legitimate Theatians, with probably one or two exceptions, who were picked up in Philadelphia and New York, after the arrival of the Company from England; and that Mr. Dunlap is in error when he says that the Company sent out from London, by Mr. Hallam, in May 1752, was the first that ever performed in America.

We said, in the fore part of this article, that the "probabilities are" that the Comedians who performed in the "new theatre," at Annapolis,

were "those who previously performed in New York;" and not "boys or young men," who enacted plays after their own fashion. Let us see. This New York Company closed its season, in our city, on the twenty-sixth of February, 1752; and there are no records extant certifying to the existence of any other in America, at that time. In the farewell announcement of this Company, it will be remembered, the statement is made that the twenty-sixth would "certainly be the last night of attempting to play here, the vessel in which Mr. Upton goes sailing the latter end of the week." The last day of that week was the twenty-eighth of February; and there was ample time for Mr. Upton, the Manager, to arrive with his Company, by way of a coasting-vessel, at Baltimore, and to proceed thence to the "new theatre," in Annapolis, before the thirteenth of July, the day on which the advertisement in *The Maryland Gazette* announced the performance of *Beaux Stratagem* and *The Virgin Unmasked*, both of which plays had been already performed at the theatre in Nassau-street. Or the "comedians" at Annapolis might have been Mr. Murray's Company, which closed its season in New York, as appears by the above extracts, on the eighth of July, 1751; and went travelling nearly a year before Messrs. Winnel and Herbert, who were really members of Hallam's Company, personated Richard and Richmond, in Annapolis, as described by Mr. Dunlap; the fact being considered that Mr. Hallam's Company opened in Williamsburg, Virginia, (which is not very far from Annapolis), on the fifteenth of September, nearly two months later. The latter supposition is more probably the correct one. Certain it is, however, that when Mr. Hallam's Company arrived in America, they found a theatre built in Annapolis, which would not, in all likelihood, have been the case unless a Company of professional actors were already in the country.

That the New York Comedians were known in Virginia, anterior to the arrival of Mr. Hallam's Company, and, therefore, prior to the alleged first performance in Williamsburg (September, 1752), is beyond question. In Burke's *History of Virginia* (edition of Dickson and Presland, Petersburg, 1805) Vol. III., Chap. ii., Page 140, speaking of the administration of Thomas Lee, President of the Council and Acting Governor of Virginia, in 1750, the author says:

"During this administration, the New York Company of Comedians were permitted to 'build a theatre in Williamsburg' [the very place in which Hallam's Company opened, in September, 1752.] 'and a taste for the elegancies as well as the more erudite parts of literature shone out beneath the patronage and example of the President.'"

Yet Dunlap says—*History of the American Theatre*, i., 14—"No New York Company 'existed in 1750, or any other on the Continent.' We have shown, by the extracts above given, from the *Post Boy*, that it did exist in 1750 and down to February, 1752.

But there is still stronger proof of the existence of this old New York Company anterior to the arrival of Hallam's players from London, in 1752—viz., the very published statement of that Company itself. When, in June, 1753, Lewis Hallam, brother to William Hallam, and Manager for him, arrived with his *corps dramatique*, in New York city, after having played, since September of the preceding year, in Virginia and Maryland, he found that the magistrates of the city would not grant him a license to perform. He endeavored, by all sorts of inducements, to alter this determination of the magistracy, but failed to do so until about the middle of September, following. Compelled thus to remain idle, with expenses continually accumulating, he was almost on the point of giving up the enterprise and returning to England when the much-desired permission was finally obtained. Among other measures to which he resorted to get a license was the publication of a Petition by the Company, intended to set forth their necessitous condition. This Petition was printed in the *New York Mercury* (a weekly paper then published by Hugh Gaine,) of the second of July, 1753.

We subjoin the document, as it appeared in that journal:

"The case of the London Company of Comedians, lately arrived from Virginia, humbly submitted to the consideration of the Publick; whose servants they are, and whose protection they entreat.

"As our Expedition to New York seems likely to be attended with a very fatal consequence, and ourselves haply ensur'd for undertaking it, without Assurance of Success; we beg leave, humbly to lay a true state of our Case before the worthy inhabitants of this City; [and] if possible, endeavor to remove those great Obstacles which at present lie before us, and give very sufficient Reasons for our Appearance in this part of the World, where we all had the most sanguine Hopes of meeting a very different Reception; little imagining, that in a city, to all Appearance so polite as this, the Muses would be banished, the Works of the immortal Shakespear, and others the greatest geniuses England ever produc'd, deny'd Admittance among them, and the instructive and elegant Entertainment of the Stage utterly protested against: When, without Boasting, we may venture to affirm, That we are capable of sup-

"porting its Dignity with proper Decorum and Regularity.

"In the infancy of this Scheme, it was proposed to Mr. William Hallam, now of London, to collect a Company of Comedians, and send them to New York, and other Colonies in America. Accordingly he assents, and was at a vast expense to procure Scenes, Cloathes, People, &c., &c. And in October, 1750, sent over to this Place, Mr. Robert Upton, in order to obtain Permission to perform, erect a Building, and settle every Thing against our Arrival; for which Service, Mr Hallam advanc'd no inconsiderable Sum. But Mr. Upton, on his Arrival, found here that Sett of Pretenders with whom he joined, and unhappily for us, quite neglected the Business he was sent about from England; for we never heard from him after.

"Being thus deceived by him the Company was at a Stand, till April, 1752, when by the Persuasion of several gentlemen in London, and Virginia Captains, we set sail on Board of Mr. William Lee,* and arrived after a very expensive and tiresome voyage, at York river [Virginia] "on the 28th of June following: Where we obtained leave of his Excellency the Governor, and performed with universal Applause, and met with the greatest Encouragement, for which we are bound by the strongest Obligations, to acknowledge the many and repeated instances of their Spirit and generosity. We were there eleven Months before we thought of removing; and then asking advice, we were again persuaded to come to New York by several Gentlemen, &c., whose names we can mention, but do not think proper to publish: They told us that we should not fail of a genteel and favorable Reception: that the Inhabitants were generous and polite, naturally fond of Diversions rational, particularly those of the Theatre; Nay, they told us, there was a very fine Play-house Building, and that we were really expected. This was Encouragement sufficient for us, as we thought, and we came firmly assured of success; but how far our Expectations are answered, we shall leave to the Candid to determine, and only beg leave to add, That as we are People of no Estates, it cannot be supposed that we have a Fund sufficient to bear up against such unexpected Repulses. A Journey by Sea and Land Five Hundred Miles

"is not undertaken without Money. Therefore, if the worthy Magistrate would consider this in our favour that it must rather turn out a public Advantage and Pleasure, than a private Injury, They would, we make no doubt, grant Permission, and give us an Opportunity to convince them we were not cast in the same Mould with our Theatrical Predecessors: or that in private Life or Publick occupation, we have the Affinity to them."

It will be observed that, in this appeal, the Company make special reference to "Mr. Robert Upton," the agent sent from London, by William Hallam, to arrange for the proper carrying out of the dramatic performances; and they say, further, that "Mr. Upton, on his arrival, found here that set of pretenders with whom he joined," much to the injury of the petitioners. This was the same Mr. Upton who, as we have above seen, became Manager of the theatre in Nassau-street, in January, 1752, and who, doubtless, did, for a time at least, "join" the old Company, under Kean or Henry, in 1750 or 1751; although no particular mention is made of him in connection with the Nassau street establishment, until he assumed its management. He probably spent a greater part of the year 1751 in travelling over the country, as it appears from the Hallam Company's statement he had a "considerable sum" of money advanced to him by the Manager of Goodman's Fields. At any rate, he did nothing to forward the object for which he was sent hither; probably because he found the field in New York already occupied by the old Company whom Hallam's people viciously style "that Sett of Pretenders," and again refer to as their "predecessors." What finally became of Upton, investigation does not show; but the testimony of the Hallam troupe, as set forth in their statement, fully sustains our position, and is conclusive against Mr. Dunlap. In conclusion, we may add that this Company, brought hither by Mr. Hallam, erected the first theatre building proper that was ever put up in New York, in Nassau-street, near the present old Post Office, where they performed for about three weeks. It was opened on the seventeenth of September, 1753, Steele's *Conscious Lovers* and the ballad farce of *Damon and Philida* being the opening bill.

The *Weekly Post Boy* of the seventeenth of September alludes to this matter, in a paragraph which we subjoin:

"The Company of Comedians who arrived here the past Summer, having obtained Permission from proper Authority, to act, have built a very fine, large, and commodious new Theatre in the place where the old one" *Rip Van Dam's building* "stood; and having got it in good order, design to begin this evening.

* The reader will have noticed the peculiarity of style which distinguishes this appeal of the players. We have copied it *verbatim et literatim*. The vessel in which the Company sailed from Europe, was the *Charming Sally*, (as appears from Mr. Dunlap's *History of the American Stage*), of which Mr. William Lee was commander. In the quaint style of the olden times, it is narrated that they "set sail on Board of Mr. William Lee."

"As they propose to tarry here but a short Time, we hear they design to perform three Times a week."—*New York Telegram*.

THE JEFFERSON DAVIS BAIL-BOND.—The first writ of *habeas corpus* applied for by the Counsel of Jefferson Davis having been refused by Judge Underwood, Mr. Davis remained in the keeping of the military, at Fortress Monroe, having been in custody since the nineteenth of April, 1865. On the thirteenth of May, 1867, in obedience to another writ of *habeas corpus*, which was granted by Underwood, Mr. Davis was brought into Court, at Richmond. Charles O'Connor appeared in his behalf, and Mr. Evarts represented the United States. Mr. Evarts made no objection to the release of Mr. Davis on bail, provided the security was adequate. The names of the sureties were severally called and they repaired to the Clerk's desk and signed the following paper, whereupon the prisoner was discharged:

"The condition of this recognizance is such that if the said Jefferson Davis shall, in proper person, well and truly appear at the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Virginia, to be held at Richmond, in the said District, on the 4th Monday of November next, at the opening of the Court on that day, and then and there appear, from day to day, and stand to, abide, and perform whatever shall be then and there ordered and adjudged in respect to him, by said Court, and not depart from the said Court without the leave of the said Court in that behalf first had and obtained, then the said recognizance to become void, otherwise to remain in full force.

"Taken and acknowledged this thirteenth day of May, 1867. JEFFERSON DAVIS.

"Horace Greeley, New York,
 "Gerrit Smith, New York.
 "Augustus Schell, New York.
 "Aristides Welch, Philadelphia.
 "Cornelius Vanderbilt, New York.
 "W. H. McFarland, Richmond.
 "R. Barton Haxall, Richmond.
 "Isaac Davenport, Richmond.
 "Abraham Warwick, Richmond.
 "Gustavus A. Myers, Richmond,
 "William M. Crump, Richmond.
 "James Lyons, Richmond.
 "John A. Meredith, Richmond.
 "William H. Lyons, Richmond.
 "John Minor Botta, Virginia.
 "Thomas W. Doswell, Virginia.
 "James Thomas, Jr., Richmond.
 "Horace F. Clark, New York.
 "Benjamin Wood, New York."

THE HIEROGLYPHICS FOUND AT DAMARIS-COVE ISLAND, MAINE.—On page 106, *Ancient Dominions of Maine*, the author, in speaking of Damariscove, says: "A smooth rock appears whereon the washing of the sea has laid numerous inscriptions, in writing, apparently cut by human art in characters from one to four inches long, one-eighth of an inch deep, and covering a surface of ten feet."

As the correctness of this statement has been questioned by some—and as the author made the statement from my representation of the fact to him, at the time of writing his book—it seems necessary that the fact itself should be established beyond a doubt.

I have recently visited that locality—and the characters I then saw cut in the rocks, remain, as I saw them, for the first time, in the Autumn of 1836. Several parties from this and other towns have seen the same inscriptions, since that time; with my own hands, laying aside my coat, I assisted in laying bare, with spade and brush broom, one tablet of granite, of compact texture—fourteen feet long by two and one-half wide—covered with those mysterious chiselings—some cut with gouge-like instruments, and others with sharp-pointed tools. Two of these surfaces were thus brought to view—the second, six feet long by three feet wide—that had been hidden from mortal eyes, for many centuries.

The figures themselves are of various sizes and lengths, ranging from three feet five inches long and one foot wide, down to one and one-half inches in length, manifestly executed by men skilled in that line of work. Numerous characters are to be seen upon other and apparently detached rocks, all indicating one and the same purpose, and written by the same skilled workmen, at that period of time. In appearance and shape, they are unlike anything I ever saw and cannot well be described. I have, however, made arrangements so that these inscriptions can be carefully transcribed upon cloth, for the use of those who are interested in such matters.

It is not my purpose to decide the questions Who wrote them? or At what time they were engraved there? I leave these things for others to answer. But beyond a question, as to time, they antedate the Christian era—and go many centuries beyond it. It may be of Icelandic or Scandinavian origin; or, what is more probable, the record of a people inhabiting the Levant.—*Oracle*.

PROFESSOR MORSE.—We happened to meet Colonel Strother, the famous "Porte Crayon," and, the talk turning, as usual, on Morse, the Colonel said:

"I knew him well. I took lessons under him

"in drawing and painting. I first saw him when he was a competitor for the remaining panel in the rotunda of the Capitol. I thought then he ought to have had it. I think so yet. He was not a grand artist; but he was enough to save us from ridicule. The job was given to Mr. Powell. General Schenck did that. The General probably did not know one picture from another; but Mr. Powell was his constituent; and he believed, as did Schenck, that something in the way of art should be done for the Miami bottoms; so he worked at it till he got the commission.

"And one day," said we, "Congress will give General Schenck permission to remove that terrible product of the Miami bottoms. But about Morse.

"Well, I engaged to become his pupil and, subsequently, went to New York, and found him in a room in University-place. He had three other pupils; and I soon found that our Professor had very little patronage. I paid my fifty dollars: that settled for one quarter's instruction. Morse was a faithful teacher, and took as much interest in our progress, more, indeed, than we did ourselves. But he was very poor. I remember that when my second quarter's pay was due him, it did not come as soon as expected; and, one day, the Professor came in and said, courteously:

"Well, Strother, my boy, how are we off for money?"

"Why, Professor," I answered, "I am sorry to say I have been disappointed; but I expect a remittance next week."

"Next week!" he repeated, sadly, "I shall be dead by that time."

"Dead, Sir?"

"Yes, dead by starvation."

"I was distressed and astonished. I said, hurriedly, 'Would ten dollars be of any service to you?'"

"Ten dollars would save my life; that's all it would do."

"I paid the money, all that I had, and we dined together. It was a modest meal, but good; and after he had finished, he said:

"This is my first meal for twenty-four hours. Strother, don't be an artist. It means beggary. Your life depends upon people who know nothing of your art, and care nothing for you. A house-dog lives better; and the very sensitiveness that stimulates him to work keeps him alive to suffering."

"I remained with Professor Morse three years, and then we separated. Some years afterward, I met him on Broadway, one day. He was about the same as before, a trifle older and somewhat ruddier. I asked him how he was getting on with his painting; and he told me

"that he had abandoned it; that he had something better, he believed; and told about his proposed telegraph. I accompanied him to his room, and there found several miles of wire twisted about, and around the battery, which he explained to me. His pictures, finished and unfinished, were lying about, covered with dust. Shortly after, Congress made an appropriation; and Morse was on the high road to wealth and immortality."—*Doyles-town Democrat*.

WHY WASHINGTON IRVING NEVER MARRIED.

Much mystery has attached to the celibacy of Washington Irving. While, upon every other point of peculiarity of the great writer's character and career, his familiar friends have taken pains to inform the wide circle of his admirers, an aggravating reticence has always met the questionings of those who were curious, as to why matrimony made no part of his experience. There were occasional and very vague references made to a *lang syne* love—so dimly distant in the past as to have the air of tradition—and the manner of mentioning, which made Irving appear the model of constancy, if not the hero of a romance. But the circumstance of his bachelorhood remained a simple, patent, unexplained fact, the theme of many wonderings, the warp and the woof of much imagining—nay more, the substructure of a thousand sweet sympathies outgushing from other hearts whose loves had not been lost but gone before. It is doubtful if a secret of the sort—all things considered—was ever before so carefully and completely kept. For once, the impertinent were held at bay, the prying were balked, and the sympathetic, even, discouraged. The time for its disclosure had not come; and surely, when his intimates and relatives were debarred from the remotest reference to the subject, in the hallowed home-circle of the literary bachelor, it was but proper that the truth should burst forth upon the world, if at all, in Irving's own selected time and in his own pathetic language.

It was while engaged in writing his *History of New York*, that Irving, then a young man of twenty-six, was called to mourn the somewhat sudden death of Matilda Hoffman, whom he had hoped to call his wife. This young lady was the second daughter of Josiah Ogden Hoffman, and the sister of those two talented men, Charles Feno Hoffman, the poet, and Ogden Hoffman, the eloquent jurist. In her father's office, Washington Irving had essayed to study law, and with every prospect, if industrious and studious, of a partnership with Mr. Hoffman as well as a matrimonial alliance with Matilda. These high hopes were disappointed by the de-

cease of the young lady, on the twenty-seventh of April, 1809, in the eighteenth year of her age.

There is a pathos about Irving's recital of the circumstances of her death, and of his own feelings, that it is truly painful and tear-impelling. He says: "She was taken ill with a cold. "Nothing was thought of it, at first; but she "grew rapidly worse, and fell into a consump- "tion. I cannot tell you what I suffered * * * "I saw her fade rapidly away—beautiful and "more beautiful, and more angelic, to the very "last. I was often by her bedside; and, in her "wandering state of mind, she would talk to me "with a sweet, natural, and affecting eloquence "that was overpowering. I saw more of the "beauty of her mind in that delirious state than "I had ever known before. Her malady was "rapid in its career; and hurried her off in two "months. Her dying struggles were painful "and protracted. For three days and nights, I "did not leave the house, and scarcely slept. I "was by her, when she died; all the family were "assembled around her, some praying, others "weeping, for she was adored by them all. I "was the last one she looked upon. * * * I can- "not tell you what a horrid state of mind I was "in, for a long time. I seemed to care for noth- "ing: the world was a blank to me. I aban- "doned all thoughts of the law. I went into "the country, but could not bear solitude, yet "could not enjoy society. There was a dismal "horror continually in my mind, that made me "fear to be alone. I had often to get up in the "night and seek the bedroom of my brother, "as if the having a human being by me would "would relieve me from the frightful gloom of "my own thoughts. Months elapsed before my "mind would resume any tone; but the de- "pendency I had suffered for a long time, in "the course of this attachment, and the anguish "that attended its catastrophe, seemed to give "turn to my whole character, and threw some "clouds into my disposition, which has ever "since hung about it. * * * I seemed to drift "about, without aim or object, at the mercy of "every breeze: my heart wanted anchorage. I "was naturally susceptible, and tried to form "other attachments; but my heart would not "hold on: it would continually recur to what it "had lost: and whenever there was a pause in "the hurry of novelty and excitement, I would "sink into dismal dejection. For years, I could "not talk on the subject of this hopeless regret— "I could not even mention her name—but her "image was continually before me; and I dreamt "of her, incessantly."

Such was the language in which Irving poured forth his sorrows and sad memories, in a letter written, many years ago, to a lady, who wondered at his calibacy and expressed the wish to know

why he never married. Can words more graphically describe the shipwreck of hope, or more tenderly depict the chivalric devotion of a faithful lover? How sweetly, too, does Irving portray, with his artist pen, the lineaments of his loved one! He says, in the same letter: "The "more I saw of her, the more I had reason to "admire her. Her mind seemed to unfold itself, "leaf by leaf; and every time to discover new "sweetness. Nobody knew her so well as I, "for she was so timid and silent; but I, in a "manner, studied her excellence. Never did I "meet with more intuitive rectitude of mind, "more native delicacy, more exquisite propriety, "in word, thought, and action, than in this "young creature. I am not exaggerating: what "I say was acknowledged by all who knew her. "Her brilliant little sister used to say that peo- "ple began by admiring her, but ended by "loving Matilda. For my part, I idolized her. "I felt, at times, rebuked by her superior delica- "cy and purity; and as if I were a coarse, un- "worthy being in comparison."

Irving seldom or never mentioned this sad event; nor was the name of Matilda ever spoken in his presence. Thirty years after her death, Irving was visiting Mr. Hoffman, and a grand-daughter, in drawing out some sheets of music to be performed on the piano, accidentally brought with them a piece of embroidery which dropped upon the floor. "Washington," said Mr. Hoffman, "this is a piece of poor Matilda's work- "manship." His biographer describes the effect as electric. "He had been conversing in the "sprightliest mood, before," says Pierre M. Irving, "and he sunk, at once, into utter silence, "and in a few moments got up and left the "house." Do any of the pages that record the "Loves of the Poets" glisten with a purer, brighter halo, than is thrown around the name, and character, and memory of Matilda Hoffman, by the life-long constancy and the graceful tributes of one whose name, destined to death- less renown, may not, henceforth, be dis severed from that of the early lost and dearly loved, whose death made Washington Irving what he was and what the world admires?—*Albany Argus*.

BIRTHPLACE AND EARLY RESIDENCE OF JOSEPH SMITH, JR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRANSCRIPT: The different authors who have given biographical notices of the above noted individual disagree in relation to the place of his nativity. Coolidge and Mansfield, in their *History of New England*, says that Joe Smith, the founder of Mormonism, was born and spent his youthful days in Sharon. Mr. Tucker, in his *History of*

the Rise and Progress of Mormonism, says, that "Joseph Smith, Jr., was born in Sharon, Windsor-county, Vermont, Dec. 13, 1805. He was "the son of Joseph Smith, Sr., who removed "from Royalton, Vermont, to Palmyra, N. Y., "in the Summer of 1816." Mr. Drake says that Joseph Smith, Jr., was born in Sharon. Other notices say that Joe was born in Royalton.

I am a native of Royalton, Vermont, and resided in that town for a long period. A short time since, I had an interview with John L. Bowman, who was formerly a Constable and Collector of Taxes, in Royalton. I inquired in relation to the farm and house of Joseph Smith, Sr.; and he answered that it was his opinion that the house-lot and the buildings of Mr. Smith were in Royalton, near the Sharon line, and the farm partly in Sharon. Not feeling quite satisfied, I wrote to the Hon. Daniel Woodard, formerly a Judge of the Windsor-county Court, and received the following information:

"I have recently been upon the ground where "Joe Smith first saw the light. The house was "upon the top of the high ridge of land between "Royalton and Sharon; and the buildings were "located in Royalton. It is a beautiful place, "in Summer, and is secluded from disturbance "by the outside world. Joe's mother was the "daughter of Solomon Mack, an infirm man, "who used to ride about the country, on horse-back, using a woman's saddle, or what was "termed a 'side-saddle.' Joseph Smith, Sr., "was, at times, engaged in hunting for Captain "Kidd's buried treasure; and he also became "implicated with one, Jack Downing, in counterfeiting money, but turned State's evidence "and escaped the penalty. The Smith family "moved from the old farm, farther into Royalton, about one-half or three-fourths of a mile "from my father's, and was living there while "our house was building; and Joe came to the "raising. I think it was in 1812; and Joe was "then about eight years of age."

Joseph Smith, Sr., once more made a removal, in Royalton, to the Metcalf neighborhood; resided there a few years; and then, with all his family, including the prophets, departed for New York. I well recollect Mr. Mack, of whom Judge Woodard speaks; and his business on horseback was selling an autobiography of himself. I think it is now settled that Joe Smith was born in Royalton, and resided there until the family all removed out of the State.

VERMONT, IN CAMBRIDGE.

—*Boston Transcript*.

THE TEA PARTY IN BOSTON HARBOR—LETTER FROM JOHN ADAMS.

A resident of Boston has given to the *Advertiser*, of that city, the following copy of a letter,

now in his possession, written by John Adams to General James Warren, of Plymouth, on the seventeenth of December, 1773:

"BOSTON, Dec. 17, 1773.

"DR. SIR

"The Dye is cast! The People have passed "the River and cutt away the Bridge! last "Night Three Cargoes of Tea were emtied "into the Harbour. This is the grandest Event "which has ever yet happened since the contro- "versy with Britain opened! The Sublimity of "it, charms me!

"For my own part I cannot express my own "Sentiments of it, better than in the Words of "Coll. Doane to me last Evening—Balch should "repeat them—The worst that can happen, I "think, sayes he in Consequence of it, will be "that the Province may pay for it.—Now, I "think the Province, may pay for it, if it is "burned as easily as it is drank—and I think it "is a matter of indifference whether it is drank "or drowned. The Province must pay for it in "either Case.—But there is this difference—I "believe it will take them ten years to get the "Province to pay it—if so, we shall save ten "Years Interest of the Money—whereas if it is "drank it must be paid for immediately, thus— "He—However, He agreed with me that the "Province, would never pay for it.—and also in "this that the final Ruin, of our Constitution of "of Government and of all American Liberties, "would be the certain Consequence of Suffering "it to be landed.

"Governor Hutchinson and his Family and "Friends will never have done with their good "services to Great Britain & the Colonies! But "for him, this tea might have been saved to the "East India Company. Whereas this Loss if "the rest of the Colonies should follow our ex- "ample, will in the opinion of many Persons "bankrupt the Company.

"However, I dare say, that the Governors "and Consignees and Custom House officers, in "the other Colonies will have more Wisdom "than ours have had & take effectual care that "their Teas shall be sent back to England un- "touched—if not it will as surely be destroyed "there as it has been here.

"Threats, Phantoms, Bugbears, by the mil- "lion, will be invented and propagated among "the People upon this Occasion—Individuals "will be threatened with Suits and Prosecutions, "Armies and Navies will be talked of, military "Executions—Charter annul'd—Treason—Try- "als in England and all that—But—these ter- "rors are all but Imaginations—Yet if they "should become Realities they had better be "suffered, than the great Principle, of Par- "liamentary Taxation given up—

"The Town of Boston was never more still

"and calm of a Saturday night than it was last Night. All things were conducted with great order, Decency and *perfect submission to Government*.—No Doubt, We all thought the Administration in better Hands than it had been.

"Please to make Mrs. Adams most respectful Compliments to Mrs. Warren, and mine.

"I am your Friend,

"JOHN ADAMS."

WHO INVENTED THE TELEGRAPH.

MR. EDITOR: I have lately made the acquaintance of a resident of this place, Mr. Chauncy Dibble, now sixty-eight years of age; and from conversation with him, have learned some curious facts of the truth of which I have not the least doubt, concerning the origin of the idea of telegraphy, and which add some more to the list of men, originators of ideas, thinkers of theories, inventors of improvements, who, through circumstances or that lack of ability to profit by their own labor which characterize so many inventors, live and die in obscurity, while some one else, differently endowed, develops the same idea, or dishonestly taking it, already developed, reaps its benefits and gets the fame. I know an old man now living—if still alive—in Somerset-county, Maine, who has given to the world some of the most useful inventions in Mechanics. For instance, the Kendall water-wheel, the Turbine water-wheel, the trip-hammer, the circular-saw, the idea of steel bells, and also the Colt's revolver—the patterns of which were fraudulently obtained and patented in Colt's name. He is now old, and, if not already dead, will die comparatively obscure, unless some of his family have interest or talent enough to make his services known. I speak of William Kendall, of Kendall's Mills.

In about the year 1820, when Mr. Dibble was sixteen or seventeen years old and living near Saratoga, New York, Thomas Davenport of Vermont, came to Saratoga, to exhibit a contrivance which he called an "Electric Magnetic Motive Power." Mr. Dibble being known as a young man of marked mechanical genius and something of an inventor himself, was invited to witness the experiments, which were conducted in the cabinet-shop of Ransom Cook; and there were present, beside Mr. Cook and Mr. Dibble, Professor Mitchell of New York City, and Martin Van Buren, then living in Kinderhook, New York. Those, with the exception of a workman or two, were all the persons present. The exhibitor had a large number of things, and the experiments were various: lifting weights, driving wheels, etc. Among others, he had a battery, with wires connected; these wires ran back and forth, on one of the long benches; and, at the opposite

end, was an upright cylinder of soft iron, around which the wire was wound as is now done in the telegraph magnet, and containing inside a steel-rod, a trifle smaller, or so small as to allow free play, up and down. Now, on making a connection with the battery, the cylinder becoming suddenly magnetized, the rod would be raised upward, and be suspended, free from contact; and on breaking the connection, it of course dropped down again. While they had been busy, Mr. Dibble had made an estimate of its actual motive power, in raising a weight a given height, etc. After Mr. Davenport had finished his experiments, he turned to Professor Mitchell, and enquired what he thought of it—and Mr. Dibble well recollects this reply, partly because coming from so eminent a scientific man, and partly because his enquiring mechanical mind caught the glimpse of a new idea. He (Professor Mitchell) said: "Mr. Davenport, you have 'here the *power of powers*—the power that upholds and governs the universe—and I think 'you will succeed.' Mr. Davenport's idea thus far had been to develop a practical *motive power*. After the Professor and Mr. Van Buren had gone, Mr. Davenport turned to Mr. Dibble and asked what he thought of it? He replied: "Well, Mr. Davenport, you have got a very 'pretty plaything; but you don't *think*, do 'you, that you can make it of any practical 'account, as a *motive power*?' Mr. Davenport then asked: "Don't you think it will pay to 'exhibit it in New York City?' stating that he had been to a good deal of expense and wanted his money back, some way. He replied: "I 'think it will; but, Mr. Davenport, I find in 'looking over your 'traps,' something that 'seems to me to be of real worth.'"

"Now, what is that?"

"How long are your wires?"

"Three or four hundred feet," replied Davenport.

"Well, how long do you think you could extend them and produce the same effect—that 'is, have that rod rise, instantly?"

"I don't know," replied Davenport, "as distance would make any difference. You see," said he, making the rod rise and fall, by making and breaking the connection, "there is no perceptible difference between my touch, *here*, and the rising of the rod, *there*; and I think 'that it has no limit.'"

"Well there," said Mr. Dibble, "why can't 'you communicate with persons at a distance, 'by means of *signs*? For instance, they are 'running horses at the Demming-street Course, 'to-day: now, supposing you had a wire from 'there, here, (some six or seven miles) and there 'were three horses running; and you numbered 'them 1, 2, and 3; and horse No. 1 came in

"ahead; and you wanted a friend to know it; well, *one* rise of the rod would be No. 1, *two*, No. 2, etc. I don't know as this is of any practical account; but it seems to me, it might be used to communicate ideas some way."

Mr. Davenport went to New York City, to exhibit this "Motive Power," still unconscious of the great idea he had almost developed; and Mr. Dibble thought much of the remark of Professor Mitchel, that "that was the power of powers;" and, by his own original thinking, began to frame a theory to account for the phenomena of gravitation, the motion of comets, etc., by this same "power of powers." Now, what was that but the principle of the telegraph? And what was the suggestion of Mr. Dibble but the telegraph in operation—the battery, the circuit, the wires, the recorder, and the beginning of the alphabet?

Mr. Dibble, a few years ago, got out a patent on a stove-machine, by which he made quite a little sum of money. He says that Ransom Cook is probably still living; and will remember those circumstances. When Morse put before the world the invention of telegraphy, he used the same principle and appliances used by Davenport, in 1820; and followed, to the letter, the suggestion of Mr. Dibble at the same time.

I believe these to be facts; and that, in that shop, by the boy Dibble, was conceived the idea of the present wonder—telegraphy.

L. M. MOOERS.

FARMINGTON, VAN BUREN CO., IOWA.

—*Maine Farmer.*

BOMKIN OR WARD'S-ISLAND.—There are few if any of our readers who are not well acquainted with the beautiful island lying near the entrance of Hingham harbor, between Hingham and Hull, and known by the names of Bomkin, Bumkin, or Ward's-island. The question has often arisen, and, strange as it may seem, has not been satisfactorily answered,—in what town is this island situated?

Mr. Lincoln, in his history, describes it as within the limits of Hingham. The authority for this statement may be found in Snow's *History of Boston*, published in 1825, which contains a list of islands in Boston bay and adjoining waters, "made in 1793, by that distinguished antiquary, Mr. Thomas Pemberton, with great care." In that list, Bomkin-island is located in Hingham. Yet it is well known that it is situated on the Hull side of the main channel running from Hingham harbor into the bay; and, hence, may be said, geographically, to be within the limits of Hull.

At the close of the list of Mr. Chamberlain's lands in Hull, in the records of that town, it is

stated that "there is a certain island which the said William Chamberlain bought of Thomas Jones of the same town of Hull, and which island was given by the said town unto the said Thomas Jones, and is bounded in this wise"—with a hill called the Old Planters' Hill on the East, and Crow Point on the West, Round Island on the North, and an island, called Sa-rae's Island on the South." The island bought by Chamberlain of Thomas Jones can be no other than that formerly known as Ibrook's-island, and in later times as Chandler's and Langley's-island. Round-island we infer, must have been the same as Bomkin-island. Now the General Court, in 1686-7, granted Round-island and Grape-island to the town of Weymouth. The question here arises whether this Grant conveyed the right of jurisdiction as well as the right of property. We must leave the further investigation of this point to the antiquaries of Weymouth.

Since the year 1682, the island has been the property of Harvard College, and hence has not been liable to taxation; it has never been inhabited; and therefore there is no evidence that either Hull, Hingham, or Weymouth has ever exercised civil jurisdiction over it. Before 1682, it was the property of Samuel Ward, who had a Grant of a house-lot in Hingham, in 1636, also Grants of house-lots and other lands in Hull, at an early date; and he has also been called of Weymouth. He died at Charlestown, August 30, 1682, at the age of 89. His Will is dated March 6, 1681-2. From that Will we make the following extract, with the orthography corrected:

"Item—I give the Island lying betwixt Hingham and Hull called Bomkin Island unto the College and my mind is that it be called by the name of Ward's Island."

On the back of the Will is the following amplification of the intentions of the devisor:

"The Island that I have given to the College, which lyeth betwixt Hingham and Hull, called Bomkin Island, my mind is that it shall be and remain forever to Harvard College in New England; the rent of it to be for the easement of the charges of the Diet of the Students that are in Commons."

The Island contains about thirty acres of valuable land. President Quincy, in his *History of Harvard University*, dates the devise of the Island to the College in 1680; which is erroneous. He calls it "Bumpkin, now Ward's, Island" and describes it as situated between the towns of Hingham and Hull. It appears to have been known by the name of Round-island; and Mr. Ward called it Bomkin-island—a name perhaps of Indian derivation, the original of which has been lost. It will be noticed that Mr. Ward requested the rent to be applied for the ease-

ment of the charges of the diet of the students that are in Commons.

In the commendable and successful effort which has been made at Cambridge, to restore "Commons," we trust that the request of Mr. Ward, in relation to the application of the rent, will not be overlooked. For many of the facts made use of, in this account of Ward's island, we are indebted to John G. Loring, Esq., of Boston, who takes great interest in exploring the antiquities of Hull, which was the home of his ancestors.—*Hingham Journal*.

IX.—BOOKS.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to Messrs. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Bookellers, 614 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient to them.]

A.—OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

1.—*Circular No. 2. War Department, Surgeon General's Office, Washington, January 2, 1869. A Report on Excisions of the Head of the Femur for Gunshot Injury.* Washington: 1869. Quarto, pp. 143.

The Surgeon-general of the Army is issuing from his office, occasionally, quarto volumes of rare interest to medical men and all who care anything for the details of the literature of actual war; and, we know not why, he calls them "Circulars." The volume before us is "No. 2" of the series, although it is not the second in the order of publication; and we have pleasure in adding it to our series of material for history as well as in calling the attention of our readers to its importance as a contribution to the literature of surgery.

The importance of the subject of excisions at the hip-joint, for gun-shot injury, is well-known; and into this volume have been collected accounts of all such operations, performed during the recent War, of which it has been possible to obtain reliable descriptions, including a comparison of the results of these operations with those of amputating at the hip or of abstaining from operative interference, and a review of the excisions at the hip in the military surgery of other countries. The opportunities afforded for varied observation, during the recent War, were so numerous that their results must have great weight in the determination of one of the most important questions of modern surgery, military or civil; and our professional readers, for this reason, will thank us for calling our attention to this important work relative thereto.

B.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

2.—*Pioneer Life in Kentucky.* A series of Reminiscential Letters from Daniel Drake, M.D., of Cincinnati, to his children. Edited, with Notes and a Biographical Sketch, by his Son, Charles D. Drake. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. xlv., 244.

There are few, among the earlier of our historical writers, who better deserves to be remembered than Doctor Drake, the annalist of Cincinnati. A native of New Jersey—where he was born on the twentieth of October, 1785—he was early removed to the then wilds of Kentucky, where he spent five years of his life, among the pioneers of "the dark and bloody ground." In the Winter of 1800, he removed to Cincinnati, for the purpose of studying medicine; in 1810, he published his *Notices concerning Cincinnati*; in 1815, it was followed by his *Picture of Cincinnati*; in 1819, he assisted in the establishment of the Medical College of Ohio; was in the Faculties of Transylvania University, at Lexington, Jefferson Medical College, at Philadelphia, and the University of Louisville; and died in November, 1852.

In the elegant volume before us, we have a series of letters, addressed to his children, in which Doctor Drake narrated his recollections of the pioneer-life of the West—not the life of a fighting pioneer, but pioneer-life, in its moments of peace and as it ordinarily appeared, in its every-day dress.

There is no attempt at fine writing, in this delightful autobiography; but, in such terms as an affectionate father would be very likely to relate to his loving children the incidents of his early career, the author has told of the rural life, in Kentucky, at the close of the last century. He tells of men and incidents with which he was personally acquainted: he describes the labors and privations of those who thus assailed the loneliness of the forest and opened its quiet to the gaze of the world: he draws pictures of domestic life, among the early settlers in the West, which are as charming as they are novel in their character. In short, a more interesting volume of reminiscences, nor one of western life, has never fallen into our hands; and the excellent publishers of *The Ohio Valley Series* has very properly formed a place for it in their invaluable collection.

As a specimen of book-making, this series is as honorable to the mechanical skill of the western workmen as to the liberality of the western tradesmen who publish it.

3.—*History of the Public School Society of the City of New York.* By William Oland Boorne, A.M. New York: Wm. Wood & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. xxxii.,

This volume may be considered, we suppose, the official history of this distinguished Society—that which educated the children resident in

New York city, from 1800 until 1853, at which time the State undertook the duty of a gigantic educator and seized the private property of this private corporate body, in order to enable it to discharge its newly-assumed and very questionable role as a school-master.

We remember and revere the modest, self-sacrificing men of nearly forty years ago, who conducted the affairs of that Society, at that time; and we very distinctly remember the visitation, in June, 1834, by the fatherly Samuel W. Seton, its official visitor, to a lonely house, in the outskirts of the city, for the purpose of indicating to the strangers resident in that house—then only three days from the emigrant-ship—how welcome their little ones would be in the Society's school, No. 12, a mile distant—one of those children, whose uncouth appearance, on the following morning, did not exclude him from a high grade in the school, nor, a few months afterwards, from its highest honors, gratefully recognizes, in these lines, his gratitude to that Society, for its voluntary instruction of him, in very much which, in his manhood, has rendered him, to some extent, useful to his country and his fellow men, and as sorrowfully recognizes, in the violent dissolution of that venerable Society, an early instance, but not the least important, of that flagrant disregard of the fundamental law, which, since that time, has transformed the State and the Confederacy into despotisms, and trailed in the dust the time-honored principles on which both have professed to rest.

We do not think very much of this work, as a history; but we suppose that it is reliable, in its statements, and, therefore, as far as it goes, useful to those who shall desire to ascertain something concerning the origin, rise, progress, and destruction of this excellent voluntary association, organized for the purpose of educating those children who were not then provided for, by churches and private schools, in the City of New York. It is, therefore, an important local, worthy of an extended circulation in New York and its vicinity.

The typography is very neat; and the portraits, etched by our neighbor, Mr. Henry B. Hall, are fair specimens of that class of his handiwork.

4.—*An Account of Anneke Janse, and her family, also The Will of Anneke Janse in Dutch and English.* Albany: Joel Munsell. 1870. 16mo., pp. 81.

A sketch of the celebrated Dutch housewife, Anneke Janse, whose descendants are making so much noise in the world, as claimants of the property of Trinity-church, in New York City, together with accurate copies of her Will; of

the Deed given by her children to Governor Lovelace, when they sold her farm to the English Government; and of a similar Deed when the same children sold her dwelling, in Albany, to Dirck Wesselse Ten Broeck.

It is a very interesting little tract, from our friend Munsell's ready and accurate pen; and, if widely circulated, would be very useful.

5.—*French's Mathematical Series. Mental Arithmetic; combining a complete system of rapid computations, with correct logic of the solutions of problems, and the analysis of processes.* By John H. French, LL.D. New York: Harper & Bros. 1870. 16mo., pp. 156. Price 50 cents.

One of a series of School Arithmetics, from the prolific and experienced press of the Harpers.

We very well remember the Mental Arithmetics of our schools, thirty-six years ago, although we did not use them; and we very well remember some of their defects, in their then modern structure, and the wide room there was for improvement.

In the neat volume before us, we find the more compact and more precise statements of processes which experience has shown to be more effective than the long stories of the days of our boyhood; and the lessons are more practical in their character and better adapted to the every-day business of the day, than the lessons of former times. Besides, they are made more attractive by a judicious system of illustration, in many cases, by excellent woodcuts and by a handsome dress. Altogether, the volume is attractive and well-adapted for the purposes for which it is intended.

6.—*The Minnesota Guide. A Hand Book of Information for the Travelers, Pleasure Seekers, and Immigrants, concerning all Routes of Travel to and in the State; Sketches of the towns and cities on the same; etc., etc., etc.* Second Year of Publication. Saint Paul: E. H. Barritt & Co. 1869. 16mo., pp. 34.

This is not a history, nor is it a general description of the State. It is simply a "Guide" for travelers, from which they may learn what, on the principal lines of travel, are best worth their attention while passing through the country.

It is an annual; a well-printed affair; and reflects credit on its worthy editor, our friend, J. Fletcher Williams. Esq. of St. Paul.

7.—*The Life, Passion, Death, and Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ.* Being an abridged harmony of the four Gospels in the words of the Sacred text. Edited by Rev. Henry Formby. New York: Catholic Publication Society. 1870. 16mo., pp. viii., 184.

A very neat little volume, elaborately illustrated and well calculated for the purpose for which it was evidently intended.

**Trial of the Officers and Crew of the Privateer
Savannah, on a charge of Piracy, in the
United States Circuit Court, for
the Southern District
of New York.**

Hon. Judges NELSON and SHIPMAN, Presiding,

Reported by A. F. WARBURTON, Stenographer,

And corrected by the Counsel.

OCTAVO pp. xvii, 385. NEW YORK, 1862.

This very celebrated trial involved the principles which control the rights of those who are in insurrection and resort to the seas, in the prosecution of their purposes; and it is probable that in no other work have those principles been so thoroughly or so ably discussed.

The arguments of Counsel, both those for the United States and those for the prisoners, and the Charges of the Court, were corrected by their respective authors; and this volume was published at the joint expense of the United States and the friends of the prisoners.

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HENRY B. DAWSON.

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TO OUR READERS.

With this Number we close Volume VIII. of the New Series, Volume IX. of which is also completed. The second Number of Volume X—the first having been some time since completed—is in the workmen's hands and well advanced; and we are anxiously and joyfully looking forward for the completion of the Volume and Series, at no distant day.

THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. VIII. SECOND SERIES.]

DECEMBER, 1870.

[No. 6.]

I.—THE NORTH-EASTERN BOUNDARY
OF NEW JERSEY. — CONTINUED FROM
PAGE 282, AND CONCLUDED.

VII.—A BRIEF EXAMINATION OF MR. WHITE-
HEAD'S REJOINDER.

By HENRY B. DAWSON.

The readers of *The Gazette* will bear testimony that the subject of the eastern boundary of East-Jersey has been discussed with the utmost freedom, in its columns; and the greater number of them, having read the arguments of the learned Attorney-general of New York and of Hon. J. Romeyn Brodhead, her distinguished historiographer, as well as the more extended examination of the subject by "H. B. D." and William A. Whitehead, Esq., will, probably, be prepared to decide the question at issue without further instruction.

The subject, however, is an important one, both as a question of history and a question of State right. It has been before the world during nearly two centuries; and it has commanded the attention and the pens of the ablest scholars and the anxious consideration of the most distinguished statesmen, both in Europe and America. Humble farmers on the borders of Orange-county and equally humble fishermen on the Hudson, Common Councils, Sheriffs, and Judges, gubernatorial representatives of Lords Proprietors and of Kings—even the King himself, in the midst of his Privy Council—have been actively and anxiously engaged, at various times, in the same discussion as that in which *The Gazette* is now employed; and it is a notable fact, that, in the renewal of the time-honored dispute, through these columns, the weekly issue of the village newspaper which contains the arguments of the several disputants, are anxiously looked for, on more than one side of Hudson's-river, by many of the most enlightened scholars and distinguished and influential statesmen and jurists which our country possesses.

It is no common question, therefore; and it is not to be disposed of as are the minor questions of the day, which arise and disappear like the

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mists of the morning; nor is it one which can be properly met and disposed of, with nothing more than ridicule, sarcasm, and stale wit—its age and importance, at least, to say nothing of the respect which is due to those who are witnessing the struggle, should protect it from so grave and uncalled-for an impropriety.

It is a question of *legal right to property*, a QUESTION OF TITLE TO PREMISES; and the issue depends less on the rhetoric than on the evidence which shall be adduced. It is not the most eloquent nor the most facetious advocate, it is not the greatest wit nor he who can most successfully mystify his subject and misrepresent his opponent, who will render the most effective service in such a discussion, before such an audience; and that cause is either very weak or very unfortunate, whose advocate fails to distinguish a witty repartee at the expense of the truth, from a reliable authority with which to illustrate and sustain it.

The columns of *The Gazette* have conveyed to its readers, during the past four weeks, a *Rejoinder* from the pen of him who is the learned Corresponding Secretary of THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, to the *Review of the Questions under Discussion* by "H. B. D.," which preceded it; and those who have read that *Rejoinder* need not be told how little there is in it, beyond its misrepresentations, which requires any notice whatever, unless from those of whose cause the author has assumed to be the advocate and champion.

Those whose pretensions were thus indecorously urged by Mr. Whitehead, will know what disposition to make of his feeble, if not pointless, *Rejoinder*: from those whom he has insulted, by his unblushing misrepresentations, a sense of what is due to a subject of such great importance will prompt, merely, a few words in defence of the truth of that history of which Mr. Whitehead professes to be a devoted admirer, of that history which he has not hesitated to prostitute, for the accomplishment of his unhallowed purposes. The object of this paper is to answer, *very briefly and very plainly*, that demand.

The misrepresentations, by Mr. Whitehead, to which reference has been made, relate alike to

actions and to things; and each of these great classes is fairly divisible into several minor divisions. Thus, he misrepresents his own action and that of the New Jersey Historical Society as recklessly as he misrepresents those of the Duke of York and Sir George Carteret; and the action of the twenty-four proprietors of East Jersey and that of New York, of Montanus and Ogilby, of General Cochrane and "H. B. D.," alternately falls under the weight of his defamatory sentences. He recklessly misrepresents a feudal Lease as a conveyance in fee simple: and he slurs over a subsequent Release of the same premises, by the same Lord Proprietor of the estate, on the lapse of the tenement, as if it, also, was an original conveyance, in fee simple, without regarding, as worthy of his notice, the previous conveyances of the same premises, over and over again, in similar terms, by the same Lord Proprietor, to other parties. Ancient maps and public records are mutilated and then employed as evidence, although the former, in their perfect form, are deprecated as worthless; and the testimony of those who were contemporary with the execution of the original Lease on which the whole subject rests, as well as that afforded by the subsequent acts of the original parties to that Lease, is wholly disregarded and unnoticed. In short, Mr. Whitehead's *Rejoinder* is little better than a series of inventions, ingeniously fitted to the peculiar formation of a Jerseyman's ambition; and, as the *conformiteur*, in the hands of the latter, regardless alike of grace and ugliness, indicates the organs which are most prominent on the head of his customer, so this *Rejoinder*, from the pen of Mr. Whitehead, indicates to every intelligent reader how little integrity, either of purpose or in the employment of means to accomplish it, may be looked for among those who are the advocates of the lawless pretensions of New Jersey to the waters and lands in question.

Before noticing the great body of Mr. Whitehead's misrepresentations, however, it seems proper to protest against his unjust and unfaithful statement of the original proposition, by General Cochrane, on which this entire discussion has been based. The original was in these words, and only in these: "THE WATERS BETWEEN STATEN ISLAND AND NEW JERSEY, THE KILL VAN COI, THE SOUND, AND RARITAN BAY, OR BY WHATEVER OTHER BAPTISMAL NAMES THEY OR THEIR PARTS MAY HAVE BEEN, OR ARE NOW, DESIGNATED, TOGETHER WITH ALL THE WATERS WHICH LAKE STATEN ISLAND SHORES, WERE, FROM THE PERIOD OF THEIR DISCOVERY, KNOWN AND ACCEPTED, AND SHOULD NOW BE PROPERLY CONSIDERED, THE WATERS OF HUDSON'S-RIVER." Mr. Whitehead has thus stated them, in the opening sentences of his *Rejoinder*: "This discussion originated in a positive announce-

ment by Attorney-general Cochrane that 'the waters of the Hudson, in their seaward current, debouch through both the Narrows and the Kills': that 'the Hudson River empties itself through its two mouths, the Narrows and the Kills, into the Bay of New York:' and 'that all the waters which lave Staten Island shores, were, from the period of their discovery, known and accepted, and should properly now be considered, the waters of Hudson's river.'"

It will be evident to the most casual reader, that important interpolations and omissions have been made by Mr. Whitehead, in this statement of the "positive announcement by Attorney-general Cochrane," in which "this discussion originated," and in which, HE SAYS, "The Member of the New York Historical Society" has come to the support of Mr. Cochrane," and that reader must be as much of a Jerseyman as Mr. Whitehead himself, who will not acknowledge that those additions to and omissions from the terms of General Cochrane's proposition are an unwarrantable and uncalled-for mutilation of the record of this discussion.

GENERAL COCHRANE MADE NO SUCH "POSITIVE ANNOUNCEMENT" AS MR. WHITEHEAD HAS PRESENTED IN HIS *Rejoinder*; AND "H. B. D." "SUPPORTED" NO SUCH PROPOSITION—indeed, the latter, much to Mr. Whitehead's subsequent amusement, expressly denied the truth of the theory embraced in what is thus improperly stated as the first and second parts of the General's "positive announcement;" and it is not very clear, therefore, how he could have "supported" any one in maintaining that the Hudson empties through two mouths, while, at the same time, he united with Mr. Whitehead in the statement that, in fact, that river had no more than one.

Such a misrepresentation of the question proposed by General Cochrane and of the action thereon of "H. B. D." affords a sorry introduction to a plea for trumped-up "rights of New Jersey," on any subject; although it is in evidence, that New Jersey's advocates, in the matter now under discussion, have not failed, in former days, to resort to this shelter, when other means which they had employed had failed to accomplish their purposes.

Thus openly branded as a falsification of the record in this case, this portion of Mr. Whitehead's *Rejoinder* is exposed to the contempt to which it is justly entitled.

Concerning the misrepresentations, by Mr. Whitehead, in the body of his *Rejoinder*, to which reference has been made, a few words are considered necessary.

I. THAT RELATING TO HIS OWN Map of the settled portions of East-Jersey, about the year

1682, AND TO HIS STATEMENT OF THE ACT OF MARCH, 1682-3, "TO DIVIDE THE PROVINCE INTO "FOUR COUNTIES."

It will be remembered that the Assembly of East-Jers.y, in March, 1682-3, passed an *Act for dividing the Province into four Counties*; that, in its designation of the boundaries of Bergen-county, in the first paragraph of that Act, the Assembly recognized the waters of the Kill van Col, *from one extremity to the other*, as "*Hudson's River*;" and that Mr. Whitehead, in his *East Jersey under the Proprietary Government*, carefully suppressed so much of the Act as would have communicated that very unpleasant fact to his less intelligent readers.

In his *Review of the Questions under Discussion*, "H. B. D." called the attention of the public to this improper suppression of the truth, in what professed to be a purely *historical* volume; and a *Map of the settled portions of East Jersey, about the year 1682*, DRAWN BY MR. WHITEHEAD, FOR THE ILLUSTRATION OF THAT VOLUME, was appealed to, in connection with the Act in question, to prove the truth of the charge.

An accusation of so grave a character, so clearly stated and so fully sustained by competent testimony, was received by the distinguished historiographer of East Jersey with evident uneasiness; he even considered that an allusion to the subject was an evidence of the "bad taste" of his accuser; and that his character, as a historical writer, should not have been subjected, under the circumstances, to so unexpected an indignity. With commendable spirit, therefore, he resented the insult, as best he could; and as the charge rested only on the evidence, so far afforded by his own Map, that "*about the year 1682*," Constable's Hook was WHERE BERGEN POINT NOW IS—at the entrance to the Achter Col or Newark Bay—he boldly attempted to frown down the charge, by denying the correctness of that Map, on that subject; by casting upon the unlucky engraver, who had followed too closely the drawing of "W. A. W.," its author, the blame of inserting the words "Constable's Hook," on the unlucky spot where "H. B. D." had found them, instead of placing them at the opposite or *eastern* extremity of the Kill van Col, where that Hook *now is*; and by quite as boldly challenging his accuser to produce a single Map on which Constable's Hook is not shown to have been where it *now is*—on the Harbor of New York, at the *eastern* entrance to the Kill van Col. With a flourish of words, meaning nothing, Mr. Whitehead then dismissed the subject; and evidently threw himself back, in his easy chair, perfectly satisfied that the charge had been disproved by his own, unsupported word.

It is not the particular purpose of this paper to defend Mr. Whitehead's *Map of the settled portions of East Jersey, about the year 1682*, against the graceless attack of its distinguished author. It does not appear proper, however, that such a deliberate attempt as this is, to mutilate the testimony afforded by the ancient records of East-Jersey, in order to sustain a trumped-up claim to the waters in question, should be allowed to pass unexposed; and the reputation of those who have been thus guilty of tampering with the evidence, in order to promote such a claim, must necessarily abide the legitimate consequences of such an exposure.

By reference to page 139 of a volume written by George Scot, and published in Edinburgh, in 1685, entitled *The Model of the Government of the Province of East-Jersey in America*, the reader will find these words: "To goe back to 'the South part of Berghen neck that is opposite to Staten Island, where is but a narrow passage of water, which ebbs and flows between the said Island and Berghen Point, CALLED Constables Hook.'"

To confirm this statement, made by Mr. Scot, and to show the reader how reckless Mr. Whitehead has been, while engaged in his work of mutilation and misrepresentation, reference is made, also, to page 160 of *The History of the Colony of Nova Cesarie, or New Jersey, to the year 1721*, by Samuel Smith—a volume which was printed "at Burlington, in New Jersey," in 1765, and is known to every student of American history, as most authoritative on the subjects on which it treats. The reader will find there, under the date of 1682, these words: "*There was a considerable settlement on Bergen Point, THEN CALLED CONSTABLE HOOK, and first improved by Edsall, in Nicolls's time*;" and in Gordon's very useful *Gazetteer of the State of New Jersey*, Edit. Trenton, 1831, page 101, the statement is repeated.

The reader will thus perceive that Constable's Hook, IN AND "ABOUT THE YEAR 1682," *was not on the Harbor of New York*, as Mr. Whitehead pretends, in his *Rejoinder*, but at the entrance to the Achter Col, or Newark Bay; that, the *Map of the settled portions of East Jersey, about the year 1682*, by W. A. W., WAS AND IS, THEREFORE, PERFECTLY CORRECT IN THUS DESCRIBING IT; that, in March, 1682-3, when the Assembly of East-Jersey passed the *Act for dividing the Province into four Counties*, its recognition of the waters which separated Staten Island from the main, seaward, as far as what was THEN known as Constable's Hook, as "Hudson's-river," it virtually conceded all that New York has ever demanded; and that Mr. Whitehead's grave denial of these well-sustained facts and his impeach-

ment of his own Map are not sustained, either by contemporary Maps or contemporary statements.

As Mr. Whitehead has reproduced Mr. Scot's little volume in the Appendix of his *East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments*, he cannot have been ignorant of the exact locality of Constable's Hook, as it was in 1685: the *Map of the settled portions of East Jersey, about the year 1682, DRAWN BY HIMSELF AND INSERTED IN THE SAME VOLUME*, indicates his full knowledge of its exact position, *three years earlier*: no further evidence is required, therefore, to prove his knowledge of its exact position, when the Assembly passed the Act of March 1, 1682-3, to which reference has been so often made.

Thus driven from pillar to post, in his luckless efforts to misrepresent the truth, confronted by the most ancient and most authoritative historians of his own State, in each of his vain attempts to mutilate her records for illegal and unholy purposes, the distinguished author of the *Rejoinder*, New Jersey's favored champion, stands convicted of the two-fold authorial misdemeanor of willfully suppressing the truth, in a purely historical volume, and of a subsequent attempt to conceal his former mis-deed, then first brought to light, by making averments which he knew to have been unwarranted by the facts and by a reckless impeachment of testimony, *given by himself*, which he knew was perfectly and entirely true.

With these evidences of his *suppressio veri* and his *suggestio falsi* before them, who shall say that this last advocate of New Jersey's pretensions is not the best? Who shall say that of all her champions, from 1681-2 until to-day, Mr. Whitehead has not most successfully proved his entire fitness for a task in which there is so little that is honorable, so little that is entitled to the respect of any honest man?

II. THAT RELATING TO THE MUTILATION, BY THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, OF ADRIEN VAN DER DONCK'S MAP, IN ORDER TO CONCEAL THE MOUTH OF HUDSON'S RIVER, AS DESCRIBED THEREON.

It will be remembered that "H. B. D.," in his *Review of the Questions under Discussion*, invited the attention of his readers to a mutilation, by the New Jersey Historical Society, of Adrien van der Donck's *Map of New Netherland*, by suppressing from the copy of a section of it, which that learned body had inserted in the first volume of its *Collections*, the evidence that that reliable Dutch topographer considered the mouth of the Hudson's-river to have been at Sandy-hook.

In his *Rejoinder*, it will be remembered, also,

Mr. Whitehead assumed an air of indignant contempt for what he was pleased to call "an unwarrantable accusation" of the Society—he even attempted to frown down, as entirely groundless, the charge against that learned body, of mutilating the map "for sinister purposes"—but, notwithstanding all this, he saw fit, also, to offer excuses for the suppression, in the Society's pretended copy of the van der Donck Map, of the crushing evidence which the original contains, of his own and the Society's reckless disregard of all the rights of historic truth.

The author of the *Review* was not insensible of the probable author of the fraud referred to, when he alluded to it, in that paper—indeed, since the author of the volume which it illustrates was also a member of the Committee under whose supervision that volume was printed, there could have been little doubt on the subject—but he followed the good old rule that the principal is accountable for the acts of his servants, particularly after those acts have been approved and confirmed; and he accordingly disregarded Mr. Whitehead and the Society's "Committee on Publication," and fastened the wrong-doing on the Society itself, for whom the former acted, and by whom their acts were subsequently approved and ratified. If a wrong has been done, THE SOCIETY is the wrong-doer, before the world; and the Society must seek redress, if it desires it, from those of its servants by whom its confidence has been betrayed and by whom it has been led into its present unenviable position. With these, acting under the Society's authority and carrying away with them the Society's approval, the world has nothing to do.

It is amusing, however, to those who know who was the working man of the Society's "Committee on Publication," when this Map was mutilated and inserted in the volume which contains, also, the mutilated description of Bergen-county, as defined in the Act of March, 1682-3, to witness Mr. Whitehead's effrontery, in this part of the discussion. Just as if he was not the man who had mutilated the Map and covered his associates with shame, he steps forward as the Society's defender; and he talks as glibly of "unwarrantable accusations" and frowns with as much an air of virtuous contempt for the accuser, as if he was not the real author of all the mischief, the real mutilator of the Map as well as the Act, the unscrupulous champion of New Jersey, in her "unwarrantable" attempt to wrest from New York the control of her waters.

But Mr. Whitehead says the Map referred to was "only one-third of the original," as if ALL that belongs to that "one-third" should not have

been copied; or, as if the fact that it was only "one-third of the original" afforded a warrant for mutilating it, "for sinister purposes."

He says, also, that the Map in question was designed to be "brought within the limits of" "an octavo page, four inches by seven;" as if there was a law, limiting the size of Maps, confining them to the "limits of an octavo page," and prohibiting the use of *folding sheets*, when the subjects are too large for an "octavo page, four inches by seven."

He says, also, "there was no room for them," [the names of the Hudson-river, off Sandy-hook,] "if the character of the Map, as a fac-simile (AS FAR AS IT WENT) were preserved;" as if the scale on which the Map was drawn could not have been reduced, or, what is frequently done in such cases, the ample margin which surrounds the Map could not have been encroached upon, by the insertion of a portion of the omitted names, outside of the limits of the specified "four inches by seven."

The truth is, the Map in question was a well-planned attempt, on the part of the Society's Committee and the Society itself, to impose upon the public, as *van der Donck's*, WHAT WAS NOT VAN DER DONCK'S; and in that way they sought to conceal the evidence which *van der Donck* had afforded, in his Map, that the mouth of the Hudson's-river was THEN [1656] considered to be at Sandy-hook.

The character of *van der Donck*, a man of learning and a resident of New Netherland, was such that the testimony, on this subject, which his Map afforded, was of the greatest importance; but, like some other testimony on the same subject, which Mr. Whitehead has more recently encountered, it was found to be "exceedingly objectionable to Jerseymen." Like the "objectionable" part of the description of Bergen-county, in the *Act for dividing the Province into four Counties*, passed in 1682-8, therefore, IT WAS PROMPTLY SUPPRESSED, in the volume issued by the Society; and, as in the case of the Act referred to, the readers of that volume, through the manipulations of the *New Jersey Historical Society* and its servants, have remained wholly ignorant of what *van der Donck* said, on one of the most important questions in which New Jersey has ever been interested.

The readers of *The Gazette* can ascertain from these facts, whether or not the charge made by "H. B. D." against the Society, was an "unwarrantable accusation;" and they can judge, therefrom, also, how modest a man Mr. Whitehead is, in thus boldly attempting to frown down, as indecent, the evidence of his and the Society's attempt to palm on the public,

as genuine, A MUTILATED COPY of *van der Donck's Map of 1656*.

III. THE MISREPRESENTATIONS OF MR. OGILBY AND OF THE PART WHICH HIS MAP AND DESCRIPTION OF THE PREMISES HAD TO DO WITH THE GRANTS BY THE KING AND DUKE OF YORK.

It will be remembered that "H. B. D." referred to the fact, that, during more than twenty-five years before and the same period after, the Grant of New Netherland to the Duke of York, by the King, his brother, the term "Hudson's River" was generally applied to all the waters which surrounded Staten Island, as well as to those which are now known to us as "the Lower Bay;" that the mouth of "Hudson's River" was thus considered to be at Sandy-hook; and that the testimony of the most intelligent men, Dutch and English, civilians and office-holders, in Europe as well as in America, was adduced to support the novel, but unanswerable, proposition.

It will be remembered, also, that among these evidences of what, in 1674, was considered as "Hudson's river," the testimony of John Ogilby, the King's Cosmographer and Geographic Printer, was introduced; and it was reasonably inferred that both the King and the Duke, as well as the Grantees of the latter, were principally guided by his Map and by the statement made in his volume, in their belief that the Hudson had "two wide Mouths," the most Southern of which was called Port May, or Godyn's Bay; that "in the middle thereof was an Island called 'The States Island;'" and that its waters flowed into "the main Sea," only at Sandy-hook.

To the great mass of testimony with which "H. B. D." strengthened his argument, as well as to the argument itself and its conclusions, Mr. Whitehead offered no reply—he had no reply to make, SINCE HE FOUND NO ONE ON WHOSE TESTIMONY HE COULD HANG A SINGLE ADVERSE PLEA. Mr. Ogilby, however, was unwittingly singled out by him, as the particular object of his denunciatory wit; and that gentleman's volume, printed in 1671, was held up to the ridicule of those who knew less of its importance in this discuss on, than Mr. Whitehead did. At the same time, the argument of "H. B. D.," that the official position of the King's Cosmographer, which Mr. Ogilby then occupied, and his consequent influence in forming the opinions of both the King and the Duke, on what was "the main Sea" and what "Hudson's River," added greatly to the importance of the work and the statements which it contains, was openly ridiculed; and it was flippantly asserted, among other reckless averments, that "there is not a particle of evi-

"dence that they" [*Montanus and Ogilby*] "had *ever heard* of either passage," which are known to us as "the Narrows" and "the Kills."

The readers of *The Gazette* need not be troubled with any defence, from our pen, of Mr. Ogilby or of his Map or narrative; nor is it necessary to defend the argument of "H. B. D.," that Mr. Ogilby's Map was probably that on which the King and the Duke had principally relied, when the Letters Patents were issued by the former, in June, and the Lease and Release, by the latter, in July, 1674.

Appeal need only be taken, in this, from Cæsar, drunk, to Cæsar, sober; and the reader is referred to a paper, entitled, *Northern Boundary Line: The circumstances leading to the establishment, in 1769, of the Northern Boundary Line between New York and New Jersey*, by WILLIAM A. WHITEHEAD, which is printed in the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, viii, 157-186.

On page 161, the reader will find the following, from Mr. Whitehead's pen:

"At the date of the Duke of York's Grant to Berkeley and Carteret, there were but few maps professing to give the position of places or the physical geography of the interior; and they all seemed to be more or less copies of one by Nicholas Joannis Vischero, which is thought to have been published in 1654. One, by Vanderdonck, published in 1656, which is unquestionably copied after Vischero's, may be seen in *The New York Historical Society's Collections*, Vol. 1st, New Series, and also, AS FAR AS IT REFERS TO NEW JERSEY, in the first volume of our own *Collections*.* and one or both doubtless formed the basis of the Map to be found in the works of Montanus and Ogilby, published in 1671; and, AS OGILBY IS STYLED 'Cosmographer and Geographical Printer to his Majesty,' THE MAP THAT HE SELECTED TO ILLUSTRATE THIS PART OF THE CONTINENT, MAY REASONABLY BE CONSIDERED THE ONE MOST LIKELY TO BE CONSULTED BY THOSE CONCERNED IN THE GRANT OF NEW JERSEY."

For the present, Mr. Whitehead is left with himself. He need not be subjected to any severer punishment than the shame which attends his conviction on his own testimony.

IV. THAT RELATIVE TO THE PORT OF PERTH-AMBOY.

It will be remembered that "H. B. D." asserted and showed, in his *Review*, that the efforts of the Proprietors of East-Jersey to secure a port at Perth-Amboy which would be independent of New York, were unsuccessful; and that East-Jersey, in that respect, remained subordinate to New York, during the whole period of the Proprietary administration.

Mr. Whitehead, in his *Rejoinder*, devoted some two or three columns to show that *the opposite was the truth*: that, in his own words, "IN EVERY CASE in which the right of East-Jersey to a seaport was endeavored to be wrenched from her, THAT RIGHT WAS ESTABLISHED."

To "wrench" anything "from" another, pre-supposes the possession of the thing taken, by the person from whom it is "wrenched"—a state of affairs, concerning a seaport in East-Jersey, which is as void of truth as some others of Mr. Whitehead's statements; but, it is a sufficient reply to this averment, to say that, as lately as April 14, 1698, the Proprietors thus instructed their Governor, Jeremiah Basse:

"IV. You are to use your endeavour to *oblige the General Assembly to raise A GRATEFUL SUM OF MONEY, to be remitted to London, towards some ease of the great Charge these Proprietors have paid, and the great trouble and expence of Time, which they have been at in struggling many Years for the Freedom of the Port of Perth Amboy for Navigation and Trade, which is NOW OBTAINED AT LAST, Free from the Encroachments and Pretensions of any Neighboring Colony, the Benefits and Advantages whereof will chiefly redound to the Inhabitants of the said Province.*"—*From the Orders and Instructions to Jeremiah Basse, Esquire, Governor, etc., London, 14th April, 1698.—Leaming and Spicer, 220, 221.*

As this curious "Order" was issued nearly eighteen years after Sir William Jones is said to have accomplished the wonders which Mr. Whitehead has announced, nearly eleven years after the wonderful quietus was administered to Governor Dongan, and some months after James had abdicated the throne, it is not very evident where Mr. Whitehead found a fact on which to hang his inventions, so often and so boldly advanced, that James was *always* anxious to secure to East-Jersey this coveted privilege; that "IN EVERY CASE in which the right of East-Jersey to a sea-port" was denied, from the days of Andros, in 1680, until the close of the Proprietary Government, in 1702, "THAT RIGHT WAS ESTABLISHED."

But the subject did not end here. Although the Proprietors appear to have supposed, or pretended to have supposed, in April, 1698, that "the Freedom of the port of Perth-Amboy, for Navigation and Trade, is NOW OBTAINED AT

* How mate Mr. Whitehead was, concerning the mutilation of van der Donck's Map, in *The New Jersey Historical Society's Collections*, and how willing to place it, in its mutilated form, beside the uncut copy in *The New York Historical Society's volume*. Who shall say that New Jersey is not favored with an appropriate historiographer?—H. B. D.

"LAST," after years of toil and at an enormous cost, it is quite apparent that the Government of Great Britain did not so understand it—an important fact, which the Proprietors of East-Jersey soon after discovered.

Accordingly, in July, 1699, in their *Memorial to the Lords of Trade*, "the Proprietors of the Province of East New Jersey, in America," prayed "that upon the Annexation of the Government of the said Province to that of New York, the Port of Perth Amboy may be established for entering Ships and Importing Goods there, and Exporting Goods from thence, without being obliged to enter their Ships at any other Place"—a petition which they certainly need not have presented if, as Mr. Whitehead pretends, Perth-Amboy already possessed that much-coveted franchise.—*Memorial*, in *Leaming and Spicer*, 589.

In their reply, the Lords of Trade considered it "very improper for his Majesty to oblige himself to a Compliance with this article"—*Opinion and Answer of the Lords of Trade*—*Leaming and Spicer*, 594—a sufficient indication, one would suppose, of the purpose of the Government on the subject.

On the fifteenth of January, 1699-1700, the Proprietors forwarded a special Memorial on this subject, with an offer, as a compromise, "to pay the same Customs as are paid at New York," if the Government would only relieve them from the obligation they were under "to Enter their Ships at any other Place;"—*Memorial*, etc., January 15, 1699-1700—*Leaming and Spicer*, 597, 598,—another evidence that Perth Amboy enjoyed no such franchise, even in 1700, as that which Mr. Whitehead has invented—but that *Petition*, also, was rejected by the Crown; and the matter was subsequently continued in "The humble Memorial of the Proprietors of the Provinces of East and West-Jersey in America," dated the twelfth of August, 1701—*Leaming and Spicer*, 599—wherein those gentlemen expressed "their readiness and desire to surrender all Right of Government, in humble hope and confidence that "[his Majesty's] "Justness and Goodness would Incline him "to grant the Proprietors all reasonable Privileges"—a submission which was no more successful than those which had preceded it.

Having thus abandoned their application for a Port at Perth-Amboy, and thrown themselves on the "Justness and Goodness" of the Government, the Proprietors and inhabitants of the Colony—those whose rights on this subject had been "established" for more than twenty years, if Mr. Whitehead speaks truly—soon learned that they possessed no rights, whatever, on the subject; and that their hopes and their desires, were alike disregarded; that the Government and its

representatives cared as little for "Jerseymen" or their particular interests, as the "Jerseymen" of to-day care for the interests or the convenience of any other persons or communities. This is evident in the fact that, neither in the *Surrender from the Proprietors of their pretended Right of Government*,—*Leaming and Spicer*, 609-616,—nor in *The Queen's Acceptance of the Surrender*,—*Ibid*, 617, 618—nor in her *Instructions to Lord Cornbury*, as the first Royal Governor,—*Leaming and Spicer*, 619, 646—was the solicited privilege granted, or even mentioned.

These recognitions, by the Proprietors themselves, even AFTER the celebrated trial of *Basse vs. The Earl of Bellomont*, effectually disprove Mr. Whitehead's labored argument to show that, from 1680 until the close of the Proprietary Government, the right of East Jersey to a port, independent of New York, "was established;" and if Mr. Whitehead will take the trouble to refer to a volume entitled *Contributions to the early History of Perth Amboy and adjoining Country*, BY WILLIAM A. WHITEHEAD, pages 294-297, he will find a pretty full admission, BY HIMSELF, of the greater number of the unpleasant truths to which reference has been made—indeed, he expressly states, (page 297,) that, "in August, 1701" [only eight months before the Proprietors surrendered "their pretended "Right of Government" of the Colony,] "they reiterated their demand," [for the freedom of the port of Perth-Amboy,] "and success attended their efforts, BUT NOT TO THE FULL EXTENT OF THEIR WISHES."

In view of the continued "demand" by the Proprietors for the privilege of a port, as lately as August, 1701, and of the partial success, only, which attended it, the reader will determine how much of the Proprietors' "right" had been "established" "IN EVERY case in which that right "was endeavored to be wrenched from East-Jersey," from 1680 until 1702; and how candidly and how truly Mr. Whitehead has presented the subject, in his discussion of it, in *The Gazette*.

The columns of *The Gazette* might be occupied with other extended exposures of Mr. Whitehead's treatment of the subject, in his *Rejoinder*; but a simple reference to some others of these improprieties will serve the purpose of this paper.

I. It is said by Mr. Whitehead, in his *Rejoinder*, that "H.B.D." "expended an immense amount of labor," [in his *Review*] "in proving "that Staten Island has always been in the possession and under the jurisdiction of New York;" as if an attempt to prove a *Proprietary Right* to a specified property is equivalent to an attempt to prove a *continued possession* of it.

The *Review* of "H. B. D." was certainly devoted, to some extent, to the discussion of the subject of the *ownership* of Staten Island and of the waters which surround it; and some persons have been found who consider that that ownership was clearly shown, therein, to have been vested, where it still is, in New York. The "immense amount of labor" expended in proving the *possession* of Staten Island, however, is nowhere visible in that *Review*, except in two merely incidental allusions—*Mr. Maverick's letter to Mr. Bond—Gazette*, November 18, Col. 2—and *Governor Dongan's letter to the Earl of Perth—Gazette*, December 2, Col. 1—unless reference is made to "H. B. D.'s" reply to that part of Mr. Whitehead's *Rejoinder*, which was based on the Grant of land on Staten Island, to Captain Palmer.—*Gazette*, December 2, Cols. 1, 2—*which reply occupies less than a column of The Gazette*.

Mr. Whitehead's disposition to treat the subject with unfairness, is nowhere more apparent than in this instance; and his substitution of "possession" for "ownership," or its equivalent, betrays the bad spirit in which he has conducted his side of the discussion.

II It is also said by Mr. Whitehead, in his *Rejoinder*, that "it is a circumstance worthy of note that not a document is known to exist, signed by the Duke of York, himself, which calls in question the right of the Proprietors of East-Jersey to the Island," [Staten Island:—*Gazette*, January 6, Col. 2—as if the burden of proof of ownership therein rested on the Duke, who indisputably held the King's Letters Patents as well as the Indian Deed therefor and the possession of the Island, instead of on the claimants, who possessed neither Deed, nor possession, nor a decent pretense to ownership of a single acre of it.

It is a strange idea that the Duke ought to have formally "called in question, over his own signature, the right" [?] "of the Proprietors of East Jersey to the island," in order to maintain his own right thereto; and it is not less surprising that the non-existence of any such "document" as this, can be considered, for a moment, even by Mr. Whitehead, as "worthy of note," or as affording any evidence, whatever, of the invalidity of the pretensions set up by "the Proprietors" or by their successors in effrontery, to the ownership of Staten Island, or of any portion of it.

III. It is also stated by Mr. Whitehead, in his *Rejoinder*, that the Duke "was ever ready to confirm his original Grant of all the lands West of Long Island and Manhattan Island;"—*Gazette*, January 6, Column 2;—as if the Duke had ever made such a Grant. The language of the Duke's conveyance was, "all that Tract of

"Land adjacent to New England, and lying and being to the Westward of Long Island and Manhitas Island, and bounded on the East part by the main Sea and Part by Hudson's River," etc.—*Grant to Sir George Carteret—Leaming and Spicer*, 47,—a very different description of the premises conveyed, as any lawyer's clerk, if not any good-sized school-boy, could have told Mr. Whitehead, had he asked for information.

IV. Mr. Whitehead's *Rejoinder* teems with its author's remarks on the assumed right of Sir George Carteret to "govern" the inhabitants of East Jersey, and of the subsequent right to do the same, which the Twenty-four Proprietors assumed to possess, as the Grantees of Sir George's Executors.

That gentleman should know, because it was determined by those who possessed the authority to decide such questions, that if the Duke had attempted to convey his right of Government, it would have been invalid, because it would have been illegal; * and he should know, if he does not, that both the Duke and the King were subject, at all times, to the Established Law of the Land.

The illegality of the claim to Govern the inhabitants of East Jersey was fully recognized by the Proprietors of the Province, when they surrendered to the Queen what they, themselves, styled their "Pretences to the said Powers of Government;" † and in view of that admission, it does not become Mr. Whitehead, who knows much less on the subject than they did, to contradict them.

* "Her Majesty hath been advised, that they" [the Proprietors] "have no Right nor can legally execute any of the said Powers." [of Government] "but that it belongeth to her Majesty in Right of her Crown of England to constitute Governors of the said Province, and to give Directions for Governing of the Inhabitants thereof, as her Majesty shall think fit."—*Surrender of their pretended Right, by the Proprietors*, April 15, 1702—*Leaming and Spicer*, 618.

† "AND WHEREAS the Estate, Interest, Right and Title of the said James Duke of York, in and to the Provinces of East Jersey and West Jersey, Part of the Premises by the said recited Letters granted, are by mean Conveyances and Assurances in the Law, come unto and vested in or claimed amongst others by Sir Thomas Lane, Paul Dominique," [and others] "the present Proprietors thereof, and, they have also claimed, by virtue of the said Letters Patents and mean Conveyances, to exercise within the said Provinces for the governing the Inhabitants thereof all the Powers and Authorities for Government granted by the said Letters Patents to the said Duke and his Heirs and Assigns; but her Majesty hath been advised that they have no Right nor can legally execute any of the said Powers, but that it belongeth to her Majesty in Right of her Crown of England to constitute Governors of the said Provinces, and to give Directions for Governing of the Inhabitants thereof, as her Majesty shall see fit. And the said Proprietors being desirous to submit themselves to her Majesty, and willing to surrender all their Pretences to the said Powers of Government, to the Intent her Majesty may be pleased to constitute a Governor or Governors of the same Provin-

V. He bases his pretensions to the waters in question and to Staten Island on the Duke's Release to the Twenty-four Proprietors—"it is not necessary to go further back than the date of the Deed to the Twenty-four Proprietors, in 1682. This was granted in accordance with the request of the Earl of Perth, for the express purpose, as stated in the instrument itself, of better extinguishing all such claims and demands as his said Royal Highness or his Heirs might anywhere have to East Jersey;"—*Gazette*, January 6, Column 8—as if, *four years before*, the Trustees of the Carteret Estate had not "conveyed his 'Plantation, in New Jersey 'to Thomas Creamer and Thomas Pocock;" concerning the Deed for which Mr. Whitehead has said, "it is evident that it was considered as vesting in THEM the FULL title to the premises."—*Gazette*, January 6, Column 4.

Viewing the general subject from Mr. Whitehead's stand-point, and estimating the character and value of "Deeds" by his standard, it is not very clear how the Duke's "Deed" for property, "the full title" to which had been already "vested" in Pocock and Creamer, four years before, was worth much; and it is not much more apparent, when viewed from the same stand-point, how much more value there was in franchises, granted in that "Deed," which had been conveyed by the same Duke, in September, 1680, *nearly two years before*, to the younger Sir George Carteret.

VI. In his opening, in *The Gazette* of December 28d, Mr. Whitehead attempted to discredit, by *insuendo*, "H. B. D.'s" dismissal from the case, as irrelevant, of the Letters Patents to the Duke, of the twelfth of March, 1684, and of the Duke's Grant to Berkeley and Carteret, as joint tenants, of the twenty-fourth of June, 1684; yet, in the same paper, he admitted, concerning those instruments, "in reality, their existence or non-existence has little to do with the merits of the case;" and in *The Gazette* of the sixth of January, he said, concerning the Deed of Sir George Carteret's property in the Colony to the twenty-four Proprietors, dated the second of February, 1682-3, "as has been already demonstrated, it is not necessary to go further back than the date of the Deed to the Twenty-four Proprietors, in 1682."

VII. He amused himself, and attempted to amuse his readers, with forced witticisms on the distinction made by "H. B. D." between "physical" and "historical" facts, and their,

sometimes, varied testimony;—*Gazette*, December 28, Col. 1, and January 9, Col. 2,—as if a change of the local nomenclature, from any cause, necessarily carried with it a change of ownership of property, thereabouts, and necessarily disturbed all the relations existing between landlords and tenants, in the newly-named neighborhood.

It is a "historical" fact that the south-western point of Bergen-neck was, once in a time, called "Constable's Hook" and it is a "physical fact" that, to-day, "Constable's Hook" is at its south-eastern extremity. Which of the two does Mr. Whitehead suppose would control a dispute concerning the title of property "on Constable's Hook," in 1688—the "historical" or the "physical?" Even in the making of Maps, Mr. Whitehead has clearly preferred the "historical"; and it was only when that gentleman became the voluntary advocate of a bad cause, that he closed his eyes to the truth and gave the preference to "the physical."

VIII. In his opening, in *The Gazette* of December 28d, he said: "Every true historical enquirer should hesitate to attribute to an opponent an intention to suppress any fact or document essential to the full consideration of any subject; and the course of the *Gazette's* correspondent in that respect will not, therefore, be followed," to which he added a copy of Sir William Jones's letter of the twenty-eighth of July, 1680.

If this means anything, it means that the author of the *Review* has "suppressed" either Sir William Jones's letter or some other "essential fact or document." As no reference was made to any other supposed case than Sir William's letter, it is a reasonable inference that no other "essential fact or document" than that, was thus considered as "suppressed;" and on that subject, by a reference to *The Gazette* of the sixteenth of December, it will be seen that this letter was not only referred to, in the *Review*, but it was shown to contain an opinion which fully accorded with the argument of "H. B. D." and as fully overturned the theory of an absolute conveyance, in fee simple, of the property—as we understand the term—which Mr. Whitehead so strangely and pertinaciously urged.

It is proper to remark, also, in this connection, that the "opinion" of Sir William Jones, about which Mr. Whitehead talked so glibly and so wildly, related altogether to the value of the evidence which had been produced to him, concerning the right to collect an additional Five per cent., AND NOT TO THE QUESTION OF JURISDICTION OR RIGHT OF GOVERNMENT IN EAST-JERSEY, AS PRETENDED.

He simply said "I am not satisfied (by any-

"ces, with such Powers, Privileges, and Authorities for the Government thereof, and making such Laws there with the consent of the Assembly of the said Province, and her Majesty's subsequent approbation thereof, as her Majesty in her great Wisdom shall think fit and convenient," etc.—*Articles of Surrender*, April 18, 1709—*Learning and Spies*, 612, 613.

"thing that I have yet heard) that y^e Duke "can legally demand that" [*the Five per cent claimed from the inhabitants of New Jersey*] "or "any other duty from y^e inhabitants of those "lands;"—*N. Y. Colonial Documents*, iii, 285—and on no other question than this of rent or pecuniary reservation, did that "opinion" treat—the words concerning "profit" and "Jurisdiction," which Mr. Whitehead used so freely, are portions of Sir William's description of a document which had been produced in evidence, by the Proprietors, on the merits of which he passed no "opinion" whatever.

When Mr. Whitehead spoke, therefore, of "Sir William Jones's 'opinion,' that under the "Grants to Berkeley and Carteret there was "no reservation of any profit or see much as "of Jurisdiction;"—*Gazette*, January 6, Column 8—he simply falsified the record, by inventing an "opinion" for Sir William Jones, on a subject on which that gentleman had given no "opinion" whatever; and all the learned argument, based on that invention, in which Mr. Whitehead subsequently indulged, necessarily falls with it.

Mr. Whitehead's remarks concerning the duty of "every true historical enquirer" were very appropriate: how much more appropriate would they have appeared had they been sustained by his own example.

No more evidence will be required to establish the fact that Mr. Whitehead, both in his *Review of General Cochrane's Paper* and in his *Rejoinder* to "H. B. D." has treated the subject under discussion, as well as those whom he has opposed, with great and continued unfairness and, sometimes, with positive wickedness; and the patience of the readers of *The Gazette*, already severely taxed, need not be longer imposed upon by continuing the unpleasant exposure.

Having thus been brought to the close of our labors in this very important, if not generally interesting, discussion, we have the satisfaction of knowing that we have honestly and earnestly done our duty to both the great parties on the record as well as to justice and the truth of history.

We have shown that the original seizure of New Netherland by the English, in 1664, was a violation of the laws of England as well as of the Law of Nations, and therefore, *de jure*, invalid; and despite his ridicule and pretensions, we have driven our opponent from his hold on a valueless title, which originated in this illegal seizure, to a legal one, which originated in the Treaty of Peace, ten years later.

We have deprived the advocates of New Jersey's groundless pretensions of the sophistries with which they had cunningly concealed,

for nearly two centuries, the character and import of the Letters Patents of the twenty-ninth of June, 1674, and those of the Duke's Lease and Release to Sir George Carteret, of the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth of July of the same year; and we have showed,

FIRSTLY, That instead of absolute conveyances of property, as freehold, in fee simple, as the term is understood in these days, as Mr. Whitehead and those whose echo he is have vainly attempted to establish, the King actually conveyed New Netherland to the Duke only as a Manor was conveyed, in those times, by the Lord Paramount to his tenant,* with certain reservations, *expressed*, of yearly rentals† and with certain other reservations, *implied*, but *necessarily*, retained, under the then existing law of the land.‡

We have showed, SECONDLY, that precisely the same character belonged to the conveyances which the Duke, as the Mesne Lord of the countries formerly known as New Netherland, made, successively, to Sir George Carteret and his successors in interest;§ and that those conveyances were not, as the advocates of New Jersey's pretences have generally assumed, conveyances of a freehold, in fee simple; that

* "...TO HAVE AND TO HOLD all and singular the said "Lands and Premises, with their and every of their Appurtenances, hereby given and granted, or herein before "mentioned to be given and granted unto our said dearest "Brother JAMES Duke of York, his Heirs and Assigns for "ever; to be holden of us, our Heirs and Successors, as "of our Manor of EAST GREENWICH, in our County of "KENT, in free and common Socage, yielding and rendering," etc.—*Letters Patents to the Duke*, June 29. 1674—*Leaming and Spicer*, 49.

† "And the said JAMES Duke of York, for himself, his "Heirs and Assigns, doth Covenant and Promise to yield "and render unto us our Heirs and Successors, of and "for the same YEARLY and EVERY YEAR, FORTY BEAVER "SKINS, when they shall be demanded, or within Ninety "Days after such demand made."—*Ibid*.

‡ Blackstone's Commentaries, Book II, Chap. 5—*Edit*. Oxford, 1769, li., 61-77.

§ "TO HAVE AND TO HOLD all and singular the said Tract "of Land and Premises, with their and every of their "Appurtenances, and every Part and Parcel thereof, unto "the said Sir GEORGE CARTERET, his Heirs and Assigns "for ever; yielding and paying therefore unto the said "JAMES Duke of York, his Heirs and Assigns, for the "Tract of Land and Premises, YEARLY, the sum of "TWENTY NOBLES of lawful Money of ENGLAND, of the "same shall be lawfully demanded at or in the Inner "Temple Hall, London, at the Feast of St. MICHAEL, the "Arch Angel yearly."—*Release by the Duke to Sir George Carteret*, July 29. 1674—*Leaming and Spicer*, 48.

"The present Proprietors, who derive their respective "Titles to their several Shares and Proportions of the "soil of those Provinces by SEVERAL MEAN CONVEYANCES "from and under the before mentioned Grant to the Earl "of Perth, and other Persons, to whom the DUKE of "YORK HAD IMMEDIATELY CONVEYED THE SAME," etc.—*Report of the Board of Trade to the Lords Justices*, October 3, 1701.—*Leaming and Spicer*, 604.

"AND WHEREAS the Estate, Interest, Right, and "Title of the said JAMES Duke of York, in and to the "Provinces of East Jersey and West Jersey, Part of the "Premises by the said recited Letters granted, are by "MEAN CONVEYANCES and Assignments in the Law, come "unto and vested in or claimed amongst others by Sir

the Duke, as the Mesne Lord, and the Proprietor or Proprietors of East-Jersey, as the sub-tenant or sub-tenants, in their intercourse in this matter, were governed solely by the feudal law of tenures, as it was recognized in England, in 1674; and that the questions arising from that intercourse must be considered by us in the light of *that* system, not in that of the system which *now* prevails in the United States.

We have showed, **THIRDLY**, that in the interpretation of the several instruments of conveyance, whether that of the King to the Duke or those, respectively, of the Duke to Sir George Carteret, the younger, and the Twenty-four Proprietors, the true "intent and meaning" of the parties thereto must control; and that the meaning, to-day, of terms employed therein, wherein it conflicts with the former, must be peremptorily rejected; and we have reconciled the apparent inconsistency in the description of the premises, in the Duke's conveyances—that inconsistency which has baffled the ingenuity and learning of more than one Boundary Commission and led astray others beside Mr. Whitehead—by producing the most indisputable evidence, that, for many years, both before and after the date of Sir George's Lease of East Jersey, the Hudson-river was generally considered, both by the Dutch and the English, as flowing on *both* sides of Staten-island, and emptying into "the main Sea," at Sandy-hook.

The establishment of these very important facts, by abundant and incontrovertible testimony, has removed all doubts which may have existed previously, concerning the exact meaning of the words which were employed by the Duke to describe the eastern boundary of East Jersey; and, in the light of this testimony, no portion of that boundary now remains in obscurity. From Little-Egg Harbor, northward, to the mouth of "Hudson's river," at the *northernmost point of Sandy-hook*, "the main Sea" was made its limit; thence, "Hudson's river," whether locally known as "Godyn's Bay," or the "Kill van Col," or the North River, was named as its easternmost boundary; and the waters of the Hudson, as the *Duke and Sir George mutually understood the term*, from "forty-one Degrees of Latitude," southward to Sandy-hook, whether on the East or the West side of Staten-island, remained, un conveyed, in the undisputed and legal possession of the

Duke, as waters of his Province of New York.

This reconciliation of modern terms with those which were employed by the Duke, in his description of the eastern bounds of the premises conveyed to Sir George Carteret and accepted by the latter, also explains the reason that Staten-island was not considered a part of East Jersey, when, in 1682–83, the Assembly of that Province first divided its territory into Counties; and, in the light of this testimony, it is no longer necessary to discuss the question, as was done by the Boundary Commissioners, in 1807,* whether or not the Kill van Col may be properly considered as "the main Sea!" At the same time, the much talked-of *forbearance* of New Jersey, in not taking possession of Staten-island, as a part of *her* territory, like other borrowed finery with which, from time to time, her injudicious advocates have bedecked her, fell to the ground; and she stood before the world, as she still stands, in all her naked deformity, as such an object of general contempt, save to the few who habitually minister to her abominations, as Suffolk's "Lean-faced Envy, in her loathsome Cave."

The unpleasant duty which devolved upon us, on the appearance of Mr. Whitehead's *Rejoinder*, having thus been briefly and imperfectly discharged, we confidently leave the entire subject in the hands of the learned gentleman who opened the discussion and with the Court to whose judgment it has been officially submitted.

H. B. D.

MORRISANIA, N. Y., January 20th, 1866.

VIII.—A LETTER TO HENRY B. DAWSON,

BY GENERAL JOHN COCHRANE, ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF NEW YORK.

NEW YORK, March 12, 1866.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq. :

MY DEAR SIR: The conclusion of your rejoinder to Mr. Whitehead's criticisms on the New Jersey Boundary question, presents to me a fitting opportunity for brief comment. It, perhaps, has not been forgotten that the attention of this gentleman was first bestowed upon a paper which I had the honor of reading before the New York Historical Society, and from which the line of the subsequent controversy proceeded. It was not my fortune to be within the State during the continuing publication of his strictures, nor at their termination. But, had I have been, I do not think that my judgment would have altered the determination of chance, and still

* Thomas Lane, Paul Dominique, [and others] "the present Proprietors thereof, and they also have claimed, "by virtue of the said Letters Patents and MEAN CONVEYANCE, to exercise." etc.—*Articles of Surrender of their pretended Right of Government, by the Proprietors of New Jersey*, April 15, 1709—*Learning and Spicer*, 612, 618.

* New Jersey Commissioners to New York Commissioners, Sept. 30, 1807, and reply of the latter, Oct. 2, 1807; the former to the latter, Oct. 3, 1807, and two replies of the latter, Oct. 5, 1807. See, also, Representation of the Commissioners of New Jersey to the Legislature, appended to the Governor's Message, Feb. 28, 1828, page 60.

there, probably, would have been no reply, by me, to Mr. Whitehead's answer. All will understand the reason; but, perhaps, those only familiar with the usages of forensic discussion will appreciate the method. Whenever, to an opening argument, an impotent answer is submitted, it is not customary to vex the judicial ear with "damnable iteration." I could not perceive that, at any point, my reasoning had either been invaded by facts or disturbed by argument. Where there was nothing to reply to, therefore, silence, I thought, was obviously appropriate. The personal diatribes with which Mr. Whitehead encumbered the profuse track of his narrative, were probably intended, as the bully intends his forced grin, for his backers—a sort of signal of confidence in his own muscle, and of speedy disaster to that of his opponent. I certainly could not object to this sardonic playfulness of the gentleman, albeit a little in detracting of the dignity which should invest the grave historian of a State. I used charity, and pardoned, to the amiable weakness of the author, the vanity which mistook for argument, his unhappy efforts in the character of a *bel-esprit*. Yet, among these vagaries, I remember some which, I am thinking, should be restrained, if not denounced.

The objector, something to be sure, in Eccles' vein, solemnly demands why the Attorney-general of New York should threaten New Jersey with a judicial disturbance of the Treaty of 1834, between the two States? Had he sufficiently desisted from his fantastic gambols to peruse the paper he was answering, the objector would not have failed to read: "As I think, she" [*New York*] "unwisely, in 1834, parted with a moiety of her right of access to maritime wealth. *The irrevocable past I would not seek to reclaim*; but, surely, its lessons should engraft in the future, vigilance, wisdom, and resolution." But the error was not only essential to his consistency; it was required to inspire a loftier flight. Hear him: "surely an attempt to disturb the amicable relations existing between the two States, by suggestions of the kind put forth by Mr. Cochrane, cannot but be considered as impolitic, unjust, and unwarranted by any circumstances of the time." And, who, Mr. Whitehead, has made this attempt to disturb those amicable relations, if not the State which you assay to champion? Can the bleared optics of this gentleman really have addressed the page he was controverting? or else, what opacity of intellect or malady of understanding could have obscured or perverted these words, plainly impressed upon it: "Yet, the State of New Jersey, contending that the Main Sea flows only without Sandy Hook, asserts, by an extension thereto of the central dividing

"line, a right to the southerly one-half of the Lower-Bay of New York, inclusive of a substantive section of the ship-channel to the harbor of New York." This assertion, couched in judicial process, reposes within the Federal Courts, encouraged and supported by New Jersey, the aggressor, and resisted by New York, simply, in self-defence. Yet, lumbered with ignorance, the objector, staggering, treads onward thus his blundering way: "The length of this review precludes any discussion of the terms of the agreement of 1833-4, fixing the boundaries as they now are. Although so inconsiderately denounced by Mr. Cochrane, they will be found on examination to have been framed in a spirit of anxious solicitude to put an end forever to the disputes between the two States, the concessions being, for the most part, made by New Jersey; and it is hoped, that neither by word nor deed, may the good understanding then arrived at, be disturbed."

"Framed in a spirit of anxious solicitude to put an end forever to the disputes between the two States!" Then, why does New Jersey, now, lay claim to the ship-channel of New York?

"The concessions being for the most part made by New Jersey!" If so, why does New Jersey now, lay claim to the ship-channel of New York?

"And it is to be hoped that by neither word nor deed, may the good understanding then arrived at be disturbed!" Then why does New Jersey now lay claim to the ship-channel of New York?

Fie, Mr. Whitehead! Mendacity only could sustain, in your ultimate paragraph, the mass cognizant of the facts. But, let forbearance rule the doubt into a charitable belief that you are as ignorant as the exigencies of your reputation require you to be.

The author who aspires to the oracular rage, is presumed, at least, to have sought the inspiration of truth. But what reliance can be expected, whose premises are founded in ignorance and whose conclusions are hecatombs of massacred facts. When Mr. Whitehead next ascends the tripod, it may be hoped that he will recall a few of the rudiments of authorship. May he remember that the system of dialectics which disregards facts is apt to enshroud its disciples with confusion; while that which opposes them is stricken with the decay which infects falsehood. Above all, may he remember, whenever, hereafter, it shall be his fortune to sustain the encounter of propositions of great pith and moment, that the armor of controversy is constructed of argument, and that its weapon is truth; that neither will the one be strengthened by distempered invective,

nor the other be sharpened by personal abuse.

And now, Mr. Dawson, it occurs to me that I may revert to the proposition from which this controversy arose. As originally submitted by me, it is: "THAT THE WATERS BETWEEN STATEN ISLAND AND NEW JERSEY, THE KILL VAN COL, THE SOUND, AND RARITAN BAY, OR BY WHATEVER OTHER BAPTISMAL NAMES THEY, OR THEIR PARTS MAY HAVE BEEN, OR ARE NOW DESIGNATED, TOGETHER WITH ALL THE WATERS WHICH LAKE STATEN ISLAND SHORES, WERE, FROM THE PERIOD OF THEIR DISCOVERY, KNOWN AND ACCEPTED, AND SHOULD PROPERLY NOW BE CONSIDERED, THE WATERS OF HUDSON'S RIVER."

An easy dissection renders conspicuously plain that the predicate of "all the waters which lave Staten Island shores," is, that they "were, from the period of their discovery, known and accepted" as "the waters of Hudson's River;" and that they should, therefore, "properly, now," be so considered, it is equally plain, is the corollary, or inference claimed from that theorem. In simpler terms, the proposition may be thus stated: "Because all the waters which lave Staten Island shores were, from the period of their discovery, known and accepted as the waters of Hudson's River," therefore, "should they properly now be considered the waters of the Hudson River."

A series of historical proofs, chronologically adduced to the support of the premise, that these waters were, from their discovery, known as the waters of the Hudson River, enabled me, in the paper which I read, thus to conclude: "I may now, I trust, be permitted to think that the proposition submitted, that all the waters which surround Staten Island, are the waters of the Hudson, stands substantiated by abundant proof."

You will perceive, Mr. Dawson, that, by no other process than that of sinister inference, could the language be distorted, which so peremptorily restricts enquiry to the historical record and so specifically limits the proof to the question of historical identity. Recall now, if you please, Mr. Whitehead's dogmatic assertion, that "not a drop of the water of the Hudson, flows through the passage between Staten Island and the main;" and answer, if you know, among the canons of criticism, any that does not deride such an answer to the proposition, that, from their discovery, the waters of the Hudson were reputed to encircle Staten Island round about to the sea, or, that does not remit its author to the penalties with which it is charged. If I remember, this remarkable answer is preceded by as remarkable a specimen of drowned metaphor. "A con-

"course of watery particles" "jostle" "detachments of watery hosts;" fluvial "columns of the Passaic and the Hackensack" intermingle with "hosts of the Hudson;" and "battalions" and "flank movements," "rendezvous" and "scouting-parties," figure, alternately, in the tides of the Col, as securely as on a stricken field. Admirable as was the feat which plucked, drippingly, these marine flow-ers of rhetoric, their martial vigor is not unnaturally suggestive of something like liquid inspirations; and the metaphor, however criticised, should not, therefore, be thought *mixed*, which so appropriately reels before an answer, visibly laboring with a drop too much.

But, by what proof, is it assumed that this "physical fact" is "established beyond controversy?" Whose the authority, by which rivers run and the ocean stream infects? None being conceded, either the question stands adjourned, or Mr. Whitehead's assertion is conclusively authentic. I had heard that Mr. Whitehead is a historian. You, Mr. Dawson, have recently exposed his licentious intimacy with maps. But, indeed, I had not heard that the learned gentleman is also Hydrographer in ordinary to the State of New Jersey. Yet, he speaks as one with authority. But, let it pass, and allow me to suppose that the waters of the Hudson do not, in fact, diverge, westward, through the Kills, in their passage to the ocean—can you perceive that the proposition, that the waters of the Kills, outward to the Sea, were, from their discovery, recorded in history and written on charts, the waters of Hudson's River, is at all affected by the supposition? As well might it be claimed, that, because it is ascertained that the turbid waters of the Missouri invade and usurp the channel of the Mississippi, from the confluence of these rivers, therefore, the river whose mouths form the Delta, at the Gulf, was never understood to be the Mississippi, but was always known as the Missouri. Notwithstanding the material identity of the waters, in the seaward channel below the rivers' junction, with those of the Missouri, not only has no doubt ever been entertained that they were designated and known as the waters of the Mississippi, but, at this very day, the map would be scouted in the schools, which inscribed the river, below St. Louis, with the name Missouri.

But, I have too long, my dear Mr. Dawson, been diverted from the purpose with which I addressed you. It is needless that I should express the interest with which I have perused the results of your historical explorations, or that I should convey to you the gratification experienced by the consequent confirmation of my opinions. The proofs adduced by me were, in their number, of that character, which, in my

judgment, located, unalterably, an historical fact. Though aware, then, of others, and that further researches could not but accommodate my proposition, thus conclusively demonstrated, yet, I was pleased to commit to your superior means and opportunities, the labor of excavating the deposits of Colonial history and of drawing from their recesses its dimmed documents. The fitting commentary on your ability is the success which has crowned it. You have rescued from the obscurity of encroaching time, the authentic monuments of forgotten events: you have elicited from oblivion the perishing memorials of a vanishing age: you have exhumed the judicial decrees and disclosed the Orders in Council which affect interests and guide opinions: you have prolonged to our generation, the remembrance of the learning and the rectitude of a former day. Where fallacy obtruded, you baffled it: where mutilation marred, you exposed it: where error usurped, you conquered it.

I may be permitted to hope that these fruits will not be misapplied. They are HISTORY, and they belong to TRUTH. No idle caprice marshalled the way to this exposition of facts. Its inception was in the defence of the interests of the State of New York, at the tribunal of a Federal Court, where they had been summoned, upon high question made by the State of New Jersey. Whatever the individual asperities of controversy, precipitated by the depraved vigor of unprovoked personal assault, the attempt to engraft them upon two great States not only is to be deprecated as injurious, but may be regarded as futile.

New York and New Jersey, when yet two hundred years have passed, as near two hundred years have gone, of mutual discord and contest, will survive, then, as now, prosperous, great and free—respected by all, respecting each other. Then, when the actors in this passing scene shall have expended their brief breath and their life be summed with them that sleep, their petty passions and their joys, their little griefs and their hopes, will long have descended into the universal tomb: but, still mighty and powerful will continue New York and New Jersey—mother and daughter—enduring, and as durable as the waters which divide them.

I am, Very Truly, Yours,

JOHN COCHRANE.

IX.—A POSTSCRIPT,

By HENRY B. DAWSON.

Within the past week or two, the New Jersey Historical Society has published the second part of Volume X. of its *Proceedings*, embracing a record of its doings at its Meetings, held on the eighteenth of May, 1865, and on the

eighteenth of January, 1866—the only Meetings of that body during the past fifteen months.

In the Minutes of the last-mentioned Meeting, as published in that official work, (*page 72*.) appears the following:

"Mr. Whitehead stated that, since the last meeting of the Society, he had felt called upon, *as its Secretary*, to engage in the defence of the State, against the effect of unjust imputations and erroneous statements in relation to the water boundaries between it and New York, by replying to several published articles, circulated among prominent gentlemen of that State interested in historical subjects. The discussion had taken a wide range, and had excited some attention, from the evident desire, manifested in some quarters, to create dissatisfaction with the boundaries, as established by the inter-State treaty or agreement of 1833. He had placed a copy of the various articles in the Library, for the information and use of the members.

"Mr. W. Rutherford moved that the papers written by Mr. Whitehead on the subject, be referred to the Committee on Publications, with a view to their being published in the *Proceedings of the Society*.

"Judge Field, from the Chair, stated that he had read the articles with great interest, and considered them eminently worthy of preservation in the form proposed, embodying, as they did, a large amount of information on the topics involved. He made some interesting statements respecting the course of New York, in past years, in relation to the Boundary question, particularly in regard to the objections of that State to refer the matters of difference to the Supreme Court, a reference which, if now made, he was satisfied would result more favorably for New Jersey than had the commission of 1833.

"After some further remarks from Messrs. Hayes and Alosfen, Mr. Rutherford's motion was adopted."

This publication adds new interest to the discussion; and, to some extent, at least, it changes the character of what was supposed to have been Mr. Whitehead's papers.

Instead of William A. Whitehead, it seems that it was the New Jersey Historical Society who *Reviewed* General Cochrane's paper and *Rejoined* to my *Review*; and it now appears that it was The New Jersey Historical Society, through its official organ, instead of the gentleman who is the able executive officer of the New Jersey Railroads—so well known to the world and at Trenton—which removed ancient landmarks, mutilated ancient records, made its opponents

say what they never uttered, and refused to consider, or even to recognize, the teachings of that history of which it inconsistently pretends to be the conservator and best friend.

Mr. Whitehead will receive, therefore, my most humble apology for all that I have said of him and of what I supposed to be his words and actions, in the conduct of this discussion; and I desire the shameless Secretary and the Society which, as such Secretary, he represented, in opposition to Messrs. Cochrane and Brodhead and myself, to bear the burden of the shame which, it seems, belongs exclusively to them.

With this information before me, it no longer appears strange that The New Jersey Historical Society, in its corporate capacity, should enter this well-fought field; nor is the re-production of what was supposed to be Mr. Whitehead's papers, among the *Proceedings* of that Society, as strange as it seemed to be, before this tract fell into my hands. The Secretary reported his official action to the Society, as every agent should report to his principal, and the Society recognized the propriety of its Secretary's conduct, as measured by the Jersey standard—not without some debate, however, if the *Proceedings* speak truly—by ordering ("requesting" is the New Jersey term) the republication, *in extenso*, of what purported to be the Secretary's papers, as printed in *The Gazette*.

On the surface, all this seems to be fair to all concerned, and strictly honorable. It is proper, however, that the world should know—what a large portion of it does not yet know—that the Corresponding Secretary and The New Jersey Historical Society are almost synonymous terms; and that when "William A. Whitehead, Corresponding Secretary," shall cease to exist, the recording angel will speedily enter the adjournment, *sine die*, of "The New Jersey Historical Society." Indeed every intelligent Jerseyman knows that, in its literary relations, the Corresponding Secretary carries the Society in his breeches pocket, as a plaything with which to amuse the fancies and to pander to the selfishness of that fag-end of feudalism, known as "The Proprietors of East-Jersey;" and the greater number of the solid men of the State, by steadily refusing to contribute to its means for doing mischief, even the annual pittance of two dollars, which the Society so imploringly solicits, proclaim aloud how little confidence they repose either in it or its Secretary, and how little respect is due, either to the one or the other, from any one who has any respect for himself.*

There is no doubt that the discomfited Secretary appreciates what purports to be the recorded approval of the Society; but no soothsayer is required to foretell, that a professed historian who habitually disregards the evidence of the records of by-gone ages, when it fails to sustain his corrupt designs, and who boldly mutilates those records in order to fit them to his own inventions, can find very little benefit in the support of a Society, the record of whose official action is blurred with the evidence of an offence not less heinous than that from the effect of which that Secretary is now suffering.

As I have said, however, THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY has "requested" what purports to be a re-publication of its Secretary's official articles on "*The New Jersey Boundary*," which originally appeared in *The [Yonkers] Gazette*; and the Secretary appears to have complied with that "request," so called, in the printed *Proceedings* to which reference has been made.

No one who is acquainted with either the Society or its Secretary, however, will suppose, for a moment, that, on the subject under discussion, either the one or the other can honestly be honest; and there will be no wonder, therefore, in any direction, when it is known that both continue to travel in the well-worn rut of Jersey duplicity and dishonesty.

How nearly the official reprint, in the pamphlet now before me, is a re-production of the two papers which the Secretary, as such, wrote for *The Gazette*, and how much he has honored the truth of history or preserved the integrity of his authorities, in this renewed official effort, will be seen from the following:

I. The volume is illustrated with a *Map of the waters surrounding Staten Island, FROM THE U. S. COAST SURVEY SKETCH MAP OF 1861, on which prominently appear two dotted lines, one extending from the ocean, through the Narrows, to Bedloe's Island, marked, "Line of Hudson's River and the Main Sea;" the other extending from a point on the last mentioned line, which is midway between Sandy Hook and Coney Island, through the middle of the Lower Bay, the Sound, and the Kill van Col, to the same line, at a point opposite to Yellow Hook, in New York Harbor, and marked "Line conceded by New Jersey in 1833."*

My knowledge of the proclivities of the New Jersey Historical Society and its Secretary, in their dealings with Maps of the "waters surrounding Staten Island" and its vicinity, led me to look with suspicion on this, purporting to have proceeded from Federal sources; and I fancied that the same fingers which, in 1848, had mutilated the Map of Van der

* The statements contained in this paragraph have been made on information voluntarily communicated to me by a townsman of Mr. Whitehead, and one of the most distinguished members of The New Jersey Historical Society.

Donck, for the promotion of New Jersey's cupidity,* had also left evidence of a similar manipulation of the Map before me, probably for exactly similar purposes. I knew no reason for considering that the Society was entitled to my confidence, in any statement which it might make, on any subject, while its shameful falsification of the records, on the subject under examination, twenty years ago, remained unatoned for, and while the same empirical "historian" which then held the controlling power in its councils still uses its name and supposed influence as props to his own groundless pretensions to authorial respectability.

I was led, therefore, to turn to the original of *The U. S. Coast Survey Sketch Map of 1861*, "from" which the New Jersey Historical Society would have the readers of its *Proceedings* suppose that this *Map of the waters surrounding Staten Island*, with its "Line of Hudson's River and the Main Sea," and its "Line conceded by New Jersey, in 1838," had been faithfully extracted; and I would that all who shall read this could follow me in the comparison of the two.

Like its re-publication, in 1846, of what purported to be a section of the van der Donck Map, this re-publication, under its authority, of what purports to be a section of *The U. S. Coast Survey Sketch Map of 1861*, is AN IMPUDENT FORGERY; and the Society at whose "request" it was prepared and by whom it was published, in issuing it, has added nothing whatever to its reputation for integrity. *Neither in The U. S. Coast Survey Sketch Map of 1861, nor in any other map or publication, have the United States, or any other body or individual—unless New Jersey or some one in her behalf—ever issued such a Map as this; and the inscription on the latter, "From the U. S. Coast Survey Sketch Map of 1861," was evidently placed there by the Secretary of the New Jersey Historical Society, as such, for the purpose of DECEIVING the readers of the Proceedings with a pretence that the Coast Survey had officially recognized his pretended "Line of Hudson's River and the Main Sea" and "Line conceded by New Jersey, in 1838."* This would have been equivalent to a recognition, by the Federal authorities, of all the impudent pretensions of that State and of all the falsehoods by which the Secretary and the Society have attempted to bolster up those pretensions; but, unfortunately for the character of the Society and that of its Secretary, the *Coast Survey* has

never run such lines, nor has it ever traced them on any of its Maps.

II. But it is not alone in the Map which illustrates it, that this Part of the Society's *Proceedings* is made to misrepresent the great historic truths which are involved in this controversy.

1. On page 52 of this work, the Secretary stated, deliberately, that the opinions which were entertained in England respecting the locality in question, in the days of Charles and James, were derived from the celebrated *Carte Figurative* and similar maps, all of which he truly represented as unmistakably showing that the River Mauritius (now Hudson) as it washed the margin of Manhattan Island, and enlarging thence its course to the ocean, swelled into an expansive bay, which enclosed Staten Island and passed, at Sandy Hook, into the main sea.

The Secretary subsequently learned that this admission of the truth concerning "The opinions entertained in England respecting the locality" in question, was an admission of an element which would destroy his inventions concerning New Jersey's boundaries; that the "intent and meaning" of the Duke and Sir George Carteret, the former in making the Grant and the latter in accepting it, can be best ascertained by a reference to "the opinions entertained in England respecting the locality;" and he, at once, expunged it from the copies which he reported to the Society and published in its *Proceedings*. It was evidently no part of his official business, nor did it seem to be any part of the Society's purpose, to regard the truth with any favor, when it conflicted with the pretensions of "The Proprietors of East Jersey;" and, even in the apartments of a "Historical Society," so called, a, so called "historian" gravely smothered a historical truth, because it clashed with the lawless pretensions of an ancient relic of American feudalism.

2. In a Note, appended to page 121 of the Society's re-print, the Secretary has attempted to parry the blow which, on pages 94-97, 236-239, of this work, I inflicted on his argument, by referring to his emphatic endorsement of the Ogilby Map and to his carefully-considered description of its evident effect on the minds of the King, the Duke, and Sir George Carteret, when the original Grants of New Jersey were made and accepted, in 1674; and his defence is, that its value consisted only in the fact that it corroborated the views of the Jersey Commissioners of 1769, concerning the position of the North-western point of the Colony of New Jersey: as if the influence of the authoritative Map and Statement of the Cosmographer to

* Reference is made here to the omission from the copy of a section of the van der Donck Map, published by the New Jersey Historical Society, in the first volume of its *Collections*, of that eminent Dutch Historian's testimony that the mouth of the Hudson is at Sandy Hook.

the King, in forming opinions concerning the *North-western* point of the disputed Boundary, was more perceptible and more important than it was in forming those concerning the *Eastern* portion of the same Boundary, in effecting which this Map not only concurred with Vischer's and van der Donck's, but with the statement of every writer of that period, who referred to the subject, in detail.

Again: the Secretary has alluded only to Mr. Ogilby's Map:—it is evident, from his entire silence on the subject, that he DARED NOT meet that gentleman's *Narrative*, in the text of the authoritative work, with which, as the King's Cosmographer, he sapped the foundations of the sophistries employed by the corrupt advocates of the pretensions to Staten Island, of the Colony and State of New Jersey; and indicated, in unmistakable terms, what was the exact meaning of the words of the Charter of 1674.

"The truth of history" demanded, from the Society and its Secretary, a candid and faithful examination of this important branch of the subject; but, as the pretensions of "The Proprietors of East Jersey" might suffer from such an examination, and as the supposed interests of the "Proprietors" were evidently more important to the Society and its Secretary than was the truth of history, the claims of the latter were speedily and silently dismissed, and the pretensions of the former were paraded, anew, with all the insolence which has so much distinguished the Secretary and the Society which he represents.

3. On the same page of the Society's reprint of its Secretary's papers (page 121), a Note is devoted to a defence of the Society, against my charge of an improper mutilation of the van der Donck Map of 1656, in the First volume of its published *Collections*, in order that the mouth of the Hudson, as delineated thereon, at Sandy Hook, might be concealed, and the pretensions of New Jersey promoted; and what, kind reader, do you suppose, was the ground of the defence? Simply, the settlement of a portion of the boundary, IN ANOTHER PART OF THE LINE, by the inter-State Treaty of 1833.

In view of the issue, in 1846, by The New Jersey Historical Society, of a MUTILATED Map of this particular locality, professing to be van der Donck's, and, in 1866, of a FORGED Map of the same locality, professing to be the United States Coast Survey's, the reader will probably judge correctly, when he supposes that the locality must be an important one; that New Jersey desires to exercise some control over it which it cannot now legally do; and that, like other desperadoes in other desperate cases, she is not very particular in her selection of the means by which she

seeks to secure her ill-concealed purposes. He will probably be very nearly correct, also, when he assigns, as a reason for the Secretary's important defence of that despicable fraud, the fact that, Jersey-man as he is, that officious official could find no better excuse.

The inter-State Treaty of 1833, as a justification of the New Jersey Historical Society's MUTILATION of van der Donck's Map of 1656! What forger would not be a Jerseyman, or seek a Jersey apologist?

4. On page 126, the Secretary seeks, also, in another Note, to parry the blow inflicted by himself, unwittingly, on his own mutilated version of the Act of the Assembly of East Jersey, of March, 1682-3, for the division of that Province into Counties, by the publication of a Map, also by himself, on which he properly placed Constable's Hook at the entrance of Newark bay.

I do not think it necessary to disturb the Secretary's meditations on this subject, as he is merely settling with himself and his Principals which horn of the dilemma he and they shall take; and either will be found sufficiently uncomfortable.

The letter of the original Act of March, 1682-83, when compared with Mr. Whitehead's and the Society's version of it, will indicate the extent and character of their mutilation of that ancient record; and the words of the original Statute, defining the boundaries of Bergen county, compared with Mr. Whitehead's Map, as of 1682, will indicate what was then considered "Hudson's river," even by the Assembly of New Jersey.

The Secretary's attempt to bolster up his and the Society's mutilation of the Act is exposed by the terms of the Act itself—*Leaming and Spicer*, 229—; his attempt to impeach the integrity of his own Map is met and exposed by George Scot's *Model of The Government Of the Provinces Of East-New Jersey in America*, Edit. Edinburgh, 1685, page 182, and by Smith's *History of Nova-Casaria, or New Jersey*, Ed. Burlington, N. J., 1765, page 160; both of which are recognized authorities on the subject, everywhere: the Secretary and the Society may choose, for themselves, therefore, the particular point on which they shall impale themselves. They must either admit the truth, as displayed by the Act and their own Map, at the expense of their narrative,—*Whitehead's East-Jersey under the Proprietary Governments*, 97,—or they must deny the well-established facts, as the Secretary has attempted to do, at the expense of both their Map and their characters for veracity. The selection belongs only to them.

5. On page 129, the Secretary makes a great display of the fact that an ignorant map-colorist, in Germany, a hundred years ago, "colored

"Staten Island with the same tint he gives New Jersey;" and he gravely parades that, as an evidence to sustain his ideas of both the German's "sense" and of his own and New Jersey's nonsense.

Why did not the Secretary also tell the additional fact, which is equally true, that this "sensible" German map-colorer also colored *Manhattan* Island "with the same tint he gives New Jersey;" and reason therefrom, as he reasoned concerning *Staten* Island, that *Manhattan*, also, was consequently a part of the State of New Jersey? Was he afraid that New York might reverse his movement, and put in a claim to the whole of his "native State," as a dependency on *Manhattan*, on the ground of a sameness of color; or did he merely desire to employ the "sense" of this German print-colorer to conceal the real shallowness of his State's pretenses to *Staten* Island and the shift to which he was put for evidence to sustain those pretenses, even before his own associates?

6. On pages 132, 133, of the Society's volume, the Secretary, also, in a Note, has reiterated his former misrepresentation of Sir William Jones's decision; and he has pompously paraded Noah Webster, James Grahame, George Bancroft, and Isaac S. Mulford, on *false* issues, to shield himself from my charge concerning the *true* one.

I was, however, perfectly sensible of the meaning of the word, "jurisdiction," without Mr. Webster's help; and I am just as capable of understanding the meaning of Sir William Jones's words, as are Messrs. Grahame, Bancroft, and Mulford.

I said that Sir William Jones had been falsified by the Secretary of the New Jersey Historical Society; and the Secretary, instead of joining issue with me and attempting to disprove the charge, has gravely raised a new issue, and lets the old one go by default.

I renew the charge, therefore, that the New Jersey Historical Society, through its Secretary, misrepresents Sir William Jones, by making him say, in his "Decision," what he did not say, if we may believe the original, as published by Mr. Brodhead; and I invite that distinguished body to disprove the charge, if it can do so.

7. On page 145 of the Society's volume, the Secretary, also in a Note, staggers against my exposition of the shallowness of his pretensions concerning the right to Port-privileges of the city of Perth-Amboy; and he blindly assumes that those rights, had they ever existed, were simply general "governmental rights," granted to the Proprietors and surrendered by them, in 1702.

The Secretary knows, as well as I, the entire groundlessness of this argument. If Perth-Amboy ever possessed the rights, under the Crown,

of a Port of Entry, neither the Proprietors of East Jersey nor the King, nor both combined, could have deprived her of that franchise; and he *knows*, also—and he would say so if he wore any other livery than that of "The Proprietors of East Jersey"—that the reason that the Proprietors continued to pray for the privileges of a Port, was the fact that ~~THE KING HAD STEADILY REFUSED TO GRANT ANY SUCH PRIVILEGES, BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER THE PROPRIETORS SURRENDERED THEIR "PRETENDED" RIGHTS OF GOVERNMENT IN THE PROVINCE.~~

If the Secretary and the Society do not know the extent of "a governmental right" to control, or abridge, or annul, a FRANCHISE, duly granted, it would be well for their reputation if they would talk and write less on the subject.

8. The terms in which New Jersey has been referred to, both by General Cochrane and myself, appear to offend the Secretary and the Society; and they devote a long Note, on page 147, to a remonstrance on the subject.

It would have been well, one would have supposed, had they showed that New Jersey deserved more consideration, before presenting a remonstrance on the subject; and an attempt should also have been made, at least, it seems to me, to remove from the records the accumulated evidence of her forced contributions from railway passengers, of the shelter afforded by her laws to those who were unwilling to pay their just debts in New York, of her legal discrimination, even at her country toll-gates, between the residents of New Jersey and those of New York, etc., to say nothing of her persistent endeavors, by hook or by crook, to filch from New York, a portion of both her territory and her property.

If the Society and its Secretary are really as anxious to preserve the name of New Jersey from merited disgrace as they seem to be, let them cease to mislead her, and show a desire, however small, to check her reckless career. *Let them first become honest themselves*; and then, holding up the example of their own reformation and new-found title to respectability, let them encourage their fellow-Jerseymen, both financial refugees from New York and others, to follow in their repentant footsteps.

In the meanwhile, both the Secretary, who has so far forgotten his duty, and the Society, which has so far departed from the purposes of its foundation, as to sacrifice the truth of history on the altar of a time-worn and corrupt corporation, will continue to receive the justice to which they are so eminently entitled; and their mutilated Records and forged and mutilated Maps, their concealment of antagonistic truths and their invention of corroborative falsehoods, will continue to be treated with that contempt from which

not even the corporate name of a "Historical Society" can wholly shield them.

HENRY B. DAWSON.

II.—SELECTIONS FROM THE PAPERS OF
REV. WILLIAM BENTLEY, D. D., OF
SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS.

FROM THE ORIGINALS, IN THE COLLECTION OF
MISS MARY CROWNSHIELD, OF CHARLES-
TOWN, MASSACHUSETTS.*

1.—*Letters from Hon. J. B. Varnum.*

I.

WASHINGTON Dec. 16, 1809.

DEAR SIR,

I have this Evening received your letter of the 11th inst. I am happy to learn from you Sir, that the Outrages against our Government in the Case of Mr. Jackson are at least Beginning to Abate in Massachusetts. For the honor of our common Country and for the love of Justice, it is my most Ardent Prayer to Heaven, that a final and Eternal end may be put to the falsifications, Insinuations and Declamations of the Enemies of Our Independence, Liberty and happiness, against the most Admirable System of Government, under which, by the Special dispensation of *Divine Providence* we are permitted to live.

Nothing has been decided on by the House, in regard to the great National Questions which at this time seem to present themselves to us, in the most prominent manner.

I hope to receive your communications as frequently as may be convenient to you to make them, and I shall not fail to make such returns as are in my power.

I am very respectfully, Dear Sir,

Your Obt. Servt,

J. B. VARNUM.

REVD WM BENTLEY.

II.

WASHINGTON, March 5, 1810.

DEAR SIR,

No foreign news has reached us, nor domestic occurrence happened here recently, of much importance. Arrivals from Europe are daily expected, which will probably be charged with interesting matter. Until then very feeble measures on our part towards the Belligerents will be served up for us to feed upon at least three times in a day. No exertions will be untied by the Federal Party to carry their Election

on the first Monday of April next. If the Republicans could adopt measures for getting every voter to the Polls their success could be certain.

I am Sir, with great respect,

Your obt Servt,

J. B. VARNUM.

REVD WM BENTLEY,
SALEM.

III.

WASHINGTON, March 21, 1810.

DEAR SIR,

I have this day received your letter of the 15th inst. It gives me much pleasure to learn your success in Salem, and I most sincerely hope that the first Monday in April will prove as propitious, not only to Salem alone, but to the whole Commonwealth, as the day you have experienced in the choice of Town Officers. I know very well that many people throughout the Nation, have thought the Measures taken by Congress this Session, have not been so strong as they ought to have been; but Sir it may turn out for the best Interest of the Nation, that nothing more has been done as yet. The first Official accounts from England and France will enable us to decide what course is best to be pursued. Your letter and package of the 9th of Feb. was received and communicated to the President, according to your order, of which I informed you by letter.

I am Dear Sir, With great respect,

Your obt. Servant,

J. B. VARNUM.

REVD WM BENTLEY,
SALEM.

IV.

WASHINGTON, March 29, 1810.

DEAR SIR,

I have this day received your letter of the 24th (?) inst. It is a matter which affords much joy to the Republicans here from all parts of the Union, that the election in New Hampshire has terminated in favor of Correct principles. It is hoped that the citizens of Massachusetts will, on Monday next *go and do likewise*.

Genl. Stark has always deserved well of his country, and his late specimens of Patriotism, can never be forgotten by a grateful Country.

The letter enclosed will be delivered to Mr. Madison tomorrow.

We are anxiously waiting for news from Europe. Nothing certain has been received from there for some time.

Your affectionate friend and

Obt. Servant,

J. B. VARNUM.

REVD WM BENTLEY,
SALEM.

* We are indebted to our esteemed friend, Captain George Henry Preble, U. S. N., for the copies of these papers from which we print.—Editor.

V.

WASHINGTON, April 11, 1810.

DEAR SIR :

Your favor of the 4th inst was received yesterday. The accounts from all parts of Mass. are such as leave no doubt of the election of Messrs. Gerry and Gray, and I think we have a chance for a majority in the Senate, if justice be done. It is hoped that no exertions will be wanting on the part of the Republicans to crown their success in May. Nothing official from Europe. Congress has agreed to adjourn on the 23^d.

Your obt. servt.

J. B. VARNUM.

Revd WM BENTLEY

Salem

VI.

WASHINGTON, January 4, 1811.

DEAR SIR,

I have received your friendly communication of the 27th ult., for which I thank you. We have nothing of importance here which I am at liberty to communicate.

Congress was yesterday occupied on a message from the President of the United States, with closed doors.

Any thing which shall occur of importance I will communicate as opportunity may permit.

I am dear Sir your very respectful

humble servant

J. B. VARNUM.

Revd

WM. BENTLEY

VII.

WASHINGTON Feb 16, 1811.

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 11th inst. came to hand this evening, for which you will please accept my thanks.

We are progressing in the common business of the Nation with celerity. The Bank Question remains under the discussion of the Senate.

We have nothing new either from Europe or Florida.

I hope your idea of the Republican success in Massachusetts in future will prove correct.

Your obt. Servant

J. B. VARNUM.

Revd. WM. BENTLEY.

2.—*Letters from Hon. Nathaniel Silsbee.*

I.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 30. 1816.

DEAR SIR,

I have received your communication relative to Mr. Joshua Ward, and I assure

you it would afford me much pleasure to be instrumental in procuring for him that aid from the Government which his services to his country seem to entitle him to, but unless he can produce satisfactory proof (such as the testimony of two respectable witnesses) that he served either in the land or naval service for the full term of nine months at *one period* of the war, he cannot obtain the benefit of the late law, nor of any other law in existence.

His only chance of relief is by a petition to Congress, and even there he will not meet with success unless he can substantiate the facts which he may state in his petition.

This may justly be considered one among a number of other *hard cases* which have been presented by me to the War Department since I have been here; but there is a fixed determination in the executive branch of the Government to reject all cases of claim which are not accompanied with *full proof* of a continued service of at least nine months, at *one period*, in the cause of the war.

The President has made particular inquiries as to your health, and has desired me if I should have occasion to write you, to repeat that he should be glad to see you at the seat of Government, and would accommodate you with a room during your stay.

I beg you to accept the assurances of my friendship and esteem.

NATHL. SILSBBEE

Revd.

WM BENTLEY

Salem.

II.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 14. 1817.

DEAR SIR,

I had the satisfaction to receive your very friendly letter of the 6th inst., a few days past, for which and the particular narration which it affords of events immediately prior and subsequent to the melancholy death of Mr. G. Crowninshield, I beg of you to accept my most sincere thanks, as well as for your assiduous attentions and particular devotions and remembrances of every branch of the family (which have been communicated to me by my friends) on that occasion; all which will I trust be duly remembered.

The first intelligence which I received of this afflicting event was by a letter from my brother William, which reached me just as I had left the Representatives' Chamber, at the adjournment on the first day of the session.

You may conjecture, but my powers are inadequate to describe what were my feelings on receiving this, most unexpected and sad piece of news, with which I proceeded to my lodg-

ings (about 2½ miles from the capital) and on my way met a message from Mr. B. W. C. who had also received the sad tidings and sent a message to call me home, where I soon arrived to unite in such a scene as I will leave your own imagination to portray to you. Mrs. Silsbee in particular was quite overcome. As tho' to increase the unexpectedness of this event, we had by the very preceding mail, received a letter from George himself, informing us of the loss of Richards factory.

Mr. G. C. by his residence in my family had very much increased my friendship for, and attachment to him. I therefore feel this bereavement much more sensibly than I probably should have done, had it happened at an earlier period; this with the other sudden deaths, which happened about the same time, within our town, could not I think, but have produced a general sympathy.

It is known to any of us here whether Mr. C. has left a will or not, but as none seems to have been discovered at the date of our last letters from Salem I am now inclined to the opinion that he may not have executed any. This sudden death of our friend, cannot fail to remind us of the great uncertainty of all earthly joys, and I think it ought to inspire in us a disposition and even a determination to overlook the imperfections of our friends (as none of us are perfect) that we may the better enjoy them here on earth, and it is my sincere wish that the late event may have a tendency to such a result. I hope to meet you in the Spring. "home is home, tho' ever so homely," and I had rather sit under my own "vine and fig tree" in Salem, than in the most stately edifice in Washington. I should have acknowledged your letter earlier, but have been prevented by a very sore hand, which has rendered me *useful for service* for several days, and even now I can scarcely write, as you will readily perceive.

With my best wishes for your health and happiness, I am truly and sincerely your friend.

NATH. SILSBEE.

Mrs. Silsbee offers her respectful recollections and thanks for any attentions which may have been conferred on this occasion.

Rev'd.

WM BENTLEY.

III.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 20. 1817.

DEAR SIR,

I had the pleasure to receive your esteemed favor of the 23^d, two days since.

Presuming that the pro-forma Will and bonds found amongst Mr. G. C.'s papers are the only ones which exist, we have authorized an admin-

istration to be made on his estate, which I hope and trust will lead to an amicable settlement thereof and to draw more closely the "social ties" between those "who are bound by natural ones."

I am pleased to hear that you have lately visited my good mother and my brothers, the former of whom, I am very sorry to learn, was, at the date of my last letters, considerably indisposed.

Mr. D. M. Randolph, a very respectable gentleman of Virginia, called on me the other day to make some inquiry relative to a family of the *Clarke's*, formerly of Salem, but not being able to afford him any information myself, I told him that if he would commit his inquiries to writing I would forward them to you, who would afford him more correct information than any one else. I take the liberty herewith to send his memorandum, and if you can without inconvenience to yourself, give to Mr. Randolph, through me, any such information as he wishes, he will, I doubt not, be grateful therefor.

I sent you by a Mr. Pope of Salem, a few days since, *Receipts and Expenditures of U. States for 1815*, being the last published.

If the Bill for the relief of the soldiers & sailors of the Revolutionary war, passes the Senate, it will afford relief to some of our own townsmen; the Bill however, needs some amendment which I hope it will receive in the Senate; it ought not to be confined to those who are "incapable of gaining a maintenance," it should be more liberal.

Mrs. Silsbee and the children tender their regards; with my own good wishes for your health and happiness, and fervent prayers that we may yet long enjoy the blessings of your pastoral care.

I am truly your friend

NATH. SILSBEE.

Rev'd.

WM. BENTLEY
Salem.

IV.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 22, 1818.

MY DEAR SIR:

Yours of the 9th inst. came safely to hand, with another enclosed for the use of Mr. Randolph which cannot fail to show to him that you have taken great pains to obtain the information he desired. I have forwarded the letter to Mr. R. who is now in Virginia.

I am again induced to seek, through you, some information for the benefit of another friend; Mr. Lowndes of So. Carolina, member of the House and Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, has a brother-in-law who is the son of Genl. Thomas Pinkney of S. C. who he wishes to place under the care and in the

family of some clergyman in New England, for the purpose of finishing his education. Mr. Lowndes says the young man is about 17 years of age; his father had placed him at the Academy at West Point, where he was when the late difficulty happened at that place, but Mr. L. says that on an examination into that affair no particular censure or blame was found to attach to this young man, who returned and now is at West Point; but his father having become dissatisfied with that situation for his son, now wishes to place him in the family and under the tuition of a respectable clergyman, if one can be found who would be willing to take such a trust and is able to teach him *mathematics* and *general literature* and who would also confine himself to the tuition of this lad as not to take any other.

Mr. Lowndes says the disposition of the young man is very good, but as his studies must be rather backward of some others of his age, his father prefers that he should study alone, and is willing to make almost any compensation to have his son placed as he now wishes. I am sorry to impose on your goodness, but if you know of any one in our neighborhood, or in our part of the country who would be willing to take upon himself the trust required and who would probably execute it to the acceptance of the friends of the young man, will you have the goodness to inform me, and I will communicate the same to Mr. Lowndes, with whose character, if not with his amiable manners and disposition, you are already acquainted.

With the most sincere regard

I am Dear Sir, your obt. servt.

NATH. SILBEE

Rev'd.

WM. BENTLEY.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

III.—A NAVAL HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 267.

By HON. J. RUSSELL BARTLETT.

XXV.

FIRST ARMED RESISTANCE TO BRITISH AUTHORITY IN THE COLONIES, IN 1764. HIS MAJESTY'S ARMED VESSEL, THE "ST. JOHN" FIRED UPON AT NEWPORT. RIOT THERE. STATEMENTS OF LIEUTENANT HILL AND CAPTAIN SMITH. PROCEEDINGS OF THE KING IN COUNCIL, ON THE SUBJECT.

In all the Wars with France, Spain, and Holland, in which Great Britain had been engaged during the last century, previous to the War of the Revolution, it has been shown that she con-

sidered the maritime Colony of Rhode Island a nursery for seamen, whence she manned her ships-of-war, when they reached the shores of her North American Colonies. Indeed, it was not alone when she was engaged in War that these calls were made upon us; for, in peace, her her fleets were constantly on the lookout for seamen, wherever they could be found.

Rhode Island had ever manifested the strongest loyalty for the mother country: she furnished troops and seamen, money and provisions, whenever they were required for the public service. Now, however, the Colonists considered their rights and liberties had been infringed upon by increased duties upon articles necessary for her existence, and without which her commerce would be utterly destroyed. The proposed stamp-duties and the increased powers to the Courts of Vice Admiralty were grievances equally serious; and tended to alienate the hitherto loyal Colonists.

When Rear-admiral Lord Colvill, in the year 1764, sent four of his armed vessels from Halifax "to spread themselves," as he writes to England, "in the principal harbors between Casco Bay and Cape Henlopen, in order to raise men," he did not meet with as favorable a reception, in Rhode Island, as on previous occasions. The vessel which came here was the schooner *St. John*, Lieutenant Hill. This officer, it appears from the Admiral's dispatch, met with very little success, for, writes he, "the merchants having, to all appearance, entered into a combination to distress us, as far as they are able, and by threats and promises, to prevent seamen from entering."

But it was not alone in dissuading seamen from entering the King's service that Admiral Colvill had received a rebuff from the people of Rhode Island. His officer, Lieutenant Hill, having employed his vessel in other duties, at Newport, met with a resistance which he did not expect. "The behavior of the people at Rhode Island to Lieutenant Hill," writes the Admiral in his dispatch, "in an affair of his duty as a Custom-house-officer, was so extremely insolent and unprecedented, that I think it my duty to lay before their Lordships an account thereof, under his own hand; and, at the same time to observe that, from his conversation, I have reason to think there are many aggravating circumstances omitted in this account, which would appear upon strict inquiry into the affair."

As this affair was, very naturally a most serious one, in the eyes of Admiral Colvill, being no less than an armed resistance to His Majesty's Government, he transmitted to England the full reports of his officers in relation to it. They are as follows:

Statement of Lieutenant Hill of His Majesty's armed schooner, St. John.

"On the 30th of June, being at Newport, in Rhode Island, I received information that a brig was unloading in a creek, near Howland's Ferry. I immediately weighed anchor, and went in quest of her. Upon my arrival there, I found the vessel had unloaded her cargo and sailed.

"I forthwith made seizure of the cargo, which consisted of ninety-three hogsheads of sugar; and, at night, sent the boat, manned and armed, in pursuit of the brig, which was taken the next morning, at day-break, and proved to be the *Basto*, of New York, —, Wingate, Master, from Monto Christo.

"I reloaded the sugar, on board her; and the owner being apprehensive that I intended to carry her to Halifax, had me arrested, and obliged me to find bail that she should be brought to Newport and tried there; on the 4th July, the Collector of the Customs resealed the brig and cargo, under a pretence that I was not properly qualified; although I imagined that I had taken all the necessary oaths, at Halifax; yet it seems the oath of office had been omitted. I immediately set out, by land, for Boston, to consult the Surveyor-general, on this matter; and, in my absence, the mob, at Newport, endeavored to destroy the King's vessel. The following is the account which I received of this affair, from my officers, upon my return:

"On Monday, the 9th July, 1764, at two o'clock in the afternoon, sent the boat, manned and armed, on shore, to bring off Thomas Moss, a deserter, who had left the vessel, some days before, and was then on the wharf; a large mob assembled and rescued him; and seeing our people in great danger, we fired a swivel, unshot, as signal for the boat to come on board. The mob took Mr. Doyle, the officer of the boat, prisoner, and wounded most of the boat's crew, with stones, which fell as thick as hail round and in the boat; and they threatened to sacrifice Mr. Doyle, if the Pilot was not immediately sent on shore, and delivered up to their mercy; they even threatened to haul the schooner on shore, and burn her.

"At five, we sent the boat on board the *Squirrel*, to acquaint the commanding officer of our situation. In the meantime, the mob filled a sloop full of men, and bore right down to board us; but seeing us determined to defend the vessel, they thought proper to sheer off and go on shore again.

"At six, the boat returned from the *Squirrel*, with orders to get under way, and anchor close under her stern. The mob growing

"more and more tumultuous, we fired a swivel, and made a signal to the *Squirrel*, for assistance, and got under sail. As soon as the mob saw our design, they sent a sloop and two or three boats full of men, to the battery, on Goat Island, and began to fire on us, notwithstanding the Lieutenant of the *Squirrel* went on shore and forbade the Gunner to do any such thing. They even knocked him down; and it was with difficulty that he got from them; they fired eight shots at us, one of which went through our mainsail, whilst we were turning out.

"At eight, we anchored in ten fathom water, within half a cable's length of the *Squirrel*, and received one shot more from the battery, which went close under the *Squirrel*'s stern. They threatened to sink us, if we did not immediately weigh and run into the harbor again; but upon the *Squirrel*'s getting a spring upon the cable and bringing her broadside to bear upon the battery, they left off. At eleven, next morning, they set Mr. Doyle at liberty."

"THOMAS HILL."

XXVI.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE KING IN COUNCIL, ON THE ARMED RESISTANCE OF RHODE ISLAND, IN THE AFFAIRS OF HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS "ST. JOHN" AND "SQUIRREL." ADMIRAL COLVILL'S LETTER. CAPTURES OF RHODE ISLAND VESSELS, BY SPANISH PRIVATEERS. COMPLAINT OF FRANCE AGAINST RHODE ISLAND PRIVATEERS. CASE OF THE "CLAUDE MARIE."

Upon the receipt, by the Government, in England, of Admiral Colvill's letter transmitting the reports of Lieutenant Hill and Captain Smith, the officers commanding His Majesty's ships, the *St. John* and *Squirrel*, who had been so harshly treated by the people of Newport, the matter was laid before the King in Council. The proceedings thereon were soon after communicated by Secretary Sharpe to the Colony, and were as follows:

"At the Court at St. James's, the 19th day of March, 1765. Present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

"Whereas, there was this day read at the Board, a Report from the Right Honorable the Lords of the Committee of Council for Plantation Affairs, dated the 15th of this instant, upon considering several papers relative to the riotous behavior of the inhabitants of Rhode Island, in opposition to Lieutenant Hill, commanding officer of the schooner *St. John*, and acting as a Custom house officer, to prevent smuggling and carrying on an illicit trade in those parts;

"His Majesty taking the said Report into consideration, is pleased, with the advice of his Privy Council, to approve of what was therein proposed, and doth hereby order, that copies of the said papers (which are hereunto annexed,) be transmitted to the Governor and Company of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations; who are to return to His Majesty, at this Board, with all possible dispatch, and exact and punctual account of the whole proceeding, authenticated in the best manner, the nature of the case will admit of, together with the names and descriptions of the offenders, and what means were used at the time of the tumult, by the Government and Magistracy of that Colony, for the suppression thereof, and the protection of His Majesty's vessels and their crews; particularly, whether anything, and what, was done, by the Government of the said Colony, when the populace possessed themselves of the battery, upon Goat Island; and what measures have been since taken, to discover and bring to justice the offenders.

"W. SHARPE."

"*Extract of a letter from the Right Honorable Lord Colvill, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's ships and vessels in North America, to Mr. Stevens, dated on board His Majesty's ship, the Romney, 24th August, 1764.*

"In my letter of the 26th July, I enclosed you the account which I received from Lieutenant Hill, Commander in chief of the *St. John*, schooner, of the treatment he met with from the people of Newport, Rhode Island; since which, I have had a letter from Captain Smith, of the *Squirrel*, relative to the same affair, an extract of which, I now enclose, together with his Lieutenant's account of the transaction."

"*Copy of an extract of a letter from Captain Smith, to Lord Colvill, dated 'Squirrel, Rhode Island, 12th July, 1764.'*

"On Monday last, I was ashore, and on my return, received the enclosed account, from my Lieutenant, of a most insolent and ignorant abuse of power in the Government of this place, on which I immediately sent on shore for the Gunner of the fort to know his authority for firing on the King's colors. He produced an Order for stopping that vessel, signed by two of the Council, the Deputy Governor being absent at that time.

"I, in company with my Lieutenant, waited on the Governor and Council, to demand a proper acknowledgment of the insult they had committed, in order to inform Your

"Lordship of it; I found them a set of very ignorant Council.

"They agreed that the Gunner had acted by authority, and that they would answer for it, when they thought it necessary.

"It appears to me, that they were guided by the mob, whose intentions were to murder the Pilot and destroy the vessel. I am very sorry they ceased firing before we had convinced them of their error. But I hope it will, by Your Lordship's representation, be the means of a change of Government in this licentious republic."

"The Lieutenant of the *Squirrel*'s account of the above affair:

"In the afternoon, as I was walking the deck, I saw a gun fired from the *St. John*; soon after, her boat, with a petty officer, came on board, and told me that the mob had rescued the deserter, detained the Master, and wounded all the boat's crew; and that the gun fired, was for the boat to return on board; that the people from the town hailed the schooner, and desired them to send the Pilot on shore, or they would sacrifice the Master, and manned several boats to board them. I then ordered him to return on board, and to make a signal if they attempted anything further; likewise, to bring the schooner out, and anchor near us.

"Soon after, several gentlemen came on board, and said they came to represent the occasion of this disturbance, lest the officer of the schooner should have made a misrepresentation of the affair. They said there was a theft committed by three of the schooner's people; that they had one in possession, and wanted the other two, who were on board the schooner; that a peace-officer had went off, and they had refused him admittance; and they now imagined he would return with an armed force, to gain admittance. I told the gentlemen the offenders should be sent on shore.

"The signal was then made by the schooner, pursuant to my former directions. I immediately sent a boat and a petty officer, to order her out of the harbor; on which the gentlemen told me they would fire on her from the fort. I then told the officer, if they fired from the fort, to go on shore to the fort, and let them know it was my orders for her to move and anchor near us; and that the men should be delivered to justice; and if he fired again, I should be obliged to return it. They continued their fire. I then ordered a spring on our cable, and went ashore, to the fort, to let them know the consequence of their behavior. I found no other officer

"than the Gunner, governed by a tumultuous mob, who said they had orders to fire, and they would fire. They used me with great insolence, and knocked me down, and would have detained me. I then returned to the boat, ordered the ship to prepare for action, and proceeded on board the schooner, and brought her to anchor near the ship; they then ceased firing.

"I then went on shore, to demand justice of the Deputy-governor for the treatment I had received at the fort. He replied I must pursue the law. I told him I would redress myself, if there were to be found, as he seemed not active to do me justice. I then returned to take the people off who had insulted me, but could not find them."

"The account from which the above is copied, appears to be in Captain Smith's hand-writing, but not signed by Lieutenant Hugh Bachie, of the *Squirrel*, as I imagine, from forgetfulness.
"COLVILL."

In June, 1765, Daniel Jenckes presented a Petition to the Assembly, representing that he, with Messrs. Nathan Angell, Nicholas and Daniel Tillinghast, and John Jenckes, were owners of the sloop *Kinnicut* and her cargo, which was taken by a Spanish privateer belonging to the island of Trinidad, in the West Indies, since the cessation of hostilities between Great Britain and Spain, and carried to said island of Trinidad, and there condemned as a lawful prize; that they had made application to the Courts of Great Britain and Spain, for restitution of their vessel and cargo, and had received an Order from the King of Spain, directed to the Governor of Trinidad, commanding him to make full satisfaction for the vessel and cargo, without any deduction. The owners of the vessel now desired the Governor to grant them such a Commission as would enable them to send to Trinidad and demand satisfaction for their property, agreeably to the King of Spain's mandate for that purpose. The Petition of Mr. Jenckes and his associates was readily granted; and the Governor was empowered to commission a vessel with such persons as the owners deemed necessary to enable them to proceed with safety to Trinidad, in order to demand restitution of their property and satisfaction for their losses.

It would appear that the Colonists had met with other losses of a similar nature, as the Governor was requested by the General Assembly to issue a Proclamation desiring all persons in the Colony who had "sustained damage at or upon the islands in the West Indies, called the 'Turk's Island,' to bring in their respective accounts of the same, in order that they might be transmitted to Jamaica, for relief.

Another affair growing out of privateering, then, and for many years before, so extensively practiced in the Colonies, was brought to the attention of the Colonial Government in a letter from the Earl of Halifax to the Governor. The writer transmitted a letter from Guerchy, the French Ambassador in London, wherein he charged that a French ship, called the *Olaude Marie*, which sailed from the Island of Martinique, on the tenth of November, 1741 (twenty-four years before) bound for the coast of Spain, was attacked and taken by a privateer belonging to Rhode Island, the Captain of which, he asserted, "used all kinds of violence to oblige him to declare that his vessel belonged to the Spaniards, with whom England was then at war." The vessel was then taken to Charleston, in South Carolina, where she was condemned, or, as the Ambassador writes, "the cargo was stolen." The owner having learned that the privateer was owned in Rhode Island, proceeded there; laid his complaint before the Governor and Council, who, "after a long discussion, awarded him the expense and damage which he demanded," and which he offered to prove by papers in his possession. The War between Great Britain and France breaking out before the claimant had obtained the satisfaction sought for, the matter had remained unadjusted to this time. Such was the statement made by the French Minister, through the Earl of Halifax.

His Lordship now requested Governor Ward to make immediate inquiry into the circumstance alleged in His Excellency's letter and transmit to him the fullest information thereupon; also to give the agents of Sieur Maginel, the owner of the vessel and cargo, every facility in his power towards obtaining the justice which, upon inquiry and examination, might appear due to them."

The following is an extract from Governor Ward's dispatch of the sixth of November, 1765, in reference to this matter:

"I had the honor of His Majesty's commands of the 8th of July last, transmitted to me by the Right Honorable the Earl of Halifax, directing the Governor and Company of this Colony to make immediate inquiry into the circumstances of an affair in which the Sieur Maginel, of Dunkirk, was concerned, as alleged in a letter from His Excellency, the French Ambassador, a copy of which I received with My Lord Halifax's letter, in obedience to which, a Committee was appointed by the Government, to examine into that affair; who reported that they have carefully and diligently searched the records of the several Courts of Justice in the Colony, and the Register of the Court of Admiralty, and can find not the least account of the matters mentioned in His Ex-

"cellency's letter. But I shall immediately order further inquiry to be made, and shall immediately transmit to Your Excellency an account of what I may discover of this matter; and upon application of the agents or representatives of the Sieur Maginel, shall give them every facility in my power for their obtaining that justice which, upon inquiry, shall appear to be due to them.

"I have the honor to be,

"With great truth and regard, Sir, etc.,

"SAM. WARD

"To the Right Honorable HENRY SEYMOUR
"CONWAY."

XXVII.

THE TROUBLES IN NEWPORT IN 1765. BURNING OF THE BOAT OF THE KING'S SHIP "MAIDSTONE." GOVERNOR WARD'S CORRESPONDENCE ON THE SUBJECT. RIOTS IN NEWPORT, GROWING OUT OF THE STAMP ACT. THE CUSTOM HOUSE OFFICERS FLY TO THE GOVERNMENT SHIP "CYGNET" FOR SAFETY.

In the year 1765, his Majesty's ship, the *Maidstone*, being stationed in Newport harbor, for the purpose of protecting the revenue, her officers gave great offence to the Colonists, and particularly to those whose avocations required them to go on the water, by stopping and overhauling every vessel that entered or departed from the harbor. Even the fishing and wood-boats were stopped, and seamen taken from them. To such a height was this carried that the people of Newport would bear it no longer. On an occasion when a boat belonging to the *Maidstone* came ashore, she was seized by a mob, dragged through the streets, to the Common, and there publicly burned.

At this time, several of the inhabitants were impressed or detained on board the *Maidstone*, for whose release Governor Ward made application, through the High Sheriff, to the commanding officer, Captain Antrobus. This officer not being on board when the Sheriff visited the ship, the Lieutenant in command refused to deliver them. In his letter referred to, the Governor says that the burning of the *Maidstone's* boat had given him the greatest uneasiness; and that he should use his "utmost endeavors to prevent any such violent and scandalous measures from taking place for the future, as well as to bring all who have lately behaved in that illegal manner, to condign punishment." He further promised his protection to the officers and men of the *Maidstone*, whenever they might come on shore, "they behaving themselves peaceably, and conforming to the laws of the Colony."

Several letters had passed between Governor

Ward and Captain Antrobus. In one of these, the latter complains that the Governor's letters to Lieutenant Baines was "in a style to which he was a stranger." To this Governor Ward replied as follows:

"NEWPORT, 12th July, 1765.

"SIR: * * * In answer to your letter, I must observe, Sir, that if proper regard had been paid to the letter I sent to Mr. Baines, there would have been no occasion of addressing you in a different manner. But the men whose discharge I requested, were detained several weeks; many others, in the meantime, impressed; the very fishing-boats, which daily supplied the town, were fired at, and interrupted so much in their fishing that some of them dared not go out of the harbor; and the town, if these measures had been continued, would very soon have greatly suffered; nay, to such an extravagant height of imprudence and insolence had your people arrived, as to enter on board a wood-boat (upon the King's birth-day; the very day upon which you affect to lay so great a stress,) having only two men in her, and to take one of them out, and even to follow the vessel to the wharf. This encouraged the populace, and was the immediate occasion of the riot, which ended in burning the *Maidstone's* boat.

"These things gave a general uneasiness to the inhabitants, who not only saw the great disadvantages they must suffer in their trade and commerce, but were also apprehensive that the supplies which came to the town, by water (without which they cannot subsist,) would be so much obstructed as greatly to enhance the price of the necessaries of life. And upon my return from the country, my house was filled with people, who came to enter their complaints; and as the office I have the honor to sustain makes it my indispensable duty to promote the welfare of his Majesty's subjects under my government, I was sensibly affected with their distresses, and immediately applied to you upon the subject, in a manner which appears to me the most proper and legal.

"And here, Sir, I must observe that the impressing of Englishmen is, in my opinion, an arbitrary action, contrary to law, inconsistent with liberty, and to be justified only by very urgent necessity.

"But as the ship under your command lay moored in the harbor of an English Colony, always ready to afford you all assistance necessary for his Majesty's service, I could not conceive any possible reason sufficient to justify the severe and rigorous impress carried on by your people in this port.

"You assert that while your ship is afloat, the

"civil authority of this Colony does not extend to and cannot operate within her.

"But I must be of opinion, Sir, that while she lies in the body of a County, as she then did, and still does, within the body of the County of Newport, all her officers and men are within the jurisdiction of this Colony, and ought to conform themselves to the laws thereof and while I have the honor to be in the administration, I shall endeavor to assert and maintain the liberties and privileges of his Majesty's subjects and the honor, dignity and jurisdiction of the Colony.

"These, Sir, are my sentiments upon this subject, and occasioned my addressing you in the manner I did. But as the men whose discharge I was anxious to have been dismissed, and no further complaints have been made me on that head, I am content to drop the dispute; and hope that, for the future, there may be no occasion for renewing it.

"My sentiments with regard to burning the boat belonging to the *Maidstone* you are so well acquainted with, that I have only to add upon that head, that when Mr. Jenkins, with some of the men, waited on me, with your last letter on that subject, I directed the Sheriff to attend them to the Chief-justice of the County, who has taken cognizance of the affair, that justice may be duly administered. But, in justice to this town, I must observe that, by the best information I can get, no person of the least note was concerned in the riot; the persons who committed the crime consisting altogether of the dregs of the people and a number of boys and negroes.

"The polite manner in which you mention the civil authority, in several parts of your letter, and your readiness to attend to any measures for the welfare of the King's subjects, consistent with your duty, pointed out to you by the Governors of the Colonies, I am obliged to you for; and, in return, do assure you that I shall ever be fond of showing you and all the King's officers in the Colony, all proper respect and regard; and should it, at any time, be in my power to render you or them any acceptable service or pleasure, I shall embrace the opportunity of doing it with the greatest satisfaction.

"I am, with great regard, Sir, &c., &c.,

"SAMUEL WARD.

"To CHARLES ANTROBUS, Esq."

Prominent in Rhode Island history, at this time, were the events growing out of the passage of the famous Stamp Act; but as they do not appertain to naval affairs, and are fully stated in the histories of the period, they are omitted here. It is necessary, however, to remark that the bold

and open resistance of the Colony to the Stamp Act, and the riots which grew out of its enforcement, led to the sending of more armed vessels to the waters of the Narragansett Bay. The *Cygnat*, Captain Leslie, lay at Newport, at the time, and furnished protection to Messrs. John Robinson, the Collector, John Nichol, Comptroller, and Nicholas Lechlumere, Searcher, who had been compelled to close his Majesty's Custom-house and flee for their lives. From the *Cygnat*, they addressed a letter to Governor Ward, calling upon him for protection, without which they could not again open the Custom-house. In the absence of the Governor, their letter was replied to by Gideon Wanton, Jr., who states that "the fury of the populace hath entirely subsided, and the minds of the people quieted; so that there is not the least danger or apprehension of any further riotous proceedings." He farther urges them to return and attend to their business, promising them all the protection in his power. Their absence, he adds, "has put an entire stop to the trade and commerce of the Colony, which will be attended with most pernicious consequences." On the return of Governor Ward, he reiterated what Mr. Wanton had stated, assuring the gentlemen that the town was tranquil, and that his protection might be relied upon.

XXVIII.

THE CASE OF PRIZE VESSELS BROUGHT TO NEWPORT, SUBMITTED TO ADMIRALTY COURTS IN NOVA SCOTIA. THE COLLECTOR FEARS TO RETURN TO NEWPORT. CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN CAPTAIN LESLIE OF THE "CYGNAT," AND GOVERNOR WARD. THE BRITISH OFFICERS FEAR A NEWPORT MOB. AFFAIR OF THE SLOOP "NELLY" OF PROVIDENCE. COMPLAINT TO HIS MAJESTY, OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE COURT OF ADMIRALTY, IN PROVIDENCE. COLLECTOR ROBINSON'S LETTER TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

Another grievance of the people of Newport was that a prize vessel, brought to Newport, laden with molasses, had been taken and held by the British armed ship, the *Cygnat*, awaiting the determination of the prosecution against her, at Halifax, Nova Scotia, instead of submitting the case to a Vice Admiralty Court, in Rhode Island. It had come to the ears of the officers of the Customs, detained on board the *Cygnat*, that a mob, in Newport, headed by Samuel Crandall, demanded the release of the prize-sloop with her cargo, together with several scows which had also been seized; and that Crandall farther demanded that the officers of the Customs should receive their fees as settled by an Act of the General Assembly, in defiance of the Act lately

passed by Parliament. Mr. Robinson and his associates, in reply to the Governor, after stating to him "the infamous terms presumptuously proposed by Crandall," say that they "cannot attend to the exercise of their respective functions, whatever inconvenience it may be to trade," until he has appointed a guard to the Custom-house, and support them in the execution of their duty. They then call upon him to take up and arrest the offender, that he may be punished as the law directs.

Governor Ward replies to Collector Robinson and informs him that he has seen Mr. Crandall, who assures him that he has not the least intention of raising a disturbance or riot; but that "Mr. Robinson has personally used him" [*Crandall*] "ill, and that he shall insist upon proper satisfaction." The Governor again urges the Collector and his officers to return and enter upon his duties, as the town is suffering greatly by having the Custom-house closed.

On the same day that the Governor wrote the foregoing to Mr. Robinson, he received the following letter from Captain Leslie of the *Cygnat*:

"SIR: As I find you are arrived in town, I think it necessary to acquaint you there have been several reports brought to me of the mob having frequently threatened the taking forcibly away the sloop which is now under the protection of the *Cygnat*; and I have great reason to believe the truth of such a report, from a demand having been made of the same, by one Crandall, who, I am informed, is a principal person in the mob, as part of the conditions of the Collector's coming on shore and remaining in safety; and that their plan is to be thus:

"To man and arm a number of boats or vessels, and possess themselves of the fort; and, in case they find a resistance on my part, when such boats or vessels are endeavoring to take away the said sloop (which will certainly be the case, when we discover any such attempt being made,) that then the guns at the fort are to be fired at His Majesty's ship under my command.

"This, I own, appears very surprising; but from the repetition of the report, and what happened, last year, to His Majesty's schooner *St. John*, I must own I think the madness of the mob may carry them to such lengths, without the interposition of the Government authority.

"Should their frenzy bring them to such a height, I am determined to return it, immediately, from His Majesty's ship, without sending to the fort to know any reason or ask any question. The Governor will reflect what consequences may arise not only from the damage

"the town may receive from the shot which may pass over the fort into it; but what may hereafter happen on such an enormous thing being committed in a British Colony. Thus far, Sir, I think is the duty I owe to His Majesty's service, to make you acquainted with.

"I am, Sir, &c., &c.,

"CHARLES LESLIE.

"Dated on board the *Cygnat*, Rhode Island harbor, Sunday, Sep'r 1st, 1765.

"To SAMUEL WARD, Esq."

[*The Governor of Rhode Island to Captain Leslie.*]

"NEWPORT, 2d September, 1765.

"SIR: I am now to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday; though I must confess I am much at a loss what answer to make to it.

"The reports carried on board the *Cygnat* are so idle, and the plan said to be formed for obtaining the sloop so chimerical, that nothing but the regard due to you, induces me to take the least notice of them; and you may depend upon it, Sir, that there is not the least foundation for them.

"Should any person be so weak or wicked as to attempt the taking His Majesty's fort into their possession, I shall take proper measures to prevent it, and to bring the offenders to justice; and the duty I owe my Sovereign will induce me, at all times, to use my utmost endeavors to prevent any differences from arising between the inhabitants of this Colony and any officers or men of His Majesty's ships, under your command, on this station.

"I am, Sir, &c., &c.,

"S. WARD.

"To CHARLES LESLIE, Esq.

[*Captain Leslie to the Governor of Rhode Island.*]

"SIR: I have yours, acknowledging the receipt of my letter, in which you declare yourself at a loss what answer to make me; and that the reports carried on board the *Cygnat* are so idle, and the plan said to be formed for obtaining the sloop so chimerical, that nothing but the regard you please to express for me, would induce you to take any notice of it; and assuring me, 'that there is not the least foundation for the whole,' and that you 'will take all proper measures in respect to any attempts on the fort.'

"In answer to all which, I must acquaint you that idle as you may look on these reports to be, they are well-founded, and were frequently repeated by some of the principal people in the town, to me; and, whenever it becomes necessary, it can be proved, notwithstanding

"the contempt and disbelief with which your answer treats my letter; for I cannot look on it in any other light; and as to whether you had taken any notice of it or not, it would have given me no pain. I thought it incumbent on me to make you acquainted with such circumstances which induced me to do it.

"I am, Sir, &c., &c.,

"CHA. LESLIE.

"'CYGNET,' RHODE ISLAND HARBOR,
Sept. 2d, 1765.

"TO SAMUEL WARD, Esq."

A determination to resist the law and the authorities of the Government was apparent in Providence as well as in Newport. The high duties were one grievance; the transfer of Cases of prize vessels to the Admiralty Courts of other Colonies, was another. Indeed, if an opinion is to be formed from the results of Cases in the Courts of the Colony, where the Government was the Prosecutor, it is not surprising that they were taken elsewhere. Trials were postponed when it suited the Defendants, or were called at so short a notice that witnesses could not be procured. The Government could scarcely find proof sufficient to convict parties charged with smuggling; and every obstacle seems to have been placed in the way of the Government. The following extract is from a complaint made by the Collector and Comptroller of the Customs to Her Majesty's Government, dated June, 1765. The Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, after considering it, caused a copy to be transmitted to the Governor of Rhode Island, requesting him "immediately to make the most strict and diligent inquiry into the matter complained of in the letter," and inform them the state of the facts therein mentioned, that their Lordships may be thoroughly acquainted with the circumstances of this affair, and be enabled to take such measures as may prevent the like proceedings in future.

[*Copy of the Collector's and Comptroller's letter.*]

"In our letter of 9th of April, we acquainted Your Honor that the brigantine *Waincott*, and sloop *Nelly*, (mentioned in our letter of 1st March, to have been seized at Providence,) had been acquitted for want of proof; though it was notorious that they had run cargoes of molasses.

"We think ourselves indispensably obliged to represent to Your Honor the conduct of Mr. Andrews, the Judge, and Mr. Honyman, the Advocate, at the Court of Admiralty, upon this occasion. Being sensible of the difficulty of procuring evidence, from the want of Government to countenance our proceedings and the general combination of the people

"against us, we directed the Advocate to draw up proper interrogatories and obtain a proper order for examining of witnesses upon such interrogatories, (previous to the trial), agreeably to the practice at Boston, as it would be to no purpose to rely on any witnesses appearing on the trial, which promised he would do. But, instead of paying any regard thereto, we were, about a fortnight after, informed that the Case was to be tried in three days after, at Providence, about thirty-five miles off; being that that place was more convenient to the owners of the vessels than here, at the Capital, though inconvenient to us, to the last degree.

"We therefore desired the Advocate to get the Case adjourned for at least a fortnight, as we could not, on so short a notice, procure evidence. The Advocate attended there, and moved for an adjournment accordingly, which the Judge refused to grant; but, by reason that the Register and Marshal of the Court did not attend, the Judge was under a necessity, on that account, to put off the trial for a week, and of which we had only two or three days' notice, which was still too short to enable us to get witnesses.

"However, we attempted to summon several witnesses, but they had absconded; so that what we meant to avoid, (by having the witnesses examined on interrogatories) actually happened; for we could not produce one evidence on the trial; the Advocate himself refused to attend the trial; and Mr. Nicoll, the Comptroller, was obliged to leave his business at the office, to attend at Providence, where the Judge thought proper to hold his Court, though manifestly to the prejudice of the King's service, by the difficulty and inconvenience we were put to in procuring witnesses and in attending there.

"These two gentlemen are natives of this place; and their connections with this people are such, that it influences them to a disregard of the King's service, which they have upon difficult occasions shown by favoring the merchants to the prejudice of the Crown."

[*Report of a Committee of the General Assembly, on the above letter.*]

"We, the subscribers, being appointed a Committee at the last General Assembly, to examine the complaint made by the Collector and Comptroller in this Colony to the Commissioners of Customs in Great Britain, against the Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty and the King's Advocate in this Colony, do report:

"That this day we met according to appoint-

"ment, and, after duly notifying the Collector
"and Comptroller, (who could not attend,)
"made due inquiries into the premises, and are
"of opinion that there is not the slightest
"ground or foundation for such complaint.

"All which is submitted by

"JOSEPH HAZARD,

"ROBERT HULL,

"JOSEPH CLARKE.

"NEWPORT, October 23, 1767."

Letter from John Robinson to the Committee appointed by the General Assembly of Rhode Island, relative to a complaint made by the Collector and Comptroller of the Customs, &c.

"CUSTOM HOUSE RHODE ISLAND, }

"23d October, 1767. 1 o'clock. }

"GENTLEMEN:—Your notification to attend at
"the hour of two o'clock this afternoon, has
"been this instant served upon me; and this is
"the first information that I have had of your
"appointment as a Committee, instead of the
"gentlemen formerly entrusted to enquire into
"the conduct of the Judge and Advocate of
"the Admiralty.

"If you mean that I should attend an oral inquiry, and enter into a verbal discussion of the affair, I must beg leave to decline attending you; but if the gentlemen are to exhibit their defence in writing, I shall, (having proper time allowed me) very readily peruse it, and reply to it, also in writing, so as to illustrate and ascertain any matter that you shall think necessary.

"When I tell you, Gentlemen, that Mr. Andrews, instead of standing by the test of inquiry prescribed by His Majesty's Ministers, has not only prosecuted and recovered against the Comptroller and myself, at law, for the representation we made to the Commissioners of the Customs, in the discharge of our duty; but has, also, with a view (as every person must reasonably suppose,) of stifling this inquiry, lately commenced an action against myself for writing a letter to Gov. Ward, in justification of our complaint.

"I am sure, Gentlemen, you will think this caution both necessary and proper. If a just and impartial report in this affair is transmitted home, it will give me great satisfaction; and especially as the inquiry has so long lain dormant, notwithstanding our repeated solicitation to the late Governor and the former Committee to have the same carried into effect. But it is my expectation that you will previously summon Elisha Brown of Providence, and Joseph G. Wanton of Newport, Esqrs., and examine them on oath touching the con-

duct of the Judge and Advocate, respecting the brigantine *Wainscott*.

"I am, Gentlemen, &c., &c.,

"JOHN ROBINSON.

"To JOSEPH HAZARD and others."

SUPPLEMENT.

[The following Chapter of this History was not among the "copy" originally furnished by the distinguished author to us; and it does not, therefore, appear in its place—a Chapter, in manuscript, (Chapter V. of our series having been substituted. This having since been found, it is inserted here, in order that it may be preserved for the use of those who shall, hereafter, desire to use the important material contained in this series of papers.—EDITOR.]

A DUTCH VESSEL, THE "GERTRUDE," TAKEN AND CONDEMNED. FRANCE DECLARES WAR AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN. THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE'S LETTER. CONGRESS AT ALBANY. THE COLONY'S WAR SLOOP "TARTAR." FORCES RAISED FOR AN EXPEDITION TO CAPE BRETON. SIEGE OF LOUISBURG. CALL ON RHODE ISLAND FOR SEAMEN.

Among the prizes brought in and condemned by the Court of Vice Admiralty, at Newport, in the year 1743, was the Dutch bark *Gertrude*, Captain Baal. A complaint against this condemnation was made by the Minister of the State's General, when the subject was referred to a Committee of the General Assembly. Upon examination of the case, it appeared that this vessel was taken by three English privateers, commanded by Robert Flowers, John Rows and William Wilkinson; and that she was condemned and divided among her captors, which the Dutch Minister declared to be at variance with the Treaties subsisting between his Majesty and the States. Governor Greene accordingly wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, then Secretary of State, transmitting a copy of the Decree by which the *Gertrude* was condemned. In writing to the Minister, Governor Greene took occasion to deny the right of the Government to question the decision of the Court. "Besides the Decree I am unable," says the Governor, "to give your Grace any further account, but humbly hope that, as this Court, which has the sole cognizance of prizes, is wholly independent of any authority in this Colony; that the Governor and Company will never be thought liable to censure on account of any judgment, in that Court, that may be thought owing to the mistakes or passions of an ignorant or indignant person that, without their consent or knowledge, may be deputed to judge and determine, singly, in matters of such high and public concernment."

In 1714, France declared War against England, while the latter was still involved in War with Spain. This great and eventful war was more important for the American Colonies than

any that had occurred since they were founded, inasmuch as it was the first of a series of Wars which finally resulted, fifteen years later, in the downfall of the great French empire in North America. The announcement of this event was made known to the Colony in the following letter from the Duke of Newcastle:

"WHITEHALL, March 31st, 1744.

"SIR:—The French King having declared "War against his Majesty, (as you will see by the "enclosed copy of his Declaration, for that purpose, which is full of the grossest and most indecent misrepresentations and reflections upon "his Majesty's conduct,) I am to acquaint you, "by his Majesty's command, that, on Thursday "last, the 29th instant, a great Council was held "at St. James's, where his Majesty approved, "and has since signed, a Declaration of War "against the French King, and ordered that the "same should be published on this day, by the "Heralds-at-arms, in the usual places and with "the accustomed formalities, on the like occasions; which has been done, accordingly.

"I send you, enclosed, a printed copy of the "said Declaration, and am commanded to signify to you His Majesty's pleasure, that you "cause it to be proclaimed in the Colony under "your Government, that His Majesty's subjects "having this notice, may take care to prevent "any mischief which, otherwise, they might "suffer from the enemy, and do their duty, in "their several stations, to distress and annoy "the subjects of the French King.

"And His Majesty would have you be very "rigorous and severe in preventing any ammunition or stores of any kind from being carried "to them; and you are to use all proper "methods that may be most effectual for that "purpose.

"I send you, enclosed, His Majesty's Proclamation for the distribution of prizes taken by "His Majesty's ships of war, or privateers, "which, you will take care may be published in "the Colony under your government; and you "will do everything in your power to encourage "His Majesty's subjects to fit out ships to act as "privateers against the enemy; and you will, "upon the receipt of this letter, take all opportunities, as far as depends upon you, to distress and annoy the French, in their settlements, "trade, and commerce.

"I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,
"NEWCASTLE.

"To the Governor of Rhode Island."

Vigorous measures were at once adopted by the General Assembly, to place the Colony in a proper position of defence. The battery of Fort George, at Newport, was enlarged, and more cannon mounted. Eighty barrels of gun-

powder, with other ammunition, were purchased. Guns and ammunition were sent to Block Island. The war-sloop *Tartar* was placed in command of Captain Daniel Fones, with ninety men; again fitted out; and sent on a cruise; and, as there was a deficiency, in the Colony, of cannon and military stores, the Governor was requested, by a vote of the Assembly, to petition the King for a supply of these necessaries. At the same time, the subjects of the French King, then in Newport, were permitted, if they desired, to remove to Providence, there to remain on parole and await orders from the Governor or the Assembly.

Prompt as the New England Colonies were on receiving the news of the Declaration of War, the French Colonies received it first; and, before any steps could be taken for the offensive or defensive, French privateers were scouring the coast of New England and greatly harassing its commerce. The fisheries, too, suffered greatly and were nearly destroyed. Fearing the French might secure the Six Nations of Indians on their side, a Congress of the Northern English Colonies met at Albany, on the twelfth of June, of the same year, to enter into an agreement with these Indians and with one another, for their mutual assistance and for carrying on the War in the most effectual manner. By the request of Massachusetts, Rhode Island sent Commissioners to this Congress.

In February, 1745, the Colony war-sloop *Tartar* was ordered to be fitted out, in order to join the forces of Massachusetts Bay in an expedition against Cape Breton. She was manned with one hundred and thirty men; provisioned for four months; and placed under the orders of the Commander of the expedition or of the Council of War, till the first of June, or longer if the occasion required. For defraying the expenses of the expedition bills of credit for two thousand five hundred pounds were issued. An embargo was, at the same time, laid upon all vessels bound to sea. The next month, three companies of soldiers, of fifty men each, were ordered to be raised to accompany the expedition; and, it being then found that the amount appropriated was quite inadequate to defray the expenses of manning the Colony's sloop, it was augmented to six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds, in bills of credit of the new tenor. This issue of paper money was to be redeemed by a tax to be levied in the years 1748 to 1751, one quarter in each year.

While these plans were being enacted, urgent letters were received by Governor Greene from Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, calling upon the Colony to provide a regiment of five hundred men for the contemplated expedition to Cape Breton, to be paid for by that Province. The

Assembly thereupon passed an Act empowering Godfrey Malbone to raise three hundred and fifty men, and to allow each one enlisting a bounty of forty shillings, in addition to what was allowed by Massachusetts. These troops were to be attached to the Connecticut Regiment. The command of the expedition was given to William Pepperell, of Maine, who was afterwards knighted for the success which attended it.

Two months later (May, 1745) a representation was made to the General Assembly that the town of Louisburg, on the Island of Cape Breton, was, at that time, besieged by the New England forces, and that reinforcements were required. An Act was accordingly passed to raise three Companies of soldiers, of fifty men each, exclusive of officers, and in case a sufficient number of volunteers could not be obtained, power was given to the Governor to impress sufficient to make up that number. The officers of these Companies were—of the First, Richard Mumford, Captain; Edward Cole, First Lieutenant; Lemuel Hall, Second Lieutenant; of the Second—Benjamin Potter, Captain; Richard Smith, First Lieutenant; Richard Hoyle, Second Lieutenant; of the Third—Joshua Champlin, Captain; Samuel Eldred, First Lieutenant; Jeffrey Champlin, Second Lieutenant. Captain Jonathan Nichols and George Wanton were appointed a Committee to procure transports for the troops raised. To defray the expenses of enlisting and paying these troops, three thousand, seven hundred, and fifty pounds, in bills of new tenor, were ordered to be issued, redeemable in 1750, '51 and '52. It was further ordered that the Rhode Island troops should join the Connecticut Regiment; and that Lieutenant-general Wolcott should be apprised thereof. The other New England Colonies each sent one armed vessel on the expedition. Connecticut furnished five hundred troops; New Hampshire and Rhode Island three hundred each. New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania furnished no men, but voted small supplies of money. Full instructions were issued by Massachusetts, by which Canso was fixed upon as the place of rendezvous. The Connecticut troops were the first to arrive.

The Rhode Island war sloop *Tartar*, which, in company with the Connecticut vessel, was conveying the transports, fell in with the French frigate *Renommé*, of thirty-six guns, which attacked her, and which inflicted some injury upon the *Tartar*.

The French ship was in charge of dispatches from France; and, fortunately for the Colonial sloops, which she easily outsailed, after making two or three attempts to enter the harbor, hastened on her voyage back to France, to report what she had seen, and thereby permitted the trans-

ports to escape. The fleet of Commodore Warren, with a portion of the West India squadron, joined the New England vessels at Canso; and, two days after, the *Tartar*, with the Connecticut transports, arrived.

As soon as the weather permitted, the fleet sailed for Louisburg, and commenced operations. The forces landed at Chapeaurouge Bay on the thirtieth of April. The outworks were soon abandoned by the French; but the English were obliged to transport their heavy cannon two miles through a morass, by their own strength, before they could bring them to bear on the town. A constant fire was kept up on them, the mean while, without doing much harm. While the siege was going on, the *Vigilant*, a French frigate of sixty-four guns, with five hundred and sixty men on board, and stores of all sorts, for the garrison, arrived in the harbor, where she met the *Mermaid*, an English ship, which she attacked. The latter suffered herself to be chased until he drew the Frenchman towards the English fleet, when, finding her escape cut off, she surrendered.

The *Vigilant* was a most important accession to the English; but they had no sailors to man her. Calls were therefore made by Governor Shirley upon Rhode Island for seamen. The following is his letter:

"BOSTON, June 5, 1745.

"SIR:—I have herewith enclosed two Proclamations, which I have just now issued on occasion of the expedition against Cape Breton, with an extract of my letter from Commodore Warren, and a vote of the General Court, here, for encouraging the enlistment of seamen for manning the ship *Vigilant*, prize, by which you will know what want there is, both of soldiers and seamen, for this service.

"As to the first, I have already written fully to your Honor thereon; and you will likewise know what encouragement this Government has offered for both. I am persuaded your Colony can furnish a good number of seamen, and must, therefore, desire that you would use your best endeavors for providing as many as can be had in your Colony, and that as soon as may be.

"I am, Sir, Your Honor's ob't, humble servant,
"W. SHIRLEY

"To the Hon'ble Governor WARTON."

[Enclosure.]

"In the House of Representatives, June 1, 1745.

"Voted, That his Excellency, the Captain General, be desired, as soon as may be, to cause to be impressed such seamen as are foreigners, belonging to all inward-bound vessels (coasting and provision vessels coming

"from the northward of South Carolina, on the Continent, excepted,) in order for manning the *Vigilant*, a ship of war, lately taken by the Hon'ble Commodore Warren, from the French; and there be allowed and paid out of the public treasury the sum of £3 to every other able-bodied man that shall voluntarily enlist himself into His Majesty's service, for the manning the said ship *Vigilant*, to make up, in the whole, with those impressed, the number of three hundred men."

NOTE.

In the short Note, at the head of this Supplement—Page 850—it is said that "a Chapter, in manuscript (Chapter V. of our series)" had been substituted for one which was not found in the Author's copy of the series. It should have been noted as "Chapter X V. of our series;" and the reader is respectfully requested to note and correct the error.—*Editor.*

[THE END.]

IV.—LAST LETTER OF GENERAL LAFAYETTE, AS AN AMERICAN OFFICER.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF COLONEL T. BAILEY MYERS.

ON BOARD THE "ALLIANCE" December 22^d 1781.

I could not think of going, my dear George,* before I had sent you the last assurance of my sincere affection. My best wishes attend you wherever you may be during this winter. I anticipate the pleasure to see you again with me, and Hope the family will be reunited lately in the Campaign. Be so kind, my dear Washington, to forward the enclosed letters, and to send them by some good opportunities.— You will greatly oblige me, my dear friend, to get copies of my letters to the General as you know I never kept any, and when I grow old I will find great satisfaction in reading over our Correspondence during last Campaign. There is another thing that would give me great pleasure—the General has several Orderly Books from the beginning of the War, and there are orderly Books of mine in the Light Infantry of the two last Campaigns which I would like to have copied by some Sergeant that writes a fair Hand and Bound up in Books in the same way as those of the General

* Who is the "George Washington" to whom this letter (of unquestionable authority) is addressed. He was apparently a member of the military family of Washington, perhaps of Lafayette; and may have had a third "nomen." The letter, a three-page quarto, in indifferent condition, is written in a bold flowing hand, differing from the cramped appearance of Lafayette's later letters, in English, and shows signs of haste and the bustle of departure. Lafayette was present at the surrender at Yorktown, on the nineteenth of October, about two months before the letter was written. Can any of your readers tell to whom the letter is addressed and also whether it is Mrs. Carter or Custis to whom he refers?—T. B. M.

are—if that does not give you too much trouble I will obliged to you to have the Business done by some Non Commissioned Officer that can write well

In your letter to your family, I beg you will mention me most affectionately to them. Your father and mother Mrs. Ball and the Colonel Mrs Lear's, Mrs Custis [*or Carter*] and the Generals mother. My best Compliments to Tillmangh, Smith Meade & all the family. Adieu my dear friend

Most affectionately Yours

LAFAYETTE

If Mrs Carter is still in Philadelphia present my best respects to her.

V.—WILLIAM BLACKSTONE.

NOTES ON HIS HISTORY, RESIDENCE IN BOSTON, AND DESCENDANTS,

BY THE LATE L. M. SARGENT, ESQ., OF BOSTON.

I.*

Doctor Snow, in his *History of Boston*, Page 52, says: "Blackstone cultivated, with success, the six acres which he retained, and soon had a garden plat and an orchard, near his cottage and spring. These we take to have been situated in the neighborhood of the present Alms-house."

Snow published in 1825; and, in May of that year, the Alms-house, in Leverett-street, to which he refers, was taken down. In this surmise, as to the location of the garden-plat and orchard, cottage and spring, Doctor Snow was certainly mistaken.

Mr. Drake, in a note, on Page 97, of his valuable history, with commendable discretion, instead of following Snow, observes—"this point is easier located than his house or his spring."

We ask the reader to go along with us, step by step, in this investigation. Edward Johnson says—Ch. 17 of his *Wonder Working Providence*—"On the South side of the river, on a point of land, called Blaxton's Point, planted Mr. William Blaxton." But is it to be inferred, from this, that his house was on the very point? It is not denied, that the point laid down, on Bonner's and other ancient plans, as *Barton's Point*, was *Blaxton's Point*. Persons dwelling miles off from certain headlands or points, are often said to live on those points. Persons residing far from the extremity, are said to live on "East-ern Point," in Gloucester. Such examples are abundant.

With the assistance of my friend, N. I. Bowditch, Esquire, and Bonner's plan, of 1722,

* From *The [Boston] Evening Transcript*, of September 27, 1858.

Price's plan, of 1733, and a plan annexed to the first Boston Directory, of 1789, I think I shall be able to conduct the reader to Blackstone's *orchard and garden*. But, without one, at least, of these plans, before him, the task may not be so easy, for the reader. John Bonner's plan of 1722 was skilfully copied, in 1885, by Mr. George G. Smith, engraver, at the corner of Washington and Franklin-streets, where, I believe, impressions may be obtained, for a mere trifle.

In *The Suffolk Register*, Book 26, Page 84, will be found the deposition of Anne Pollard, aged eighty-nine. It was taken, December 26, 1711. Being eighty-nine, she was thirteen when Blackstone left Boston, in 1635. She states that he sold the *six acres*, by him reserved, out of the fifty, to Richard Pepys. The time of sale is not stated, and, probably, might have occurred at one of his subsequent visits to Boston—Blackstone came here, on a visit, in July, 1659, to marry the widow Sarah Stevenson.

Book 9, Page 325, exhibits the Deed of Peter Brackett and Mary, his wife, late widow of Nathaniel Williams, in consideration of natural love to Nathaniel Williams and Mary Viall, children of said Mary, by her first husband, conveying "all that messuage, with the barnes, stables, orchards, gardens, and also that *six acres of land*, be it more or less, adjoining and belonging to said messuage, called the *Blackstone lot*, being the same which were conveyed to said Nathaniel, by Richard Pepys," &c.

So far the title stands thus—Boston to Blackstone, fifty acres, April 1, 1633. The following year, according to Odin's deposition—*Massachusetts Historical Collections*, xiv., 202—Blackstone to Boston, forty-four acres. At some time, unknown, according to Pollard's deposition, Blackstone to Pepys, *the six acres reserved*. January 30, 1655: Pepys to Williams, *the same six acres*. April 14, 1676: Mary Brackett, late widow of said Williams, by joint Deed of herself and second husband, to the two children of her first husband, *the same six acres*. Now where were these *six acres*—"the Blackstone lot?" Thus far, we have neither metes nor bounds; all which are happily supplied, by the conveyance of Nathaniel Williams (son of Mary Brackett, by her first husband) dated January 29, 1708-9, and recorded Book 24, Page 103. He conveys to Thomas Bannister:

"An orchard and pasture, containing *six acres*, more or less, on Northwest side of the Common with the flats; the uplands and flats being bounded Northwest, by Charles River, or cove, and in part on John Leveret and James Allen, on whom also it abuts, on the Northeast; bounded East, on James Allen, in part, and in part on Bannister; Southerly on the Common."

The italicising is mine, to fix the reader's attention to certain points.

I now ask the reader to look at Bonner's plan of 1722, bearing in mind, that Williams conveyed to Bannister the "*orchard and pasture six acres, more or less*," only fourteen years before. Now let us walk into Beacon-street, on Bonner's plan of 1722. It extended westward, only to the point of the present Mount Vernon-street, which then did not exist. Thence, in a more northerly direction, towards the present Charles-street, it took the name of "Davis's Lane." At the bottom of this lane, we come to a square lot, fenced in, and planted with trees, *orchard-wise*. Near, and Southwest of this, is a small plat, fenced in, not far from the water, marked "*garden*," on the plan of 1722; and due West of this is a little wharf. There is a small tenement on the Southeast corner of the "*Orchard*," and two within the enclosure, South of the "*Garden*." All around this lonely establishment, on Bonner's plan, is a wilderness—no other house—no other tree—save the great tree, on the Common, and the powder-house and watch-house, there. There are trees, all over town, on Bonner's plan—but nothing like this—nothing like an "*Orchard*." As to the "*Garden*," that is settled, for it is so laid down—and this is an Orchard; and the trees are placed, much after Pliny's rule, in *ordine quincunciali*. Whose Garden and Orchard are these?

Blackstone's residence, his *six-acre-lot*, his Orchard, his Garden, with which he was identified, by all who have written about him, were matters of interest, seventy-six years after he left Boston; and Anne Pollard's deposition was taken, only eleven years before the date of Bonner's plan. The Orchard clearly existed, in 1708, and is then called an "*Orchard*," in the conveyance to Bannister. An apple-orchard is a long liver. Governor Hopkins says of the orchard, planted by Blackstone, after his removal to Rhode Island, —*Massachusetts Historical Collections*, xix., 174—"Many of the trees, which he planted, about one hundred and thirty years ago, are still, 1765, pretty thrifty fruit-trees." Blackstone's Orchard, Pepy's Orchard, Williams's Orchard, Bannister's Orchard—being one and the same Orchard, on that *six-acre-lot*—must have existed, when Bonner's plan was published, in 1722.

Now for the bounds and bearings. The Orchard is described, in the Deed of 1708, as lying on the Northwest side of the Common. So does the Orchard, on Bonner's plan. The precise Northwest line of the Common, however, is not defined, on Bonner's plan; not a line, on that venerable plan, runs down to the water, from Roxbury to Barton's point. But, on Price's plan of 1733, on which the Orchard still re-

mains, and on the plan of 1789, the land is evidently fenced in, and the little wharf, and the plat, marked "*Garden*," on Bonner's plan, are made to bound "*southerly on the Common*," precisely as the *six-acre-lot*, in the Deed to Bannister, bounds.

On the plan of 1789, Davis's lane is abolished; but the precise figure of the "*Garden*" and wharf are marked down, in *locis usdem*. The *six-acre-lot* is said, in the Deed to Bannister, to bound on Charles-river or a cove: so do the *Garden* and *Orchard*, and the adjoining land, on these plans; and so they did, before the creation of Charles-street and the filling up, in that neighborhood. What more natural than that Bonner should lay down, on his plan of 1722, Blackstone's *Orchard* and *Garden*, concerning which Mrs. Pollard's deposition had been taken a short time before? Bonner gives us those two trees which stood so long, near Bridewell—on what is now Park-street—the fortification, the windmills, the bowling-green, Coal's Garden, and other points of less interest than the spot where "*Blaxton planted*." If this be not Blaxton's *Orchard* and *Garden*, it is perfectly clear that another *Orchard* and another *Garden* arose, between 1708 and 1722, on the identical spot indicated by the boundaries, in the Deeds to Pepys, to Williams, and to Bannister, as *Blackstone's six acres*. If this be not *Blackstone's Orchard*, there is not the slightest vestige, on Bonner's plan, of that "*Orchard*," conveyed, as an *Orchard*, to Thomas Bannister, only fourteen years before. Look on Bonner's plan, gentle reader, and judge for thyself.

And now of the spring. Mr. Charles Shaw published his *History of Boston*, in 1837. On Page 103, referring to Blackstone's information, to Governor Winthrop, of an excellent spring, in Shawmut, Mr. Shaw observes: "*What spring Mr. Blaxton had respect to, in his invitation, we cannot say; it is probable, however, it was the spring now to be seen (1800) on the westerly part of the town, near the bay which divides Boston from Cambridge*." Mr. Drake—*History of Boston*, 97, Note—after saying, as we have already stated, that Blackstone's "*point*" "*is easier located than his house or his spring*," seems half inclined to think the latter might have been in Poplar-street, and remarks, that "*what Shaw says agrees very well with this*." The reader will mark, that Shaw speaks of a spring, "*at the westerly*" [not northwesterly] "*part of the town, near the bay which divides Cambridge*" [not Charlestown] "*from Boston*." Mr. Drake will readily perceive how much more applicable this description is to a spring, not very far up the hill from Charles-street, and, as nearly as I can recollect, between Chesnut and

Mount Vernon-streets. Mr. Henry Sargent contrived a single railway, as it was called. Two rails, elevated a number of feet and diverging from a point, on the hill, to the points below where the earth was to be discharged, were employed, during the process of lowering Beacon-hill. These rails were bestridden by large wooden panniers, or boxes, connected by a rope passing round a wheel, or truck, at the top. The full boxes, as they descended, brought up the empty ones. I was repeatedly present, witnessing this operation. I am not alone, in possessing a distinct recollection of this spring; and, on more than one occasion, well remember to have tasted its waters.

If we are correct, in our views of Blackstone's whereabouts, this spring must have been rather more convenient, for his occasions, than to have mounted Beacon hill, and descended on the other side, with his biggin and dipper, as far as the present *locus in quo* of Poplar-street. There were also several springs, about the peninsula. Shaw, on Page 103, says—"In the early records of the town, mention is made of the great spring which discharged its waters into what is now called Spring-lane, leading from Cornhill to Devonshire-street." I believe the whereabouts of William Blaxton—whose name is thus spelt on the records of Emanuel College, Cambridge, and who graduated there A. B., 1617, and A. M., 1621, our pilgrim—I believe his whereabouts, on the peninsula, were, as indicated on Captain John Bonner's plan, of 1722, not very far from the bottom of the present Beacon-street. And I am satisfied that Mr. Daggett, in his *History of Attleborough*, Page 29, is entirely mistaken, when he says—"it is not certain, however, but probable, that the blood of Blackstone runs not in the veins of any human being." I find no good reason for doubting that there are five families of Blackstone, in Brandon, in the State of Connecticut, and four or five more, in the State of New York, all descendants of the Boston pilgrim. My present business is with his whereabouts. The reason for this last opinion, in regard to his progeny, I shall not trouble you with, unless some of your readers should take sufficient interest in the matter, to request their publication.

—"*si quid novisti, rectius istis,
Candidus imperti, si non, his utere mecum*."
SIGMA.

II.*

MORE ABOUT BLAXTON.

We cheerfully comply with the wishes of your correspondent, "D," in the *Transcript*, of October the first; and are pleased to find that

* From *The [Boston] Evening Transcript*, of October 7, 1868.

others take an interest in this worthy pilgrim's progress, and in his progeny. If the reader will go along with us, in good earnest, doubt I not he will arrive at the same conclusions with ourselves.

William Blackstone left Boston in 1635, and came here, again, to be married, in 1659. He was married to the widow Sarah Stevenson, by Governor John Endicott, on the fourth of July, of that year. So say the Town Records. She died about the middle of June, 1673, two years before her husband.—*Massachusetts Historical Collections*, xx., 17.

Governor Hopkins, in his account of Providence, says: "William Blackstone came and 'settled by the side of Pawtucket-river, near 'the Southern part of that which is now the 'town of Cumberland.'" * * * "At this, "his new plantation, he lived, uninterrupted, for "many years, and there again raised an orchard, "the first that ever bore apples, in the Colony "of Rhode Island; he had the first of that "sort, called 'yellow sweetings,' that were ever "in the world, perhaps the richest and sweetest "apple of the whole kind; many of the trees "which he planted, about one hundred and "thirty years ago, are still (1765) pretty thrifty "fruit-bearing trees. Mr. Blackstone used frequently to come to Providence, to preach the "Gospel; and, to encourage his younger hearers, gave them the first apples they ever saw. "It is said, that, when he was old and unable "to travel on foot, and not having any horse, "he used to ride on a bull, which he had trained, and tutored to that use."—*Massachusetts Historical Collections*, xix., 174.

In describing the bounds of Rehoboth, the following passage will be found, in the Records of Plymouth Colony: "From Rehoboth, ranging from Patucket-river, to a place called by 'the natives, 'Wawepowseag,' where one "Blackstone now liveth."—*Massachusetts Historical Collections*, xx., 171.

His death occurred on the twenty-sixth of May, 1675, having lived in New England about fifty years. Shortly after his death, the Indian War broke out, and his house and its contents were burnt, by the savages. In the volume, last cited, page 172, an inventory may be found of his lands, goods, and chattels—his house, orchard, two hundred and sixty acres of land, two shares in Providence-meadow, a tract called Blackstone's meadow, and his library, comprising one hundred and eighty-six volumes, in different languages.

There can be little doubt, that, by himself, his name was written *Blaxton*. It was so found, by Mr. Savage, entered on the records of Emanuel College; and Mr. Daggett, in his *History of Attleborough*, Page 29, states, that the name is

so written, by John, the son of the pilgrim, in the original Deeds by which the lands of the father were, after his decease, conveyed to the grantee and which Deeds were in the possession of John Whipple, of Cumberland.

Mr. Bliss, in his *History of Rehoboth*, says, writing in 1836, "Three apple-trees are now "standing, in the South end of Blackstone's "meadow, and two of them bear apples. "They appear to be very old, but, probably, "grew from the sprouts of those planted by "Blackstone."

The vestiges of his cellar, his well, and his grave are thus referred to, by Mr. Bliss: "The "Whipple family, in whose possession the "land has ever remained, since it was sold "to them, by Blackstone's son, John Blackstone, "say that the house was in the meadow, East "side of the hill. And Judge Dexter, of Cumberland, who resides near the spot, tells me, "that, within his recollection, Blackstone's "cellar, with the stoning, was plainly to be seen; "and pointed out to me the spot, about four "rods East of the hill, and two East from his "grave. His well, with the stoning almost entire, "is still to be seen, a few rods South of the cellar and grave, on the second table and meadow. "The grave is marked, by two rude stones of "crystallized quartz, at the head and foot."

Before we proceed to speak of the pilgrim's descendants, let us remove an obstacle, which may perplex the reader. A writer—S. D., in *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, xx., 171,—says Blackstone "had a daughter, married to "Mr. John Stevenson." Blackstone had no daughter. S. D.'s mistake arose from the fact that John Stevenson is called the *son-in-law* of William Blackstone; and such he was, *quasi*, for he was the son of William Blackstone's wife, Sarah, by her first husband. There is no evidence that William Blackstone had more than one child; and his name was John. He was born at Rehoboth; and was a minor when his father died. The Plymouth Colony Records say—"June 1, 1675. Lieut. Hunt, Ensign Smith, "and Mr. Daniel Smith are appointed and authorized by the Court to take some present "care of the estate of Mr. William Blackstone "deceased, and of his son now left by him; "and to see, that, at the next Court, he do propose a man to the Court, to be his guardian, "which, in case he do neglect, the Court will "then see cause to make choice of one for "him."

According to Mr. Bliss, in his *History of Rehoboth*, Page 13, John was a fast young man; wasted his substance, in intemperance and idleness; sold his paternal acres to David Whipple, in 1692; removed to Providence; became a shoemaker; married his wife, Katherine, there, in

1713; returned with her to Attleborough; was legally warned out of town; removed to the neighborhood of New Haven, where, Mr. Bliss says he has been credibly informed, there were living, a short time before 1836, a family of the name of Blackstone, having peculiarities similar to those of the pilgrim, especially a love of solitude. He adds a tradition, that a *grandson* of William Blackstone was a Lieutenant, and fell at the siege of Louisburg. Mr. Daggett, in his *History of Attleborough*, Page 29, after saying—"it is generally supposed, by historians, that the family is now extinct," observes "There is some reason to believe that his son emigrated to Connecticut, and settled on a neck of land not far from New Haven, where it is possible some of his posterity may exist in the female line."

We request the reader to notice and bear in mind, our italics. The researches of Mr. Bliss and Mr. Daggett seem not to have been very extensive, on this point. Persuaded, by this and other evidence, that John Blackstone, the wandering, and somewhat unworthy, descendant of our kind-hearted pilgrim, had located himself, at last, *not far from New Haven*, it occurred to us, that Professor Silliman, the elder, who knows so much of everything, worth knowing, might be able to offer some suggestions, in aid of our investigation. In March, 1849, we addressed him, on the subject. In his very kind reply of March 23, he put us upon a track, which we pursued, as we believe, and as we think the intelligent reader will believe, successfully. His letter, and the result of our inquiries, we shall lay before the reader, in the following number.

SIGMA.

III.*

MORE ABOUT BLAXTON.

We now offer extracts from Professor Silliman's letter, in reply to ours, of March, 1849:

"In the town of Branford, ten miles East from New Haven, lives James Blackstone, I suppose a lineal descendant of the primitive man of Boston. His residence is two miles East, or South-east, of Branford village, which is eight miles from New Haven, two miles on the road toward Stony Brook, a watering-place, on the sea-shore. Mr. Blackstone is a man of great worth and respectability; has often represented his town in the Legislature; and has been a member of the State Senate. Some of our respectable citizens represent Mr. Blackstone as both intelligent and kind, and well-informed as to his own genealogy. * * * I think you may, without hesitation, address 'Mr. Blackstone.'"

Professor Silliman adds, that his information is derived from the Hon. Mr. Ingersoll, our late Minister to Russia, and others, personally acquainted with Mr. Blackstone. In all this, as the reader will admit, we had an excellent starting point; and we now propose to prove, beyond all reasonable doubt, that the Hon. James Blackstone, of Branford, is the great-great-grandson of William Blaxton, the Boston pilgrim.

We addressed several letters to Mr. James Blackstone, and have, just now, taken from our files, and read over, his replies of April 2, 10, and 24, 1849. He was then fifty-four years old—Timothy, the father of JAMES, was then living, at the age of eighty-three—John, the grandfather of JAMES, died, in Branford, on the tenth of August, 1818, at the age of eighty-seven—John, the great-grandfather of JAMES, died, in Branford, on the third of January, 1785, at the age of eighty-five years, eleven months, and fifteen days. Thus far, all is clear. Here are four generations—John—John—Timothy—JAMES. To my first inquiry, the Hon. James Blackstone replied thus:

"As it respects my being a descendant of a man, named William Blackstone, I have no doubt of that; whether it was the identical one that you allude to, I am not positive; although, from all the information that I am in possession of, I have not much doubt of it. I have no testimony, in my possession, to identify my ancestors, any farther back than 'John Blackstone.'"

Here he refers to John, his great-grandfather, who died in 1785, and whom he calls "*John Blackstone the first*"—not being aware of any other, and earlier, *John Blackstone*. At my request, the Hon. James Blackstone has copied the inscription from his great-grandfather's grave-stone—"In memory of John Blackstone, who departed this life, Jan. 3d, A. D. 1785, aged 85 years, 11 months, and 15 days." This John could not have been the son of the pilgrim, for he died, in 1675, or one hundred and ten years before. Our opinion is that this John, who died in 1785, was the son of John, referred to, in the Plymouth Colony records, and by the historians of Rehoboth and Attleborough, as John, the son of William, the pilgrim. Daggett, in his *History of Attleborough*, Page 20, says: "William Blackstone left one son, John Blackstone, who, it is supposed, settled somewhere near New Haven. He lived on his inheritance, till 1692, when he sold his lands to David Whipple, and, soon after, removed to Providence. There, it is probable, he married his wife, Katherine, and continued to reside, till 1718."

There is no chronological reason, therefore, in

* From *The (Boston) Evening Transcript*, of October 15, 1853.

the way of his having been the father of John Blackstone, who died in 1785, nearly eighty-six years of age, and was born, of course, in 1699. John, son of the pilgrim, seems, after a wandering life, to have "*settled somewhere near New Haven.*" So far, the probabilities appear to thicken; and we shall presently see that the grandfather's prudence, thrift, and industry revived in the grandson, that is, in John, who died, in 1735.

It would be remarkable, if two *distinct* families, bearing a name, then, and even now, so exceedingly rare, should, within a few years, have settled down, so near *New Haven*, the *paterfamilias* of each having the same given-name and the same patronymic—*John Blackstones*! Yet tradition says, that William's son John settled there; and John, who died in 1785, certainly settled there, lived there, and died there.

John, the son of William, was poor and shiftless; and nothing is known of his latter days. He had, probably, nothing to bestow upon his offspring. We now present an interesting passage, from the Hon. James Blackstone's letter of the tenth of April, 1849. Writing of his great-grandfather, whom we believe to be the son of wandering John, he says: "When he came to Branford, he was entirely destitute of property of any kind; and tradition says, that he left his father's home, in England, in consequence of difficulty with his parents, about property; and that his father and mother were very partial to a brother-in-law of his."

Let us examine this tradition, which we have placed in italics; and we are much mistaken, if it does not go far to confirm our opinion. It goes back, one hundred and fifty years, to 1699, the time, when the great-grandfather of the Hon. James Blackstone was born. Let us make a just allowance, for the attrition of time. While reciting traditional stories, how common it is, to mingle *proavi* and *atavi* together, and to substitute great-grandfathers, for great-great-grandfathers. Now let us see if this tradition, which had been vaguely referred to, in Branford, for more than one hundred years, and applied to John Blackstone, who died in 1785, because they knew nothing of any earlier John, will apply to John, the son of William. We know that William, the pilgrim, came from England, in early life; for he was here, about 1625, having graduated A. M., at Emanuel College, in 1631. Whether any difficulty with his parents mingled with his dislike of the "Lords Bishops," to cause his voluntary expatriation, we know not. But there is very good reason to believe that his son, John, had "*a difficulty with his parents.*" He also had "*a brother-in-law,*" John Stevenson, to whom his father and mother had the very best of reasons for being "*very*

"*partial.*" He appears to have won a public and honorable notice, for his care of his venerable step-father, in his old age; for, while we may well suppose that the vagrant and unthrifty habits, for which their son, John Blackstone, was afterwards noted, were showing their premonitory symptoms of idleness and disobedience, the devotion of his brother-in-law to his venerable parents was so remarkable, as to obtain for him, after their decease, the following honorable testimony:

"July 10, 1675. Whereas the Court is informed that one, whose name is John Stevenson, son, son-in-law to Mr. William Blackstone, late deceased, was very helpful to his father and mother, in their life time, without whom they could not have subsisted, as to a good help and instrument thereof, and he is now left, in a low and mean condition; and never was in any manner recompensed, for his good service aforesaid; and if (as it is said at least) his father-in-law engaged to his mother, at his marriage with her, that he should be considered with a competency of land, out of the said Blackstone's land, then lived on, which hath never yet been performed; and forasmuch as the personal estate of the said Blackstone is so small and inconsiderable that he the said Stevenson cannot be relieved out of it; this Court, therefore, in consideration of the premises, do order and dispose fifty acres of land unto the said John Stevenson, out of the lands of the said William Blackstone, and five acres of meadow, to be laid out to him, by Ensign Henry Smith, and Mr. Daniel Smith, and Mr. Nathaniel Paine, according as they shall think meet so as it may be most commodious to him, or as little prejudicial to the seat of Mr. William Blackstone, as may be.

"By order of the Court, for the jurisdiction of Plymouth."

Hence, doubtless, arose the "*difficulty about property.*" in the tradition. John Blackstone was probably dissatisfied with this righteous order of the Court, by which he was compelled to lose so considerable a portion of his father's estate.

Mr. Daggett had, certainly, a very imperfect knowledge of the *whole* truth, when, in 1894, he surmised that some of Blackstone's family might exist, near *New Haven*, in the female line. The Hon. James Blackstone says, in his letter of April 2, 1849, that John Blackstone, who died in 1785, left two sons and two daughters, who lived and died in Branford; and, he adds, "there are now five families of Blackstones living in Branford, and some four or five more in the State of New York, all descendants of

"John Blackstone"—meaning his great-grandfather, who died, in 1785. For he was not, at the time of writing, aware of an earlier John, *his great-great-grandfather, the only son of the pilgrim.* SIGMA.

VI.—THE CONSTITUTION FOR THE UNITED STATES.

[From *The New Hampshire Gazette*, May 29, 1788.]

OBSERVATIONS ON THE CONSTITUTION PROPOSED BY THE FEDERAL CONVENTION.

But besides the objections, originating from the before-mentioned cause,* that have been called *local*, there are other objections that are supposed to rise from the maxims of liberty and policy.

Hence it is inferred that the proposed system has such inherent vices, as must necessarily produce a bad administration, and at length the oppression of a monarchy or an aristocracy in the federal officers.

The writer of this address being convinced by as exact an investigation as he could make, that such mistakes may lead to the perdition of his country, esteems it his indispensable duty, strenuously to contend, that *the power of the People* pervading the proposed system, together with the *strong confederation of the States*, forms an adequate security against every danger that has been apprehended.

If this single assertion can be supported by facts and arguments, there will be reason to hope, that painful anxieties will be removed from the minds of some citizens, who are truly devoted to the interests of *America*, and who have been thrown into afflictive perplexities, by the never-ending mazes of multiplied, intricate, and contrariant disquisitions. The objectors agree, that the *confederation of the States will be strong*, according to the system proposed, and *so strong*, that many of them loudly complain of that strength. On this part of the assertion there is no dispute: But some of the objections that have been published strike at another part of the principle assumed, and deny that the system is sufficiently founded on *the power of the People*.

The course of regular enquiry demands that *these* objections should be considered in the first place. If *they* are removed, then *all the rest* of the objections, concerning unnecessary taxations, standing armies, the abolishment of

trials by jury, the liberty of the press, the freedom of commerce, the judicial, executive, and legislative authorities of the several States, and the rights of citizens, and the other abuses of federal Government, must, of consequence, be rejected, if the principle contains the salutary, purifying, and preserving qualities attributed to it. The question then will be—*Not what may be done, when the Government shall be turned into a tyranny; but how the Government can be so turned?*

Thus unembarrassed by subordinate discussions, we may come fairly to the contemplation of that superior point, and be better enabled to discover whether our attention to it will afford *any lights*, whereby we may be conducted to *peace, liberty, and safety*.

The objections, denying that the system proposed is sufficiently formed on the *power of the People*, state that the number of the federal trustees or officers is too *small*, and that they are to hold their *offices too long*.

One would really have supposed that *smallness of number* could not be termed a cause of danger, as *influence* must increase with *enlargement*. If this is a fault, it will soon be corrected, as an addition will be often made to the numbers of the *Senators*, and, almost every year, to that of the *Representatives*; and, in all probability, much sooner than we shall be able and willing to bear the expense of the addition. As to the *Senate*, it never can be, and it never ought to be, large, if it is to possess the powers which almost all the objectors seem inclined to allot to it, as will be evident to every intelligent person who considers those powers.

Tho' small, let it be remembered, that it is to be created by the *sovereignties* of the several States, that is, by the persons whom the People of each State shall judge to be *most worthy*, and who, surely, will be religiously attentive to making a selection, in which the interest and honour of their State will be so extensively concerned. It should be remembered, too, that this is the *same* manner in which the members of Congress are *now* appointed; and that, herein, the *sovereignties* of the States are so intimately involved, that however a renunciation of part of these powers may be desired by *some of the States*, it *never* will be obtained from the *rest of them*. Peaceable, paternal, and benevolent as these are, they think the concessions they have made ought to satisfy all.

That the *Senate* may always be kept *full*, without the interference of Congress, it is provided that if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments, until the next

* There was a previously-published article, which we have not found.—*Editor.*

meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill up such vacancies.

As to the *House of Representatives*, it is to consist of a number of persons not exceeding one for every thirty thousand. Thus, *every* member of that House will be elected by a *majority of the electors of a whole State*; or by a *majority of the electors among thirty thousand persons*. These electors will reside, widely dispersed, over an extensive country. Cabal and corruption will be as impracticable, as, on such occasions, human institutions can render them. *The will of freemen*, thus circumstanced, will give the *fiat*. The purity of election thus obtained, will amply compensate for the supposed defect of representation; and the members, thus chosen, will be most apt to harmonize, in their proceedings, with the general interests, feelings, and sentiments of the people.

Allowing such an increase of population as, from experience and a variety of causes, may be expected, the *Representatives*, in a short period, will amount to several hundreds, and, most probably, long before any change of manners, for the worst, that might tempt or encourage our rulers to mal-administration, will take place on this Continent.

That *this may always* be kept full, without the interference of Congress, it is provided in the system, that when vacancies happen in any State, the Executive authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such vacancies. But, it seems, the number of the federal officers is not only too small: they are to hold their offices too long.

This objection surely applies not to the *House of Representatives*, who are to be chosen *every two years*, especially if the extent of empire and the vast variety and importance of their deliberation be considered. In that view, *they and the Senate* will actually be not only *legislative* but also *diplomatic* bodies, perpetually engaged in the arduous task of reconciling, in their determinations, the interest of several *sovereign* States, not to insist on the necessity of a competent knowledge of *foreign* affairs relative to the States.

They who desire the *Representatives* to be chosen *every year*, should exceed Newton in calculations, if they attempt to evince, that the public business would, in that case, be better transacted than when they are chosen *every two years*. The idea, however, for the zeal that prompted it.

Is monarchy or aristocracy to be produced, without the consent of the People, by a *House of Representatives* thus constituted?

It has been unanimously agreed by the friends of liberty, frequent Elections of the *Representatives of the People*, are the most sovereign

Remedy of all Grievances in a Free Government.

Let us pass on to the Senate.

At the end of two years after the first election, *one-third* is to be elected for *six* years. Of the remaining thirds, one will consequently have but *four* years and the other but two years to continue in office. The whole number at first will amount but to *twenty-six*; must ever continue *very small*, will be regularly *renovated* by the *biennial* elections of *one-third*; and will be *overlooked and overawed* by the House of *Representatives*, nearly three times more numerous at the beginning, rapidly and vastly augmenting, and more enabled to overlook and overawe them by holding *their* offices for *two years*, as thereby they will acquire better information respecting national affairs. These *representatives* will also command the public purse, as *all Bills for raising revenue* must *originate* in their house.

As in the *Roman* armies, when the *Principes* and *Hastati* failed, there were still the *Triarii*, who generally put things to rights, so we shall be supplied with another resource. We are to have a *President* to *superintend* and, if he thinks the public weal requires it, to control any act of the *Representatives* and Senate. This President is to be chosen, not by the People at large, because it may not be possible that all the freemen of the empire should always have the necessary information for directing their choice for such an officer; nor by Congress, lest it should disturb the national councils; nor by *any one body* whatever, for fear of undue influence.

He is to be chosen in the following manner. Each State shall appoint, as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of *Electors* equal to the *whole number of Senators and Representatives*, to which the State shall be entitled in Congress: but no *Senator* or *Representative*, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the *United States*, shall be appointed an Elector. As these Electors are to be appointed as the Legislature of each State may direct, of course they will be appointed by the People of the State, if *such be the pleasure of the People*. Thus the fairest, freest opening is given, for each State to choose such *Electors* for this purpose, as shall be most signally qualified to fulfil the trust.

To guard against undue influence, these Electors, thus chosen, are to meet in *their respective States*, and vote by ballot; and still further to guard against it, Congress may determine the time of choosing the Electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes—which day shall be the same throughout the *United States*. All the votes from the several States are to be

transmitted to Congress, and therein counted. The President is to hold his office for *four* years.

When these Electors meet in their respective States, utterly vain will be the unreasonable suggestions derived from *partiality*. The Electors may throw away their votes; mark, with public disappointment, some person improperly favoured by them; or, justly revering the duties of their office, dedicate their votes to the best interests of their country.

This President will be no *dictator*; *two-thirds of the Representatives and the Senate* may pass any law, *notwithstanding his dissent*; and he is *removable* and *punishable* for misbehaviour. Can the limited, fluctuated *Senate*, placed amidst such powers, if it should become willing, ever become able, to make *America* pass under its yoke? The Senators will generally be inhabitants of places very distant one from another. They can scarcely be acquainted till they meet. Few of them can ever act together for any length of time, unless their good conduct recommends them to a re-election—and then there will be frequent changes in a body *dependent upon the choice of other bodies*, the Legislatures of the several States, that are altering every year. *Machiavel* and *Cesar Borgia* together could not form a conspiracy in such a Senate, dangerous to any but themselves and their accomplices.

It is essential to every good Government that there should be *some Council*, permanent enough to get a due knowledge of affairs, internal and external; so constituted that, by some deaths or removals, the current of information should not be impeded or disturbed; and so regulated, as to be responsible to and controllable by the *People*. Where can the authority for combining these advantages be more safely, beneficially, or *satisfactorily* lodged, than in the Senate, to be formed according to the plan proposed? Shall parts of the trust be committed to the President with Counsellors, who shall subscribe their advices? If assaults upon liberty are to be guarded against, and surely they ought to be, with sleepless vigilance, why should we depend more on the *Commander-in-chief* of the Army and Navy of the United States and of the Militia of the several States, and on his Counsellors, whom he may secretly influence, than on the *Senate* to be appointed by the persons exercising the *sovereign* authority of the several States? In truth, the objections against the powers of the Senate originated from a desire to have them, or at least some of them, vested in a body, in which the several States should be represented, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, as in the House of Representatives. This method is un-

attainable, and the wish for it should be dismissed from every mind that desires the existence of a Confederation.

What assurance can be given, or what probability be assigned, that a Board of Counsellors would continue honest, longer than the Senate? Or, that they would possess more useful information, respecting all the States, than the Senators of all the States? It appears needless to pursue this argument any further.

How varied, balanced, concordant, and benign, is the system proposed to us! To secure the freedom and promote the happiness of these and future States, by giving the will of the People a decisive influence over the whole, and over all the parts, with what a comprehensive arrangement does it embrace different modes of representations, from an election by a County to an election by an empire! What are the complicated ballot, and all the refined devices of *Venice*, for maintaining her aristocracy, when compared with this plain-dealing work for diffusing the blessings of *equal liberty and common prosperity* over myriads of the human race?

All the foundations before mentioned, of the federal Government, are, by the proposed system, to be established, in the most clear, strong, positive, unequivocal expressions, of which our language is capable. *Magna Charta*, or any other law, never contained clauses more decisive and emphatic. While the People of these States have sense, they will understand them and while they have spirit, they will make them to be observed.

FABIUS, No 2.

VII.—DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE TREASON OF BENEDICT ARNOLD, TO HIS WIFE, AND TO MAJOR ANDRE.

COMMUNICATED BY WILLIAM GILLMORE SIMMS, LL.D.

(The within papers are contributions, from original records, in the case of Benedict Arnold, Andre and Arnold's wife, and will be suggestive to the future historian, biographer, or writer of fiction. They were furnished to me chiefly by Mr. Henry C. Baird, of Philadelphia.—W. G. S.)

I.—RESOLUTIONS OF THE SUPREME EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, FEBRUARY 8. 1779.

This Board having maturely considered the general tenor and course of the military command exercised by Major-general Arnold, in this city and State, and divers transactions which have appeared to this Board during his command, *do resolve, unanimously,*

FIRST, That the same hath been in many respects oppressive to the faithful subjects of the State, unworthy of his rank and station,

highly discouraging to those who have manifested their attachment to the liberties and interests of America, and disrespectful to the supreme executive authority of the State,

Wherefore, Resolved, unanimously,

SECOND, That nothing but the most urgent and pressing necessity can justify or induce this Board to call forth any waggons or Militia, or otherwise subject the good people of this State to the power and command of the said General Arnold, within the State, should he resume it, upon his return.

THIRD, ORDERED, That the Attorney-general do prosecute the said General Arnold, for such illegal and oppressive conduct as is cognizable in the Courts of law.

And, that this Board may not be supposed capable of passing the above Resolves upon mere general grounds, and more especially in the case of one who has formerly distinguished himself in public service, they think proper to declare that the consideration last-mentioned has hitherto restrained them from taking proper notice of General Arnold, hoping that every unworthy transaction would be the last, or that a becoming sense of such improprieties would effect an alteration of conduct. But, finding that tenderness has only led to insult and farther oppression, duty to the State, regard to the interests and happiness of the good people thereof, who must be affected by all abuses of power, oblige us thus to take notice thereof, and further declare, that the said Resolves are founded upon the following Articles, in which they have sufficient ground to esteem General Arnold culpable:

FIRST, That, while in the camp of General Washington, at Valley Forge, last Spring, he gave permission to a vessel belonging to persons then voluntarily residing in this city with the enemy, and of disaffected character, to come into a port of the United States, without the knowledge of the authority of the State, or of the Commander-in-chief, though then present.

SECOND, In having shut up the shops and stores, on his arrival in the city, so as even to prevent officers of the army from purchasing, while he privately made considerable purchases for his own benefit, as is alleged and believed.

THIRD, In imposing menial offices upon the sons of freemen of this State, when called forth, by the desire of Congress to perform Militia duty; and when remonstrated to, hereupon, justifying himself in writing, upon the ground of having power so to do; for that "when a citizen assumed the character of a soldier, the former was entirely lost in the latter; and that it was the duty of the Militia to obey

"every Order of his Aids (not a breach of the laws and Constitution) as his (the General's) without judging of the propriety of them."

FOURTH, For that, when a prize was brought into this port, by a Convention Brig, of this State, whereon a dispute arose respecting the capture, which would otherwise, in great probability, have been amicably adjusted between the claimants, General Arnold interposed, by an illegal and unworthy purchase of the suit, at a low and inadequate price, as has been publicly charged by a reputable citizen; to which may in some degree be ascribed the delay of justice, in the Courts of Appeal, and the dispute in which the State may probably be involved with Congress, hereupon.

FIFTH, The appropriating the waggons of this State, when called forth upon a special emergency, last Autumn, to the transportation of private property and that of persons who voluntarily remained with the enemy, last Winter, and were deemed disaffected to the interests and independence of America.

SIXTH, In that Congress, by a Resolve of the twenty-first of August last, having given to the executive powers of every State an exclusive power to recommend persons desirous of going within the enemy's lines, to the officer there commanding, General Arnold, in order, as may reasonably be inferred, to elude the said Resolve, wrote a letter, as appears by comparison of the hands and the declaration of the intended bearer, recommendatory for the above purpose, and caused his Aid-de-camp, Major Clarkson, to sign the same. But the said device not taking effect, through the vigilance of the officers at Elizabethtown, General Arnold, without disclosing any of the above circumstances, applied to Council for their permission, which was instantly refused, the connection, character, and situation of the party being well known and deemed utterly improper to be indulged with such permission, thereby violating the Resolve of Congress, and usurping the authority of this Board.

SEVENTH, This Board having, upon the complaint of several inhabitants of Chester-county, through the late Waggon-master-general, requested of the said General Arnold to state the said transaction respecting the waggons, in order that they might satisfy the complaints or explain the same, without further trouble, received in return an indecent and disrespectful refusal of any satisfaction whatever.

EIGHTH, The discouragements and neglect manifested by General Arnold, during his command, to civil, military, and other characters, who have adhered to the cause of their country, with an entirely different conduct towards those of another character, are too notorious to

need proof or illustration. And if this command has been, as is generally believed, supported at an expense of four or five thousand pounds per annum, to the United States, we freely declare we shall very unwillingly pay any share of expences thus incurred.

Extract from the Minutes.

T. MATLACK, Secretary.

II.—EXTRACTS OF A LETTER FROM ED. BURD TO HIS FATHER.*

LAN^r. 10. Nov. 1780

DEAR & HONORED SIR

I was in great hopes of receiving a Letter from you this Court but as some of the Paxton people will be going up this Afternoon, I embrace the opportunity of writing to you. You have doubtless heard of ye unfortunate affair of Mrs. Arnold. We tried every means to prevail on the Council to permit her to stay among us, and not to go to that infernal Villain her Husband at New York. The Council seemed for a considerable time disposed to favor our Request, but at length have ordered her away. Yesterday was the day she was to have set off, and Mr. Shippen intending to accompany her the greatest part of the way, could not be up at this Court. This circumstance has involved the whole family in the deepest distress. Mr. Shippen had promised the Council, and Mrs. Arnold had signed a writing to the same purpose, engaging not to write to Gen^r Arnold, any Letters whatever, and to receive no letters without showing them to Council, if she was permitted to stay—However this did not answer ye purpose we hoped for— If she could stay Mr. Shippen would not have wished her ever to be united to him again. It makes me melancholy everytime I think of the matter. I cannot bear the Idea of her Re-union. The sacrifice was an immense one at her being married to him at all—it is much more so to be obliged against her will to go to the Arms of a Man who appears so very black.

* * * * *

It is the prevailing opinion that the English have left Virginia

* * * * *

I beg my love, in which Uncle Shippen joins me to my Mother and all the family, and am

Yr aff. & dutiful Son
E. BURD.

* The original of this letter is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; and some private matters are left out of this copy. The letter is to Colonel Burd, the father of the writer. Ed. Burd afterwards married a sister of Mrs. Arnold.

III.—EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM GENERAL WILLIAM IRVINE TO GOVERNOR MCKEAN, DATED NOVEMBER 4TH, 1780.*

But there is a particular subject which appears to me of great importance indeed—which is said to be already fixed, but I can not believe it, I mean a successor to the office you now hold. Among the gentlemen of the Bar, who are attending the Court here, this week, I understanding it is said Mr. Shippen is the man and added that you cannot, dare not, brake through the line of succession, for fear of a future election. That Mr. Shippens age and infirmity makes it probable he will serve only a few months, that in course Mr. Yates will succeed him—on this permit me to indulge myself with making an observation—which is, that if the absolute want of men in the State to fill these offices should render their appointment indispensable it is a deplorable situation—because they and connections were generally against the Revolution, and now the whole tribe form a complete cabal who would tomorrow wish to see the State Government at least swallowed up in the general Government, if not the whole returned under Britain—only look at them from the inveterate malicious impudent reptile C. Smith up to the head, and can there be doubt of this; but why should I trouble you with what you must know better than I can possibly? Only Sir to inform you how galling it must be, if they are to be gratified, to every real Republican. In looking round for a man to fill that office, I confess from my scanty knowledge on the subject, it is difficult to fix on one, but from all circumstances that have occurred to me I think Mr. Chew preferable—it is true he was not active with us in the Revolution, but I believe he did nothing against us—he is much more famed for law knowledge, principles of honor, and integrity—and is not cursed with a low groveling train of connections besides I understand his present position entitles him to consideration. If I have erred or given the smallest cause of offence in this communication I doubt not you will pardon it when you give credit to the motive mentioned in the beginning of this letter.

IV.—PROCEEDINGS SUBSEQUENT TO THE TREASON.

[From the *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, October 4, 1780.]

As soon as these letters were read, the con-

* The original of the above is in *The Irvine Papers*, Vol. viii., in possession of H. C. Baird, Esq. Philadelphia. General Irvine was Colonel and General in the Army of the Revolution. After the Revolution, he was a Member of Congress, &c., &c., and always, afterwards, a prominent citizen of Pennsylvania and an estimable man.—H. C. B.

tents were communicated to the Vice-President and the Council of this State and the Justices of the Supreme Court, who directed an immediate seizure of all Arnold's papers, which was made, and though no direct proof of his treachery was found, the papers disclose such a scene of baseness and prostitution of office and character, as it is hoped this new world cannot parallel. His participation of the plunder of this city, when he held the command, after the evacuation of the enemy, is now found by the agreement signed between him and his accomplices to share the profits of that shameful business. It seems that he and some others, whose names will probably, in due time, be made known, now have subsisting contracts with persons in New York for merchandise. In making an estimate of his estate, he enumerates his share of the sloop *Active*, tho' he found witnesses to swear before the Grand Jury that he had no share in her. In short, his whole command appears to have been a scene of the basest traffick and public plunder. In August last, he directs his wife to draw all she can from the Commissaries and sell it or store it, tho', at that very time, the Army was destitute of provisions. In the private correspondence of his family and himself are contained the most sarcastic and contemptuous expressions of the French Nation and of an eminent personage of that country whose hospitality and politeness they were at that time frequently experiencing. The illiberal abuse of every character opposed to his fraudulent and wicked transactions exceed all description.

* * * * *

Our correspondent concludes with a remark on the falacious and dangerous sentiments so frequently avowed in this city, that the female opinions are of no consequence in public matters. The Romans though far otherwise, or we should not have heard of the Cæliæ and Corneliæ, and Abiæ, of antiquity; and had we thought and acted like them we should have despised and banished from social intercourse every character, whether male or female, which could be so lost to virtue, decency, and humanity, as to revel with the murderers and plunderers of their countrymen. Behold the consequences. Major André, under the mask of friendship and former acquaintance at Meschianza and Balls, opens a correspondence, in August, 1779, with Mrs. Arnold, which has doubtless been improved on his part to the dreadful and horrid issue we have described, and which but for the overruling care of a kind Providence, must have involved this country and our allies in great distress and perhaps utter ruin.

2.—From *The Pennsylvania Packet*, October 17 1780.

A.—EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM A GENTLEMAN AT CAMP.

A moment before his (Arnold) setting out he went into Mrs. Arnold's apartment, and informed her that certain transactions had just come to light, which must forever banish him from his country. She fell into a swoon, at this declaration, and he left her in it, to consult his own safety, till the servants, alarmed by her cries, came to her relief. She remained frantic all day, accusing every one who approached her with an intention of murdering her child (an infant in her arms) and exhibiting every mark of the most agonising affliction. Exhausted by the fatigue and tumult of her spirits, her frenzy subsided towards evening, and she sunk into all the sadness of distress. It was impossible not to have been touched with her situation; everything affecting in female tears or in the misfortunes of beauty, everything pathetic in the wounded tenderness of a wife or in the apprehensive fondness of a mother, and every appearance of suffering innocence, conspired to make her an object of pity to all who were present. She experienced the most delicate attentions and every friendly office, till her departure for Philadelphia.

B.—EXTRACT FROM THE "ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF AMERICA" WHICH SHOULD HAVE BEEN, CONSISTENT WITH TRUTH, MADE BY GENERAL ARNOLD, INSTEAD OF THAT DATED "NEW YORK, OCTOBER 7, 1780."

The removal of the English from Philadelphia presented one [an opportunity] which I improved to my best advantage. You will say, was it not now time to withdraw? By no means. In contending for wealth, I am free to declare that this end attained, my warfare should cease. But I had married a young wife, set up a chariot, and entered on a plan of expensive living which swallowed up all my gains. I lamented therefore the prosecution commenced against me, by the ruling power of Pennsylvania, who detected some of my practices, and was almost drove to despair by the scrutiny into my public accounts made by the Board of Treasury, who developed my arts of chicanery, trickery and peculation; and in one instance, prevented me from securing myself a thousand pounds, hard money, notwithstanding I practised every artifice that cunning could suggest, to gain the point. Fortunately, however, a new and tempting scene opened to my view. Maj. André, the confidential friend of Gen. Sir Henry Clinton, gave me an opportu-

ity of commencing a correspondence with him. My character was blasted, the people of America were beginning to treat me with sovereign contempt. Even a Frenchman, whom I treated with so much friendship as to borrow of him twelve thousand pounds, to pay for a country-seat and plantation I had bought, when Continental currency was worth about four for one, in gold and silver, had the assurance to hint he would be glad to take a pair of my horses for eight thousand pounds of the money lent. But this I refused and therefore could hope for no further favors of the like nature from him and consequently have a right to abuse and hate him and all his countrymen. In this situation, I should have changed my principles, if I had not embraced the opportunity of Maj. André's correspondence. In the firm persuasion that my private interest was to be preferred to that of my country, I devoted myself to Great Britain, thinking it infinitely wiser and safer to cast my chance of making a fortune upon the bargain I should make for betraying my country, than to trust to Congress, who had too much reason to despise me.

I affected no disguise, and therefore frankly declare that, in these principles, I repaired to the army and solicited the command of West Point in order to have an opportunity of surrendering it and the garrison to Great Britain, for a stipulated sum.

C.—FURTHER EXTRACT FROM A "LETTER FROM A GENTLEMAN AT CAMP."

Added to the scene of knavery and prostitution, during his command in Philadelphia, which the late seizure of his papers has unfolded, the history of his command at West Point is a history of little else than as great villainies. He practiced every art of dirty speculation, and even stooped to connections with the Suttlers of the Garrison to defraud the public.

3.—From *The New Jersey Journal*.

TO GENERAL ARNOLD.

MY DEAR GEN.

I have lately seen a vindication of your public character, published by yourself to the citizens of the United States. It affords me great pleasure to find you still profess to have a heart of integrity, by which means I expect to get the money you borrowed of me, for, notwithstanding what has been said of your plunder at Montreal, contrary to General Montgomery's capitulation with the unfortunate people of that city, and the anecdotes of your conduct at Philadelphia, yet interest obliges me to tell you I think you too much a man of honor to admit that I, a poor woman, a follower of the Army and Suttler, should forfeit twen-

ty-two thousand Continental dollars [by your breach of faith.

* * * * *

As the confiscation of your effects, which are but very trifling, and the enormous debts you contracted in Philadelphia and elsewhere, both hard and paper money, will not afford me the most distant prospects of payment, I must therefore beg of you to take the first opportunity of sending out my money by a spy.

* * * * *

SARAH WARNER.

WEST POINT, Oct. 19, 1780.

VIII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—ED. HIS. MAG.]

CAPTURE OF MAJOR ANDRE.

I.

The following minute statement of the circumstances attending that remarkable event, from the lips of David Williams, one of the three captors of the spy, was taken in writing by Isaac H. Tiffany, Esq., of Fultonville, N. Y., while conversing with him at Broome, Schoharie-county, N. Y., on the thirteenth of February, 1817. As it may be unknown to some of our readers, we have given it a place in our columns :

"Williams, Van Wart, and Paulding, (Williams aged between twenty-two and twenty-three, the other two being younger,) were going to meet some relations, twenty miles below. The three were seated beside the road, in the bushes, amusing themselves at cards, when their attention was arrested by the galloping of a horse. On approaching the road, they saw a gentleman riding towards them, seated on a large brown horse, which was afterward observed to have marked on the near shoulder the initials 'U. S. A.' The rider was a light, trim-built man, about five feet seven inches in height, with a bold military countenance and dark eyes; and was dressed in a round hat, blue surtout, crimson coat, with pantaloons and vest of nankeen. As he neared them, the three cocked their muskets and aimed at the rider, who immediately checked his horse, and the following conversation ensued :

"ANDRE—'Gentlemen, I hope you are of our party?'

"PAULDING—'What party?'

"ANDRE—'The lower party.'

"PAULDING—'We do.'

"ANDRE—'I am a British officer: I have been up in the country on particular business, and would not wish to be detained a single moment.'

"He thereupon pulled out a gold watch, and exhibited it as an evidence that he was a gentleman, and returned it to his fob. Paulding thereupon remarked, 'We are Americans.'

"ANDRE—"God bless my soul! a man must do anything to get along—I am a Continental officer, going down to Dobbs's Ferry, to get information from below."

"Andre then drew out and presented a pass from General Arnold, in which was the assumed name of 'John Anderson.' Seizing hold upon the reins of the horse, they ordered him to dismount. Andre exclaimed, 'You will bring yourselves trouble!' 'We care not for that,' was the reply. They took him down, ten or fifteen rods, beside a run of water; and Williams proceeded to search his hat, coat, vest, shirt, and pantaloons, in which they found eight dollars in Continental money; and, at last, ordered him to take off his boots. At this, he changed color. Williams drew off the left boot, first, and Paulding, seizing it, exclaimed, 'My God! here it is!' In it, three half-sheets of written paper were found, enveloped by a half sheet, marked, 'Contents, West Point.' Paulding again exclaimed, 'My God! he's a spy!' On pulling off the other boot, a similar package was found.

"Andre was now allowed to dress; and they marched him across the road, into the field, about twenty rods. The young men winked to each other to make further discoveries, and inquired from whom he got the papers? 'Off a man at Pine's Bridge, a stranger to me,' replied Andre. He then offered them, for his liberty, his horse and equipage, watch, and one hundred guineas. This they refused to take, unless he informed them where he obtained the manuscript. He refused to comply; but again offered his horse, equipage, and one thousand guineas. They were firm in their denial; and Andre increased his offer to ten thousand guineas and as many drygoods as they wished, which should be deposited in any place they de-ired—that they might keep him and send some one to New York with his order, so that they could obtain them, unmolested. To this they replied, 'That it did not signify for him to make any offer, for he should not go.' They then proceeded to the nearest military station, which was at North Castle, about twelve miles distant. On the way, Andre gave them his watch, telling them that 'it was a prize.' On delivering him to Colonel Jamieson, the commanding officer, that gentleman enjoined the strictest

"secrecy, at the same time expressing an opinion that there were others doubtless concerned in the plot. Major Tallmadge, who had commanded a guard, received Andre at Colonel Jamieson's quarters, and afterward, with about twenty men, conducted him to Colonel Sheldon, at Salem. The three accompanied Andre part of the way, and then left. During the night, Tallmadge caused Andre to be tied to a tree at Comyen-hill. From Salem, he was conveyed to West Point, and from thence to Tappan.

"Williams, Paulding, and Van Wart, stood within the ring when Andre was hung. When the officer informed him that his time had nearly expired, and inquired if he had anything to say, he answered, 'Nothing but for them to witness to the world that he died like a brave man.'

"The hangman, who was painted black, offered to put on the noose. 'Take off your black hands!' said Andre; then putting on the noose himself, took out his handkerchief, tied it on, drew it up, bowed with a smile to his acquaintances, and died."

II

The following, communicated to Mr. Brower, the artist, in the Summer of 1826, is the personal narrative of Isaac Van Wart, another of the party. It has not been referred to by any of those who have written on the subject, as far as our observation has extended; and we are inclined to think that it will be new to the greater number of our readers.

"I am the third son of Martinus Van Wart: he had nine children. I was born at Greenburg, Westchester county, but don't know on what day, but was christened on the twenty-fifth of October, 1748.

"When a Division of the American Army was at North Castle, commanded by Colonel Jamieson, I went on a scouting-party, consisting of two besides myself, in order to way-lay the Cowboys or Refugees, who, we had notice, passed the North-river post, daily, with cattle, horses, sheep, etc.

"While at the encampment at North Castle, John Paulding came one afternoon, to me, saying, 'Isaac, have you any objection to going with me on a scout, below?' 'No,' says I. We then started, between three and four in the afternoon, with our English rifles on our shoulders, and proceeded southward. After walking a mile or so, we fell in with David Williams, and persuaded him to accompany us on our expedition. At night, we came to neighbor John Andrews's barn, at Mount Pleasant, and slept on the hay until day-break. We next crossed the fields to the North-river

"post-road; and, about half-past seven o'clock, we came to the widow Read's house, and got some milk and a pack of playing-cards. At nine, we reached the field beside the road, now the property of Mr. Wiley, three quarters of a mile from Tarrytown. Getting over the fence, we found it filled with thick bushes, under-wood, etc., etc. We cleared a spot; and Paulding, taking out the cards, said 'Boys, we will draw cuts—two can play, while the third stands sentry.' The cuts were made, and I was to stand sentinel.

"During fifteen or twenty minutes, several neighbors, whose political principles I well knew, passed the field where we were, without discovering us—Paulding and Williams keeping a perfect silence, and I laying down, within the bushes, close to the fence. Shortly (say twenty or thirty minutes from the time of our arrival) I saw a horseman ride slowly along, on a black horse, on the rising ground, directly opposite to where the Tarrytown Academy now stands. I said to Paulding and Williams, 'Here's a horseman coming; we must stop him.' We got up, with our firelocks ready, and waited for him to advance.

"As soon as he (it was Major Andre) saw us standing by the fence, he reined in his horse, and, riding straight up to us, said 'God bless you, my dear friends, I hope you belong to our party!' We asked 'What party?' Without hesitation, he smilingly replied, 'Why, the lower party. I am a British officer; and to convince you that I am a gentleman, and aver the truth, see, here is my gold watch.' We told him he was wrong; for we neither belonged to his nor to the lower party, but were Americans, and that he was our prisoner.

"He started, changed color, and fetching a deep sigh, said, 'God bless my soul! a body must do any thing to get along, now-a-days.' Thereupon he showed us General Arnold's passport, and said: 'I have been in the country on particular business, and hope you won't detain me a minute.' After we had read the passport, we ordered him to dismount and follow us. We then took down the fence and led him and his horse through, into the thicket. Williams put up the fence, as at first, that no suspicion or inquiry should arise from seeing it down. When Williams came up, Major Andre requested us again to release him, and said he would give us any sum of money we might ask, or any quantity of drygoods. You know our answer. After searching his clothes, we ordered him to sit down, and pulling off his boot, we perceived that his silk stocking sagged a little. We took that off, and found in it

"three letters that were not sealed. On taking off his other boot and stocking, we found three more unsealed letters, which contained correct descriptions of the posts, redoubts, cannon, &c., of West Point and other places. After we had taken possession of these documents, he said, 'Now you have gotten all, lead on.' He put his stockings and boots on, and followed us to the road. Replacing the fence, we allowed him to remount his horse and go in advance.

"You never saw such an alteration in any man's face. Only a few minutes before, he was uncommonly gay in his looks; but after we had made him prisoner, you could read in his face that he thought it was all over with him. We felt for him; but it was all we could do, so long as we meant to be honest to our country.

"We made our way, as quickly and silently as we could, to the encampment at North Castle. We never went into the main road, but kept in the by-ways, and never stopped except to give the prisoner a little milk or so, which we got from the country people. When we arrived at Sands' Mills, which was ten miles from where we captured him, we surrendered the Major to the commanding officer, who was Colonel Jamieson.

"I wish you to know, that after traveling one or two miles, Major Andre said, 'I would to God you had blown my brains out when you stopped me.' During this speech, and the whole of the journey, big drops of sweat kept continually falling from his face. He suffered much in mind, as was apparent from his great dejection; but he acted like a gentleman, candidly and politely. He never once attempted to escape."

III.

We continue our series of articles, on this interesting subject, with the sworn statement of Isaac Van Wart, one of the captors, in answer to the attack made on their character, by Hon. Benjamin Tallmadge, a member of the House of Representatives of the United States.

"Isaac Van Wart, of the town of Mount Pleasant, in the County of Westchester, being duly sworn, doth depose and say, that he is one of the three persons who arrested Major Andre, during the American Revolutionary War, and conducted him to the American camp. That he, this Deponent, together with David Williams and John Paulding, had secreted themselves at the side of the highway, for the purpose of detecting any persons coming from, or having unlawful intercourse with, the enemy, being between the two armies—a service not uncommon in those

"times. That this Deponent and his companions were armed with muskets; and upon seeing Major Andre approach the place where they were concealed, they arose and presented their muskets at him, and required him to stop, which he did. He then asked them whether they belonged to his party? and then they asked him which was his party? to which he replied, 'The lower party;' upon which they, deeming a little stratagem, under such circumstances, not only justifiable, but necessary, gave him to understand that they were of his party: upon which he joyfully declared himself to be a British officer, and told them that he had been out upon very particular business. Having ascertained thus much, this Deponent and his companions undeceived him as to their characters, declaring themselves Americans; and that he must consider himself their prisoner. Upon this, with seeming unconcern, he said he had a pass from General Arnold, which he exhibited; and then insisted on their permitting him to proceed. But they told him that as he had confessed himself a British officer, they deemed it their duty to convey him to the American camp; and then took him into a wood, a short distance from the highway, in order to guard against being surprised by parties of the enemy, who were frequently reconnoitering in that neighborhood. That when they had him in the wood, they proceeded to search him, for the purpose of ascertaining who and what he was; and found, inside of his stockings and boots, next to his bare feet, papers which satisfied them that he was a spy. Major Andre now showed them his gold watch, and remarked that it was evidence of his being a gentleman; and also promised to make them any reward they might name, if they would but permit him to proceed, which they refused. He then told them, that if they doubted the fulfillment of his promise, they might conceal him in some secret place, and keep him there, until they could send to New York and receive their reward. And this Deponent expressly declares, that every offer made by Major Andre to them was promptly and resolutely refused. And for himself he solemnly declares that he had not, and he does most sincerely believe that Paulding and Williams had not, any intention of plundering their prisoner; nor did they confer with each other, or even hesitate, whether they should accept his promises, but on the contrary they were, in the opinion of this Deponent, governed, like himself, by a deep interest in the cause of the country and a strong sense of

"duty. And this Deponent further says, that he never visited the British camp, nor does he believe or suspect that either Paulding or Williams ever did, except that Paulding was, once before Andre's capture and once afterwards, made a prisoner by the British, as this Deponent has been informed and believes. And this Deponent for himself, expressly denies that he ever held any unlawful traffic or any intercourse whatever with the enemy: and, appealing solemnly to that Omniscient Being, at whose tribunal he must soon appear, he doth expressly declare that all accusations, charging him therewith, are utterly untrue.

"ISAAC VAN WART.

"Sworn before me, this

"28th day of January, 1817.

"JACOB RADCLIFF,
"Mayor."

IV.

We continue our series of articles, on this interesting subject, with the sworn statement of John Paulding, one of the captors, in answer to the attack made on their character, by Hon. Benjamin Tallmadge, a member of the House of Representatives of the United States.

"John Paulding, of the County of Westchester, one of the persons who took Major Andre, being duly sworn, saith, that he was three times, during the revolutionary war, a prisoner with the enemy: the first time, he was taken at the White Plains, when under the command of Captain Requa, and carried to New York, and confined in the Sugar House: the second time, he was taken near Tarry Town, when under the command of Lieutenant Peacock, and confined in the North Dutch Church, in New York: that both these times he escaped; and the last of them only four days before the capture of Andre: that the last time he was taken, he was wounded, and lay in the hospital, in New York, and was discharged on the arrival of the news of Peace there: that he and his companions, Van Wart and Williams, among other articles which they took from Major Andre, were his watch, horse, saddle, and bridle, and which they retained as prize; that they delivered over Andre, with the papers found on him, to Colonel Jamieson, who commanded on the lines: that shortly thereafter they were summoned to appear as witnesses at the headquarters of General Washington, at Tappan: that they were at Tappan some days, and examined as witnesses before the Court-martial, on the trial of Smith, who brought Andre ashore from on board the sloop-of-war: that while there, Colonel William S. Smith re-

"deemed the watch from them, for thirty guineas; which, and the money received for the horse, saddle, and bridle, they divided equally among themselves and four other persons, who belonged to their party, but, when Andre was taken, were about half a mile off, keeping a lookout on a hill: that Andre had no gold or silver money with him, but only some Continental bills, to the amount of about eighty dollars: that the medals given to him, and Van Wart, and Williams, by Congress, were presented to them by General Washington, when the army was encamped at Verplanck's Point, and that they on the occasion dined at his table: that Williams removed some years ago from Westchester county to the northern part of the State, but where, particularly, the deponent does not know. And the Deponent, referring to the affidavit of Van Wart, taken on the 28th of January last, and which he has read, says that the same is in substance true.

"JOHN PAULDING.

"Sworn before me, this

"6th day of May, 1817.

"CHARLES G. VAN DYCK,
"Master in Chancery."

V.

"We the subscribers, inhabitants of the County of Westchester, do certify, that during the Revolutionary War, we were well acquainted with Isaac Van Wart, David Williams, and John Paulding, who arrested Major Andre; and that, at no time during the Revolutionary War, was any suspicion ever entertained by their neighbors or acquaintances that they or either of them held any undue intercourse with the enemy. On the contrary, they were universally esteemed, and taken to be ardent and faithful in the cause of the country. We further certify, that the said Paulding and Williams are not now residents among us; but that Isaac Van Wart is a respectable freeholder of the town of Mount Pleasant; that we are well acquainted with him; and we do not hesitate to declare our belief, that there is not an individual in the County of Westchester, acquainted with Isaac Van Wart, who would not hesitate to describe him as a man of sober, moral, industrious, and religious life;—as a man whose integrity is as unimpeachable as his veracity is undoubted. In these respects no man in the County of Westchester is his superior.

"JONATHAN G. TOMPKINS, aged 81 years.

"JACOB PURDY, aged 77 years.

"JOHN ODELL, aged 60 years.

"JOHN BOYCE, aged 72 years.

"J. REQUA, aged 57 years.

"WILLIAM PAULDING, aged 81 years.

"JOHN REQUA, aged 54 years.

"ARCHER READ, aged 64 years.

"GEORGE COMB, aged 72 years.

"GILBERT DEAN, aged 70 years.

"JONATHAN ODELL, aged 87 years.

"CORNELIUS VANTASSEL, aged 71 years.

"THOMAS BOYCE, aged 71 years.

"TUNIS LYNT, aged 71 years.

"JACOBUS DYCKMAN, aged 68 years.

"WILLIAM HAMMOND.

"JOHN ROMER."

GENERAL PUTNAM AND THE BATTLE OF BUNKER'S HILL.

We cheerfully make room for the following description of the services of the great humbug of the War of the Revolution, at the Battle on Bunker's Hill, June 17, 1776.

It is extracted from a *Narrative of Major Thompson Maxwell, then a Captain in Colonel James Reed's Regiment of Massachusetts troops*; and we are indebted to the *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, for a copy of it.

Our readers will perceive that it fully sustains our statements on the subject, in our volume, entitled *Major-general Israel Putnam*.

"Next fight was that of Bunker Hill. On the 16th June Col. Reed was ordered to Charlestown Neck. About 12, same day, a number of our officers passed us & went onto B. Hill,—Genl. Ward with the rest,—returned & went to Cambridge. In the Evening Col. Prescott passed with his Regt. My Brother, Hugh Maxwell, was the Senior Captain in this Regt. He stepped out & asked Col. Reed & myself if we would come onto the hill that night. We did so—went onto Breed's Hill. We found Colonel Putnam there with Col. Prescott's command. Col. Prescott requested my brother Hugh to lay out the ground for the entrenchment. He did so. I set up the stakes after him. Prescott appeared to have the sole command. Reed & I returned to our command on the neck, about 11 P. M. At day in the morning, we again went onto the Hill—found Put. and Pres. there. Pres. still appeared to have command. No other regiment was there but Prescott's through the night. Capt. Maxwell, after day, suggested in my hearing to Col. Prescott the propriety of running an entrenchment from the N. E. angle of the night's work to a rail fence leading to Mystic River. Prescott approved & it was done. I set up the stakes after my Brother. About seven o'clock I saw P. & P. in conversation.

"Immediately after Put. mounted his horse & went full speed toward Cambridge. Col. Reed ordered all his to their commands. We returned and prepared for action. 11 A. M. we received orders from Col. Prescott to move on. We did so. We formed, by order of Prescott down by the rail fence & part on the entrenchment. We got hay & wadded between the rails after doubling the fence by posts and rails from another place. We remained there during the battle. After we had been on the hill a while, I saw Capt. Knolton of Put's Regt. come on with perhaps 200 men, & form on a stone wall that led from the rail-fence to the River. The men were formed from the River, extending towards the rail-fence, & left a space I should say of 60 rods between us, which was manned by parts of Regiments, until Col. Stark came & formed on the rail-fence. We were all drove from the Hill. On our retreat we went in disorder—mixed up. As we passed the top of Bunker Hill, I there saw Put for the first time, after he rode away in the morning. He was on horseback with his tent behind. He had with him a very large body of men, who were a little over the turn of the hill, out of rake of the Enemy's shot. When we approached Put cried out, 'Halt you d—d cowards! Halt, you d—d cowards! Turn 'about & give them another shot!' I told Put it was in vain—our ammunition was gone & men exhausted. He said, 'I don't mean you,—it is these d—d rascals I can't get up.' I told Col. Reed he didn't mean him, and we kept on. As we were passing the neck, Put passed us on horseback and ordered us there, in nearly the same manner, to halt & fire. We kept on. Put then set out on half speed toward Cambridge. We went onto Winter Hill for the night, & saw no more of Put."

THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

The following statement, descriptive of the fatal duel between Colonel Burr and General Hamilton, was prepared by Messrs. Van Ness and Pendleton, the seconds of both parties, agreed to and corrected by them, and published by their authority. As it is not generally accessible, we have copied it for the information of our readers.

It will be remembered that the duel was fought at Weehawken, New Jersey, on Wednesday morning, the eleventh of July, 1804.

"Col. Burr arrived first on the ground, as had been previously agreed: when General Hamilton arrived, the parties exchanged salu-

tations, and the seconds proceeded to make their arrangements. They measured the distance, ten full paces, and cast lots for the choice of position, as also to determine by whom the word should be given, both of which fell to the second of General Hamilton. They then proceeded to load the pistols in each other's presence, after which the parties took their stations. The gentleman who was to give the word, then explained to the parties the rules which were to govern them in firing, which were as follows: 'The parties being placed at their stations... the second who gives the word shall ask them whether they are ready; being answered in the affirmative, he shall say *'Present'* after this the parties shall present and fire *when they please*... If one fires before the other, the opposite second shall say one, two, three, fire... and he shall then fire or lose his fire.' He then asked if they were prepared; being answered in the affirmative, he gave the word *'Present'*, as had been agreed on, and both parties presented and fired in succession—the intervening time is not expressed, as the seconds do not precisely agree on that point. The fire of Colonel Burr took effect; and General Hamilton almost instantly fell. Colonel Burr then advanced toward General Hamilton, with a manner and gesture that appeared to General Hamilton's friend to be expressive of regret, but, without speaking, turned about and withdrew, being urged from the field by his friend, as has been subsequently stated, with a view to prevent his being recognized by the surgeon and barge-men, who were then approaching. No further communication took place between the principals; and the barge that carried Colonel Burr, immediately returned to the city. We conceive it proper to add that the conduct of the parties in this interview, was perfectly proper, as suited the occasion."

WESTCHESTER COUNTY IN 1777.*

[Extract of a Letter from Peekskill, dated January 19, 1777.]

General Howe has discharg'd all the privates, who were prisoners in New York, one half he sent to the world of spirits for want of food—the other he hath sent to warn their countrymen of the danger of falling into his hands, and to convince them, by ocular demonstration, that it is infinitely better to be slain in battle, than to be taken prisoners by British brutes, whose

* From the *Freeman's Journal, or New-Hampshire Gazette*, Vol. I. No. 89, Portsmouth, Tuesday, February 18, 1777.

tender mercies are cruelty. But it is not the prisoners alone who felt the effects of British humanity. Every part of the country thro' which they have march'd, has been plundered and ravaged. No discrimination has been made with respect to Whig or Tory, but all alike have been involv'd in one common fate. Their march thro' New Jersey has been marked with savage barbarity. But *West-Chester* witnesseth more terrible things. The repositories of the dead have ever been held sacred by the most barbarous and savage nations. But here, not being able to accomplish their accursed purposes upon the living, they wreaked their vengeance on the dead. In many places, the graves in the church-yards were opened, and the bodies of the dead exposed upon the ground for several days. At *Morrisania*, the family vault was opened, the Coffins broken, and the bones scattered abroad. At *Delancey's* farm, the body of a beautiful young lady, which had been buried for two years, was taken out of the ground, and exposed for five days in a most indecent manner; many more instances could be mentioned, but my heart sickens at the recollection of such inhumanity. Some persons try to believe that it is only the Hessians who perpetrate these things, but I have good authority to say that the British vie with, and even exceed the auxiliary troops in licentiousness. After such treatment, can it be possible for any persons seriously to wish for a reconciliation with Great Britain?

THE GRAVE OF PRESIDENT POLK'S FATHER.

While the third Iowa Infantry was stationed at Bolivar, Tenn., in 1862, Mr. G. P. Foose, who was a member of that Regiment, visited the burying-ground there, and saw the grave and tomb-stone of Colonel Ezekiel Polk, father of the late President James K. Polk. Mr. Foose copied the following inscription from the tomb-stone:

"SACRED

"TO THE MEMORY OF
"COL. EZEKIEL POLK,
"Born 7th December, 1747,
"and died 31st August, 1824;
"aged 76 years, 8 months,
"and 24 days."

'EPITAPH WRITTEN BY HIMSELF IN THE 74TH "YEAR OF HIS AGE.

"Here lies the dust of old E. P.,
"One instance of mortality!
"Pennsylvania born, Carolina bred,
"In Tennessee died, on his bed.
"His youthful days he spent in pleasure,
"His latter years in gathering treasure;

"From superstition lived quite free,
"And practiced strict morality;
"To holy cheats was never willing
"To give one solitary shilling.
"He can foresee—and in foreseeing
"He equals most of men in being—
"That Church and State will join their power,
"And misery on this country show'r.
"The Methodists, with their camp-bawling,
"Will be the cause of this down-falling,
"And we are not destined to see
"The woes of poor posterity.
"First-fruits and tithes are odious things,
"And so are Bishops, Priests, and Kings!"

BOWDOIN COLLEGE

The Class of 1825 has always been regarded by the sons of Bowdoin as the brightest gem in all her coronet, and the most precious and valuable contribution which it has been the privilege of the College to make to the culture and refinement of our age. The association of the great names of Longfellow and Hawthorne,—the one the most popular, widely known, and perhaps best-beloved of all our poets; and the other without a peer, foreign or domestic, in the domain of psychological romance,—seems to partake of the marvellous. Among other names of members of the Class, that of George B. Cheever will recall to his contemporaries and those familiar with the history of Salem, a memorable occasion of considerable local interest, when he displayed ability and courage which the opponents of the Maine law would describe as "worthy of a better cause," and which has since been crowned by scholarship and influence second to but few in the country. John S. C. Abbott, S. T. Benson, John W. Bradbury, and Cullen Sawtell, the last three members of Congress, were also of the year 1825. Jonathan Cilley, also of the Class of '25, it may be remembered, gave great promise of ability and usefulness, but fell in one of the most cruel duels which political animosity ever occasioned.

In looking "before and after" the Class of 1825, the name of William Pitt Fessenden—the unrivalled debater,—whose efforts in the Senate were so often suggested by the occasion and inspired by its spirit that the principal means of his influence survive chiefly in memory and tradition, and are only as shadows on the printed page—was the contemporary of Hawthorne and in the Class of 1823. In 1824, were graduated two eminent men, whose general characters were as antagonistic and whose paths in life as divergent as it is possible to conceive. The career of Franklin Pierce is too well known for comment; but it may be some consolation to those who loved him, to know that while the

quick revolving loom of time consigns so many public characters to oblivion, his memory may long abide in literature as the faithful, beloved, and trusted friend of Hawthorne, from the first hour of their acquaintance until he closed his eyes in death. Calvin Ellis Stowe was the classmate of General Pierce; and it is only necessary to mention his name, to suggest the contrast. Sargent S. Prentiss, one of the most eloquent of New England orators, was in the Class of 1826; and the Hon. John P. Hale and Ephraim Peabody in that of 1827.

Passing from the time during which Hawthorne was an undergraduate, the Triennial Catalogue of the College enrolls among its graduates, in proportion to their number, as many distinguished and rising men as any College in New England. Among the graduates who have become Presidents of Colleges, are Nathan Lord the late President of Dartmouth, William H. Allen of Girard-college, and Daniel R. Goodwin, formerly of Trinity-college, Hartford. Among divines, are the names of Henry Boynton Smith, of New York, Cyrus A. Bartol, Edwin B. Webb, John O. Means of Boston, Charles Beecher, Cyrus Hamlin—distinguished for the most useful missionary work of the age, in Turkey—and Thomas T. Stone, once Pastor of the First Church in this city, and well remembered for his earnest eloquence, independent character, and philanthropic spirit. Peleg W. Chandler and John C. Dodge of the Suffolk Bar, and James R. Osgood, the enterprising chief of the largest and most influential publishing-house in New England, are also graduates of the College. Among the graduates resident in Salem, are the Hon. Geo. F. Choate, Hon. William D. Northend, Jairus W. Perry, Esq., and the Rev. J. T. Hewes of the First Church.

The intimate relations between the people of Maine and Massachusetts grew out of the dependence of the former upon the latter. Maine was chiefly settled by leading Massachusetts families who obtained Grants of land as an inducement to open up and develop the great resources of the Province. Chief-justice Allen, Judge Ware, and, not to multiply names, many others, were Massachusetts men, looking for a career, in Maine, as young men of our times prospect the West for an opportunity which our older civilization rarely offers them. Families migrated there, permanently or temporarily, because they had property which needed the eye of the master; and thus were developed relations of the most intimate character. The families of John A. Andrew and Hawthorne became resident in Maine, influenced by the same motives; and residence there took our war-Governor to Bowdoin, as it had taken Hawthorne, before him.

Massachusetts, therefore, has an interest in

Bowdoin, such as no other College outside of the limits of the State can awaken: and even the Act of Session, in 1820, made special provision for continuing inviolate all her privileges, properties, and immunities. The College remains substantially, to this day, what the liberality and wisdom of Massachusetts made it.

Bowdoin and Williams were founded in the extreme Eastern and Western limits of the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth, as seats and centres of the learning, morals, and theology which the great men of that age so reverently acknowledged as the chief source of the prosperity of the State and the virtue of the people. The first Class of Bowdoin entered in 1802; and, during the eighteen years which elapsed before Maine became an independent State, the College had attained a high degree of prosperity and influence. Its first President, Joseph M'Kean, went from one of the Congregational Churches in Beverly to assume the duties of that office. President Appleton and Allen, his successors, were Massachusetts men; and President Woods, who is so affectionately remembered and beloved by the graduates of the College, now in early manhood or middle life, is a son of Professor Woods, one of the best known theologians and scholars Essex-county has ever produced.

James Bowdoin, from whom the College derives its name, was the son of one of the early Governors of the Commonwealth. His endowment was largely supplemented by Grants of land from the State; and the good fortune of the College, together with the cheap rates of living fifty or seventy-five years ago, secured a corps of Professors, for a succession of years, of unusual ability and distinction.

Parker Cleveland occupied the Chair of Natural Science for nearly fifty years after the establishment of the College and ranked among the first of the cultivators of that then neglected branch of knowledge. Thomas C. Upham, so long Professor of Moral and Mental Philosophy, was well and widely known as an author of valuable works, philosophical and miscellaneous. Professor Smyth was recognized as one of the great mathematicians of the country, by that small minority of scholars who cultivate pure mathematics. Professors Stowe and Longfellow have been already mentioned, in another connection. There is not space to enumerate all who have added to the dignity and fame of the College; but we will not neglect to name, *causa honoris*, Professor Packard, the only one of the earlier Professors now associated in its government; and whose life has been dedicated to its prosperity and usefulness.

But it has been found that the funds which were sufficient to secure the College an able Faculty and a good degree of prosperity, when pri-

es were low and the scale of living moderate, are totally inadequate to meet the requirements created by the general increase of wealth in the country and the general improved financial condition of almost all other New England Colleges. The entire general fund of Bowdoin-college, appropriated to the support of the Faculty, is about one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars. It is now proposed to raise a sum of money for its further endowment. A general appeal has been made to the Alumni, to contribute in such sums as they may see fit, to raise the general funds to amount adequate to the increased demands of the age. The Committee of Alumni are the Hon. William D. Northend of Salem, Hon. William L. Putnam, of Portland, and Professor Sewall. The difficult task of communicating with graduates, scattered as they are over the whole country, has been undertaken by Mr. Northend; and, although but a short time has elapsed, since Circulars were sent, there is every reason for encouragement.

The best men which Bowdoin has graduated, remembering, with gratitude, their obligations to the College, are contributing in the most liberal manner; and it is hoped and expected that the fund will be largely increased from the liberality of the friends of our educational institutions, as well as by the contributions of graduates.

It has been a matter of surprise to many Massachusetts graduates, that Bowdoin-college has been so much neglected by the Government of Maine. It is their one historical seat of learning; and the most eminent men Maine can boast, in Church and State, have received their education in its halls. General Chamberlain has declined more advantageous prospects, in a worldly point of view, to give the weight of his great influence and popularity to the College, as President. New facilities for the pursuits of the Natural Sciences, for the study of which there is so great a demand, have been added by the establishment of a Scientific Department. The Freshman Class this year numbers fifty-five, which is a considerable increase over the past few years. The College buildings are in excellent condition; and the libraries and other conveniences are as good as any College of similar rank in New England. Brunswick is a quiet town, favorable to studious habits; and its medium size saves it from the torpor of a village and the distractions of a city. It is the purpose of the Alumni—in which they look for the co-operation of those who have the means of usefulness, which wealth affords—to make an earnest effort to secure the College a career in the future as honorable and useful as its history discovers in the past.

GRIS.

—*Salem Gazette.*

ORDINATION OF THE FIRST BISHOP IN THE REFORMED PROTESTANT DUTCH CHURCH IN NORTH AMERICA.*

In the Spring of 1878, there arrived at New York, Petrus Tesschenmaecker, a young theological student from Utrecht, who had lost his testimonials and other papers among the savages at Guiana, which he had just visited. Tesschenmaecker's gifts in preaching were so great, however, that he was allowed to perform Divine service in several of the Dutch churches, especially in the one at Esopus, where he officiated with great acceptance, until the arrival, from Holland, of Domine Laurentius Van Gaasbeeck, in September, 1878. He then went to the Delaware-river; and the Dutch congregation, at Newcastle, were so much pleased with him that they called him to be their Minister. But the difficulty was, that Tesschenmaecker had not been ordained. The delegates from the Newcastle-church accordingly requested the Dutch clergymen, in New York and its neighborhood, to meet as a Classis, and remove the difficulty by ordaining the candidate. This the Ministers felt unable to do, on their own responsibility.

Sir Edmund Andros, the Governor of New York, however, having taken a great interest in the matter, relieved them from embarrassment, by issuing the following official direction:

"SIR EDMUND ANDROS, *Knight, &c., &c.*

"Upon application from Newcastle in Delaware, that (being destitute,) Mr. Peter Tesschenmaecker may be admitted to be their Minister; "By virtue of His Majesty's Letters Patents "and authorities derived unto mee, I do hereby "desire and authorize you to examine the "said Mr. Tesschenmaecker, and if you shall "find him fitly qualified, that then you Ordain "him into the ministry of the Protestant Reformed Church, to preach God's word and "administer his Holy Sacraments, and give him "Testimonials thereof, as is usuall.—Given "under my hand and Seale of the Province, in "New Yorke, the thirtieth day of September, "in the 31st year of His Majesty's Reigne, Annoque Domini, 1679.

"E. ANDROS, [L. S.)

"To Mr. Gulielmus van Nieuwenhuysen, "Minister or Pastor of this City, or any three or "more of the Ministers or Pastors within this "Government."

Accordingly, Domine Schaats, of Albany, Domine van Zuuren, of Long Island, and Domine van Gaasbeeck, of Esopus, met with Domine van

* Our readers will recognize in this article the result of the careful study of the early annals of this State, by our friend and contributor, Hon. J. Romeyn Brodhead, Domestic Corresponding Secretary of the New York Historical Society.—*Editor.*

Nieuwenhuysen, at New York, and formed themselves into a Classis, composed of all the Dutch Ministers within the Province, with members of their Consistories. The following is a translation of the original record of this most important assembly—THE FIRST DUTCH CLASSIS EVER HELD IN NORTH AMERICA:

"Copy of the Acts done in our Meeting at New-York, the 9th of October, 1679, in the matter of Domine Petrus Tesschenmaecker:

"On this day, the 9th of October, 1679, was handed in a call of a Minister for the congregation of the South [Delaware] River, which calling has fallen on the person of Domine Petrus Tesschenmaecker, a candidate for the sacred ministry.

"But, considering that this matter is without example, in this Government, the Low Dutch Ministers who are here, on the request of the honorable Knight, Governor Edmund Andros, and on the exhibition of the *testimonia examin- is preparatorii* of the aforesaid Domine Petrus Tesschenmaecker (written by the Dutch and English Consistories, at the Hague,) have been content (considering likewise the distress of the above-named respective congregation) to confirm and consecrate this candidate to the office of the ministry, there.

"And because, before all, it is necessary that an Overseer [*opsiender*] should be proved, so, the Reverend Assembly, consisting of the Low Dutch clergymen of this Government, together with other ecclesiastical persons, approved, as good, the aforesaid attestation *examinis preparatorii*, without special opposition; and it was resolved to proceed to the '*promotie*' itself.

"Thereupon, Domine Tesschenmaecker being summoned within, was acquainted of this approbation of the Reverend Assembly, and was further asked whether he accepted this calling, to serve in the same according to the ecclesiastical orders of the Reverend Synod of Dordrecht, and other special instructions, and would yet promise conformity to the said orders. The answer was 'Yes';—undertaking and binding himself to observe the same.

"This being done, Domine Tesschenmaecker was first heard in his '*propositie*,' upon the text Matt. 5: 20, the treatment of which gave the Reverend Assembly sufficient satisfaction.

"Thereupon, the Reverend Assembly addressed itself to the examination, having appointed, as Examiner, Domine Wilhelmus van Nieuwenhuysen, Minister of the Holy Gospel in the metropolis of the Government of New York.

"The examination being sustained, the Reverend Assembly was likewise contented with

"the answers of Domine Tesschenmaecker; so that, finally, the confirmation, according to our church-order and formulary, followed hereupon, in the name of the Lord.

"CASPARUS VAN ZUUREN,

"Minister on Long Island.

"*Consentus, pro tempore Scriba.*"

These interesting documents were sent to the Classis of Amsterdam, in a joint letter, signed by the four Dutch clergymen in New York. In that letter, they rely on Governor Andros's authorization, as the justification of their action, which they declared was, "in all respects, conformable to the praiseworthy usage and orders of the churches in the Fatherland (to the upholding of which we have also obliged him, by promises and the giving of hands, as we ourselves were obliged thereto, by your Reverences,) there having yet further come to us excellent testimonials of the deportment and preaching of Domine Tesschenmaecker, signed by the Consistories of the Low Dutch and English congregations in the Hague; and he himself (*examinandus candidatus*) exhibiting very good and proper gifts, as well in his *propositie* as in his answer, to the complete satisfaction of all the members of our Assembly."

The Classis of Amsterdam afterwards approved of this action and of the settlement of Domine Tesschenmaecker, at the Delaware, where, however, he remained but a short time. In the Winter of 1682, he preached on Staten Island; and, in 1684, he was called to the church in Schenectada, where he continued to labor, until this first Minister ever ordained in New York, was murdered on the night of the eighth of February, 1690, by the French and Indian expedition sent out by Governor Frontenac of Canada.—*Christian Intelligencer*.

THE FIRST CHIME OF BELLS IN AMERICA.

Philadelphia can claim the credit of having had the first chime of bells ever used in this country. They were brought over in the *Myrtilla*, by Captain Budden, a relative of Lieutenant Budden, of the Philadelphia Light Horse. They were purchased in London, in the year 1754, at a cost of five hundred and sixty pounds, sterling. The whole weight of the bells was nine thousand and forty pounds; the largest weighing two thousand and forty pounds. These bells are now hung in Christ-church, Philadelphia; and are chimed on Sundays and holidays, and upon such other times as requested. On the largest bell, is the following inscription:

"Christ church, Philadelphia.—This bell and the rest of the peal, were cast by Lester and

"Pack of the Whitechapel Bell Foundry,
"London, 1754; recast at the same foundry,
"1835."

An old Philadelphia religious paper contains the following:

"The chime of bells now belonging to Christ-church, in this city, was brought over from England, by a Captain Budden, without charge of freight. Being the first set of bells that reached this country, they attracted great attention; and, when put into the steeple, were rung for some time, to the gratification of the natives. In order to afford the country-people an opportunity of hearing these wonderful sounds, it was agreed to have the bells chimed on the evening preceding market-days; and crowds of the 'country-folk' would repair to the church, in order to witness the operation of ringing, a curiosity which the ringers took care to turn to their own advantage, by claiming a fee. We have been told by an old and highly respectable citizen, that Captain Budden became so important a personage, for being the bearer of the bells, that they were universally rung whenever his vessel arrived in port."

We are informed by Doctor Glentworth, of this city, a grandson of Captain Budden, that when any of the family of the Captain died, or when his ships arrived at port, the bells also were tolled. This was done as he had refused any compensation for his trouble in bringing the bells to this country, and merely requested that, at his death, they should be muffled without charge.—*New York Herald*.

SCRAPS.—On the line of the Philadelphia and Reading-railroad, twelve and a half miles from Reading, is situate Douglassville, one of the oldest villages in Berks county. The houses are mostly built of sandstone, upon one of which—the hotel kept by Mr. C. B. Miller—the date of 1771 is cut. Several very handsome modern residences have been erected of late years, along the principal thoroughfare, which add considerable beauty to this quiet village.

Among the most ancient buildings is St. Gabriel's-church, with its arched ceiling, high-backed pews, and still higher pulpit. Adjoining the Church is the cemetery, filled with the remains of those who, in former years, worshipped in this edifice. Some of the tombstones which marked the graves have crumbled away, entirely; while others have been worn away, by age and weather, so that the inscriptions are almost indiscernable. The following is inscribed on one of them:

"Here lyeth y^e body of Andrew Robeson,
"who died Feb. 19, 1719-20, aged 66 years."

On the other side of the head-stone are the following lines:

"Removed from noise and care,
"This silent place I chose,
"When death should end my years,
"To take a sweet repose.

"Here, in a peaceful place,
"My ashes must remain,
"My Saviour shall me keep,
"And raise me up again."

—Admiral Farragut wrote to his wife, April, 1862, "My country has bestowed upon me its highest honors, and I must take upon me the highest responsibilities. I never will ask my men to go where I am not willing to lead the way." Words fit for the monument of a hero!

IX.—BOOKS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 674 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient to them.]

A.—OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

1.—Circular No. 4. War Department, Surgeon General's Office, Washington, December 5, 1870. *A Report on Barracks and Hospitals, with descriptions of Military Posts.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870. Quarto, pp. xxxiii., 494.

We have already noticed, in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, the important series of volumes, for some unknown reason called "Circulars," which the Surgeon General of the Army is issuing occasionally, from his office; and the elegant volume before us forms "No 4" of that series, although several numbers higher have been long since in the hands of their readers.

In the ample and beautiful pages of this portly quarto, we find carefully-prepared histories and descriptions of the several military posts occupied by the Army, very often illustrated with maps; and the barracks and hospitals of those posts are described, especially, with great precision and greatly in detail, with expositions of their defects and suggestions tending to their improvement. These descriptions are from the pens of Surgeons who are thoroughly acquainted with the works which they have described; and to the Military Engineer, to Civil Engineers, and to Architects who superintend the erection of structures employed for hospital purposes or aggregated residences, there can be found few works possessing so much importance, on sanitary subjects. To the historical student, the accurate descriptions of the several posts, as military works, and their several histories are now and ever will be of the highest importance.

As we have said, this volume is a very handsome one.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

ES.—*To Day*: a paper printed during the Fair of the Essex Institute and Oratorio Society, at Salem, Mass., from October 31st to November 4th, 1870. S. L. [Salem?] s. a. [1870?] Quarto, pp. iv., (unpaged) 40.

Our readers know what "Fair papers" are, and this is one of them—a very good specimen, by-the-way; but yet nothing more than a pleasing "light publication," affording amusement, for a few minutes, to those who bought it, and profit, we hope, to those who advertised in and those who sold it.

As a publication by the Essex Institute, however, it is a necessity to those who collect and preserve the works which that excellent Society sends out, into the world of literature and science.

8.—*Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society, October and November, 1870.* Montpelier: Printed for the Society. 1871. Octavo, pp. xxvii.

Memorial Address on the Life and Character of the Hon. Charles Marsh, LL.D. A paper read before the Vermont Historical Society, at Montpelier, Oct. 11, 1870. By James Barrett, LL.D. Since 1870, [Montpelier?] sine anno [1871?] Octavo, pp. 64.

The Vermont Historical Society is one of the youngest of the sisterhood of associations devoted to the history of our own country; and, as far as the narrowness of Vermont will permit, it is doing its work with commendable spirit and good results. The volume before us supplies the record of its meetings in the Fall of 1870, including the Report of its Librarian; and the Address of Hon. James Barrett is appended to that record, making it complete.

4.—*Proceedings of the New York Anti-Secret Society Convention held at Syracuse, Nov. 15, 16, and 17, 1870.* Octavo, pp. 16.

The doings of a body of earnest men who are engaged in a crusade against Masonry, Odd Fellowship, Sons of Temperance, and all other Societies who exclude from their meetings those who are not members; who do not publish to the wide world, all their business; and who retain any information which they do not tell to everybody.

We have no doubt these gentlemen are perfectly honest; but they are evidently inconsistent, when they occupy the broad ground which these proceedings indicate.

5.—*Genealogy of the Early Generations of the Coffin Family in New England.* From the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for 1870. Boston: 1870. Octavo, pp. 17.

We have received from the Society, a Copy of this neat reprint of the excellent paper on the Coffins of Nantucket, which was communicated to the *Register* by Sylvanus J. Macy of New York, with Annotations by Nathaniel W. Coffin, of Dorchester, and William S. Appleton of Boston.

It is a well-arranged and, we have no doubt, an accurate record of the widely-known family to whom it refers.

6.—*The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, from October, 1708, to October, 1716, with the Council Journal from October, 1710, to February 1717.* Transcribed and edited, in accordance with a Resolution of the General Assembly. By Charles J. Hoville, Librarian of the State Library. Hartford: Case, Lockwood, and Brainard. 1870. Octavo, pp. v., 613.

There are few works which are more important, as materials of history, than the early records of the several Colonies; and New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania have nobly responded to the calls of scholars for copies of their respective journals.

Of those of Connecticut—embracing both those of old Connecticut and those of the New Haven Colony—we need say nothing, concerning the care and ability with which they have been edited, successively, by Messrs. Trumbull and Hoadley; and the volume before us, which is the fifth of the series of the Connecticut Colony, is, therefore, a welcome addition to the journalistic authorities on which all written history must, very much, be founded.

The general character and appearance of the volume are uniform with those of the volumes previously issued; and the only variation in the character of the work is that, which we regret to see and most earnestly deprecate, described in the following words, taken from the Preface of of the volume before us: "In printing this volume, I have not thought it necessary to preserve the contractions or abbreviations of the original manuscript, as it has been done hitherto, or to follow exactly the spelling, save, in general, in the case of proper names."

We do not know the reason which led Mr. Hoadley to depart so widely from the habit, in such cases, which he had hitherto followed in company with the Editors of the Plymouth, the Massachusetts Bay, the New York, and the first three volumes of the Connecticut Records, a system which students of history, everywhere, so highly approve and so rigidly adhere to; nor can we conceive of any reasonable necessity for so sad a variation from his own practice, in the fourth volume of this series and in the Records of the Colony of New Haven. If as we suspect, it was done to gratify some ignorant legislator, in order to secure sufficient legislative wisdom in its favor to have the volume printed at the public expense, we shall more than ever despair of seeing the history of our own country occupy its just position, as a necessary branch of learning, in the high places in the land.

The volume is very neatly printed.

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United States Circuit Court, for
the Southern District
of New York.**

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